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SOLDIERS
OF
THE VICTORIAN AGE
VOLUME II

Soldiers

OF

The Victorian Age

BY
CHARLES RATHBONE LOW
(I.N., F.R.G.S.)

AUTHOR OF "HISTORY OF THE INDIAN NAVY," "MEMOIR OF SIR GARNET WOLSELEY," &C. &C.

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME II

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SOLDIERS OF THE VICTORIAN AGE.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HERBERT EDWARDES,
K.C.B., K.C.S.I.

Edwardes joins the 1st Bengal Europeans—Serves on the Staff of Sir Hugh Gough at Moodkee and Sohraon—Is appointed Political Assistant to Colonel Henry Lawrence at Lahore—Proceeds on Deputation to Bunnoo—His labours and adventures among the Bunnoochees—Is wounded at Takht-i-Soliman—The Rebellion at Mooltan—Edwardes takes the field—Campaigning with Native levies—His victories at Kineyree and Suddosām—First siege of Mooltan—Retirement of the British Army—Second siege of Mooltan—Conclusion of the Campaign—Proceeds to England—Return to India—The Indian Mutiny—Services at Peshawur—Death and Character.

INDIA has been the prolific mother of heroes ever since we set foot on its shores, and a numerous and remarkable addition has been made to the number since her present Majesty succeeded to the throne. Of that goodly company, few, however, have exceeded the subject of this memoir in eminent and distinguished services, and even fewer in abilities and intellectual powers. Before our hero had attained his thirtieth birthday, his name was in every man's mouth, and the most brilliant actions of his life had been consummated.

Herbert Edwardes was born on November 12th, 1819, at Frodesley, in Shropshire, and was the son of the Rev. Benjamin Edwardes, formerly rector of that parish, and grandson of Sir John Edwardes, eighth baronet, of Shrewsbury. The family is descended from the ancient kings of Powysland, in Wales, who settled in Shropshire in the reign of Henry I., and took the name of Edwardes in that of Henry VII. For eminent services to Charles I., one of the family was rewarded with a baronetcy in 1644.

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Young Edwardes was educated at a private school, and at King's College, London. Having been nominated to a cadetship in the service of the East India Company, he proceeded to India, and landed at Calcutta in January, 1841.

He was posted to an ensigncy in the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, with which very distinguished regiment he remained till November, 1845. During these years, besides mastering the duties of his profession, young Edwardes displayed literary and intellectual talents of a very high order. He passed examinations in Hindustanee, Hindee, and Persian, and attracted attention as a political writer by twenty-four letters in the *Delhi Gazette*, from "Brahminee Bull in India to his cousin John Bull in England." But work of a more congenial character was in store for him. He says of his early career, "I landed in India in January, 1841, without either friends or interest, and for the instruction of those who think it is of no use to study either the languages, history, or policy of British India, unless the Governor-General happens to be their grandfather, I record the fact that, at the close of 1845, I was promised the first vacancy in the Judge Advocate-General's Department of the Bengal Presidency, and have good reason to believe that I was to have had the second under the Governor-General's Agent, on the north-west frontier: but before either of those occurred, his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, then Sir Hugh Gough, honoured me by making me an aide-de-camp on his personal staff—a step to which I gratefully acknowledge that I am indebted for all the opportunities of succeeding years."

On the breaking out of the first Sikh War, Lieutenant Edwardes was appointed aide-de-camp to Sir Hugh Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, and was engaged at the battle of Moodkee, on the 8th December, 1845, when he received a ball through his thigh, which incapacitated him from taking part in the battle of Ferozeshubur. On recovering from his wound, he rejoined Sir Hugh Gough's staff, and was by his side at the battle of Sobraon on the 10th February following. At the close of the campaign, Colonel Henry Lawrence was appointed Resident at Lahore, with plenary powers, and Edwardes became one of his assistants. The posts occupied by himself and his coadjutors required all the energy and cool judgment that distinguished that school of military diplomats and administrators of whom Henry Lawrence was the most striking example, and which boasted— notwithstanding Sir Charles Napier's unworthy sneer at Punjaub political officers, "as sharp

lads who could speak Persian"—such names as Abbott, Macgregor, Nicholson, and Taylor.

Within two months of his arrival at Lahore, with his chief, there broke out a religious *emeute* that nearly cost them their lives. Some Hindoo shopkeepers, enraged at the wounding of a cow by an English sentry, broke into riot, using brickbats and other weapons, and, for some time, it seemed as though the whole town would be involved in insurrection, when the lives of the British officers would have been the first to fall a sacrifice to the fanaticism of the populace. But Colonel Lawrence, with his two assistants, Macgregor and Edwardes, was equal to the occasion. Order was soon restored by their appearance on the scene of tumult, the shops, which had been quickly closed in apprehension of disorders, were opened, and Colonel Lawrence tried some of the ringleaders, one of whom was summarily condemned to death and hanged.

Soon afterwards a formidable conspiracy was organised in Cashmere against the authority of the newly-installed rajah, Goolab Singh of Jummoo, by Imaum-ood-deen, a son of the late Governor of Cashmere, aided by some of the hill chiefs. Sir John Littler was sent with a force to hold Jummoo, and Henry Lawrence proceeded in haste towards the threatened point with a large Sikh force, accompanied by his assistant, Herbert Edwardes. "It was an extraordinary spectacle," remarks Marshman, "to witness half-a-dozen European foreigners taking up a lately subdued mutinous soldiery through one of the most difficult countries in the world, to put the chief in possession of the brightest gem of their land." The energy and promptitude of this movement insured its success. The refractory Imaum-ood-deen surrendered to Edwardes, on the 31st October, and then produced the written orders of Lall Singh, whom Henry Lawrence had appointed prime minister, at Lahore, for the infant Maharajah, the nominal sovereign of the Khalsa. Lall Singh was accordingly relieved of his functions and sent a prisoner to Agra.

In February, 1847, Edwardes was appointed by Sir Henry Lawrence to proceed to Bunnoo, a tributary Afghan valley on the Indus. It appeared that the people were unanimous in rejecting the imposition of a Sikh governor, and it had been found impossible to establish a tax-collector among them. The consequence was that the revenue usually dropped for two or three years into arrears, when a strong force was sent to levy the taxes by coercion. On this occasion, when they had been due for the ordinary period of two-and-a-half years, the

Lahore Council of Regency proposed to resort to the old plan, but Colonel Lawrence, with his high sense of justice, determined that the Bunnoochees should have the full benefit of the new merciful régime of the British Government, and despatched Herbert Edwardes—with Sirdar Shum Shere Singh, a member of the Council of Regency, in command of the column—to induce the people to accede to the demands of the Durbar, without recourse being had to military violence. The force consisted of five infantry regiments, a cavalry regiment, 1,500 irregular horse, and two troops of horse artillery. Edwardes executed his mission with sound discretion, and displayed that union of firmness and conciliation which the circumstances so urgently demanded. The Bunnoochees were scarcely less difficult to manage than his Sikh soldiery, who gave way to the habits of military license which were allowed under their old national leaders, and it was not until some severe examples had been made that they could be brought to reconcile themselves to the course of conduct required by military discipline, and rigidly enforced by their young commander. Edwardes says:—"One of Colonel Lawrence's strictest injunctions to me at parting was, 'To make severe examples of every instance, and in very bad cases to send the offenders in irons to Lahore.' For the first fortnight I had full employment. On the line of march, in the morning, I did nothing but detect, stay, reprove, chase, overtake, and imprison plunderers, horse and foot; and all the rest of the day my tent was besieged by the people of the country bewailing their damaged fields, and calling on me to punish the offenders."

Edwardes entered Bunnoo on the 15th March, and, as he says, "was burnt out of it by the sun on the 1st May," having, during the interval, succeeded in levying only half a lac of rupees out of one-and-three-quarter lacs due. This wild people had never before received either justice or consideration from their rulers, having been trodden down by the iron heel of the Afghan or Sikh Sirdar, with their train of ruthless soldiery, and it was their practice never to pay taxes until forced to do so. But though unwilling to extort the "uttermost farthing" legally distraintable, Edwardes gave the inhabitants to understand that the money must be paid, and that if the claims of Government were not satisfied within a given time,—and he consented to accept 40,000 rupees per annum,—he would repeat his visit and collect the balance.

On his way back to Lahore, Edwardes made a *détour* through Murwut and Tâk, forming districts of Dera Ishmael

Khan,* with the object of inquiring into the manner in which the Sikh Sirdars governed their districts. He found Murwut in a state of insurrection. The Dewan Dowlut Raie extorted from the people £100,000 in taxes, being £35,000 more than Edwardes' estimate of what was reasonable; and to enforce his claims, had laid siege to the fort of Lukhee but was driven off. Edwardes immediately compelled the Dewan to remodel his system of assessment, and, on his return to Lahore, reported so unfavourably of him that Colonel Lawrence removed him from the post, and appointed, on Edwardes's representation, General Van Cortlandt, an officer who had been educated in England and was in the Sikh pay, ruler of Dera Ishmael Khan, in his place.

Edwardes found Tâk in a scarcely more satisfactory state than Murwut, and, at his request—on the Sikh Durbar resuming the district which had been conferred as a "jageer," or personal estate, on some Afghan chiefs—Colonel Lawrence conferred the government of Tâk on a poor, but honest Sikh kardar, or official, called Shah Niwaz, a native of the district. On his second visit to Tâk, six months later, Edwardes had only two frivolous complaints of this man, who had effected many considerable reforms and commanded the confidence of his superior, General Van Cortlandt.

One important result of this visit to Bunnoo was a report on the district and people, drawn up by Edwardes, who made a complete reconnaissance, detailing the physical features of the country, and propounding a plan for its military occupation. These proposals were soon put into requisition, and the people proving recalcitrant, Edwardes conducted a second expedition from Dera Ishmael Khan to Bunnoo, the inhabitants of which had proved rebellious.

Two divisions of Sikh levies marched, one under Lieutenant (now General) George Reynell Taylor—one of the assistants of the Resident of Lahore, a young officer who had already

* The Derajat (or "the encampments") derives its name from its three principal towns: on the Indus, Dera Ishmael Khan, Dera Futteh Khan, and Dera Ghazee Khan—"Dera" meaning "camp of." The Derajat is situated in that portion of the western frontier of the Punjab lying between the Salt Range, the Indus, the Soliman Mountains, and Scinde. At this time the Sikh Durbar divided the province into two governments, Dera Futteh Khan being included in the province of Dera Ishmael Khan. Dera Ghazee Khan, annexed by Runjeet Singh in 1820-21, had been for years governed by Dewan Sawun Mull and his son, Moolraj "the direful spring of woes unnumbered." The province of Dera Ishmael Khan forming the upper Derajat, was administered at this time by the Dewan Dowlut Raie, and included the districts of Bunnoo, Murwut, Tâk, Esaukhail, Choudwan, Kolachee, Drabund, Girang, (or Dera Futteh Khan), all beyond the Indus, and Cuchee Cis-Indus.

exhibited military and political talents of a high order—which was to start from Peshawur, marching by the Kobat Pass, where Sir Charles Napier experienced a fierce attack from the tribesmen in 1850; and the second, under Edwardes and Van Cortlandt, which mustered at Lukhee fort, the town of the same name being the capital of Murwut, the country adjoining Bunnoo in the south. Taylor's column consisted of three regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, one troop of horse artillery, and 1,000 Afghan horse; and Edwardes's, of 1,200 infantry, 334 horsemen, and two troops of horse artillery.

Edwardes marched on the 1st December, 1847, crossing the Khorum river, and, passing through Kurruk, effected a junction with Taylor's column on the 8th. He now issued a proclamation to the Bunnoochees calling on them to pay arrears, and, on the following day, entered Bunnoo with a force of five regiments of infantry, 2,000 cavalry, 18 guns, and 130 zoomboorucks (camel-pieces), besides an Afghan contingent of 1,100 men under Sirdah Kwajah Mahomed Khan, "who looked," says Edwardes, "mounted on his horse, in chain armour, like a leaf from out of Froissart's *Chronicles*,"—a nephew of the Ameer Dost Mahomed, and son of that Sultan Mahomed Khan who so basely betrayed Major and Mrs. George Lawrence at Kohat a year later.

The Bunnoochee chiefs, with one exception, made their submission, and Edwardes, sending Taylor back to Peshawur with an escort, commenced the revenue survey of the district, and selected a site for a fort to overawe the country, about a mile from the town of Bazaar. This fort,* which he constructed from his own plans, and named Dhuleepgurh, after the young maharajah, consisted of an outer fort or cantonment, having walls 10 feet high and 6 thick, and surrounded by a ditch 30 feet deep, with an inner citadel 100 yards square, having walls 20 feet high, including rampart of 6 feet, 9 feet thick, and surrounded by a deep ditch. In the citadel were lines for a regiment, a magazine, and a com-

* His instructions from Colonel Henry Lawrence were to "build a good mud fort, capable of holding 1,200 men and 8 guns; in a healthy central position, commanding the irrigation of the valley or a wholesome running stream." When the rebellion of Moolraj required Edwardes to take the field, in April, 1848, he left his assistant, Reynell Taylor, at Dhuleepgurh, in charge of Bunnoo and the adjacent territory; soon the Sikh troops gave signs of mutinous intentions, and as Taylor's life was in danger, Edwardes withdrew that officer from Dhuleepgurh, and sent him to Dera Ishmael Khan, placing in charge of Dhuleepgurh a Mullick, Futteh Khan, Towannah, by name. This energetic and gallant native officer vindicated the confidence placed in him, and few more devoted acts are recorded in border story than the manner in which he sacrificed his life in opposing the treachery of the garrison under his command.

mandant's house ; and, in the outer fort, were lines for three regiments, besides cavalry and horse artillery.

On the 16th December the Wuzerees chiefs accepted, unconditionally, the terms of settlement Edwardes laid before them at a solemn "jurga," or council, he convened under the "shamyanah," or awning, outside his tent. Edwardes worked unremittingly all day and half the night. He says:—"The assistants of Colonel Lawrence in the Punjaub at no time had ever to complain of too little to do, the work, during 1846-7-8, varying from ten to fourteen hours per diem ; but I look back to these months in Bunnoo as the hardest grind I ever endured. Even the chiefs and peasantry of Bunnoo itself, though they might any day have been plunged into hostilities against us, began to appreciate the blessing of an impartial and honest tribunal." Edwardes, as though his duties were not sufficiently arduous, employed every leisure moment in drawing up a proclamation, in Persian, embodying, in eighteen articles, a simple code of laws for the administration of justice, adapted to the circumstances and understandings of the Bunnoochees, but interfering little with their personal freedom, while abolishing the system of "begaree," or forced labour.

On the 21st December, Edwardes promptly checked a mutiny among Maun Singh's Sikh regiment, which refused to work in building the fort. Relying on the loyalty of the artillery, he paraded the regiment and seized four of the ringleaders, who were afterwards punished by sentence of court-martial ; and he subsequently wrote that he thought this mutiny a far greater danger than any arising from the resistance of the Bunnoochees. But he had other more personal dangers to dread, and nearly fell a victim to assassination a few days later, when a Bunnoochee Ghazee, with a naked sword, tried to force his way into his tent, where he was engaged on business, and mortally wounded the sentry on duty at the door. Edwardes now proposed to disarm the population, but Mr. John (the late Lord) Lawrence—who had temporarily succeeded his brother, gone home on sick leave—wrote to say that he "considered the measure impolitic, inasmuch as it would unite all classes against us ; it would be inoperative, inasmuch as it would be but partially successful ; and lastly, as far as it did succeed, it would be injurious, for it would expose the disarmed Bunnoochee to the attacks of the formidable Vizeree, who, safe in his fastness, could choose his opportunity for attack." This view of the case was, subsequently, taken by the Governor-General in Council, and Edwardes was consequently obliged to abandon the idea, and content himself with

discouraging the use of arms, and buying them from the people in part payment of their arrears of revenue. The opposite policy was adopted on the annexation of the Punjaub, when 150,000 arms were collected from the people; though the circumstances were different, and John Lawrence was, doubtless, wise in declining to treat the Bunnoochees as a conquered people, thus leaving them at the mercy of their warlike neighbours.

The new year, 1848, so full of important events in the life of our hero, as in the history of our Indian empire, was inaugurated by a proclamation, issued by Edwardes on the 5th January, calling on the Mullicks (chiefs) to raze "to the ground, within fifteen days, the walls of every fort and inclosed village within the boundaries of Bunnoo;" with an intimation that he "would move against the first fort he saw standing" at the end of the days of grace. Within twenty days, "200 forts were levelled with the ground, 100 down as low as a man's waist, and seventy or eighty as high as a man," and the remainder, some twenty or thirty in number, were deserted. This obedience by a lawless race to the mandate of a simple British subaltern of infantry, affords the most striking proof of Edwardes' genius for command.

At this time Edwardes received a gratifying testimony to the value of his services, in a Government notification, dated 24th December, 1847, that his salary was raised to 1,000 rupees a month, in approbation of his services—one of the last acts of Lord Hardinge, who returned to England in company with Colonel Henry Lawrence. But in recording this act of grace, Edwardes adds:—"No increase of pay, however, could compensate for the loss of such a master, may I add, with humble gratitude, and so kind a friend."

Now that he had reduced his province to a position of comparative repose, it was necessary in order to ease the strained finances of the Lahore Durbar, that the garrison should be reduced. Edwardes therefore retained only three regiments of infantry, mostly composed of Mohammedans, and 500 Sikh Ghoor-churrahs (cavalry), with two troops of horse artillery, and 800 Afghan horse, the remainder being sent to Peshawur. It was evident that there was still much religious fanaticism and hatred of the foreigner among his new subjects, and, on the 21st January, a second determined attempt was made on his life by a Ghazee. Hearing a cry of "swords are going," he had just time to make his way outside his tent, with a double-barrelled pistol, when the assassin forced an entrance by another door past sentries and messengers, one of whom he mortally wounded; but as he

came out on the other side, in search of his intended victim, Edwardes fired the contents of a barrel into the breast of the wretch, who was seized by a mob of soldiers and camp followers, and almost torn to pieces on the spot. Not only his people, but the "seyyids" (so-called descendants of the Prophet) and "uleemas" (priests), came to congratulate him on his escape from the assassin; and he took the opportunity of informing them that "if they got rid of him they would probably get two sahibs in his place." At a later time an attempt was made by Moolraj's emissaries to poison him, which nearly proved fatal. The ceaseless guarding against assassination, necessitated by these acts of treachery, was more trying to bear than the dangers and responsibility attending his solitary condition as the only British officer in Bunnoo. Day and night his pistols were his constant companions, and when he moved from his quarters, he had to keep an ever-watchful eye:—

"Speak and look back, and pry on every side,
Tremble and start at wagging of a straw."

Having applied for an assistant to act temporarily for him during his absence on a tour of the neighbouring districts, John Lawrence sent him Lieutenant Reynell Taylor, adding, in his letter advising him of the appointment, "take care of yourself, or you will get killed by some fellow." Lieutenant Taylor arrived on the 11th February, and, about this time, Mr. Lawrence, on Edwardes' representations, sent a Sikh regiment from its station at Hassan Abdul (between the Indus and Jhelum), to Dera Ishmael Khan, the capital of Cortlandt's province, to await Edwardes' orders, as he anticipated an invasion of Bunnoo by the Dour tribesmen, who, with the Mahsood Wuzerees and the people of Khoost,* were in a ferment at the proximity of the "Kaffirs," as they called the British officers.

On 28th February Edwardes left Bunnoo, having installed Taylor at Dhuleepgurh, now approaching completion, as his *locum tenens*. The same day he visited, *en route*, the famed ruins of the Greek colony of Akra, in the south-west corner of the valley of Bunnoo, and soon entered the valley of Murwut,

* Khoost had been ceded to the Sikhs by Shah Soojah, by the terms of the Tripartite treaty, but, unlike Bunnoo, Sikh soldiers had never entered the valley or collected revenue.

having, during the three months between the 9th December and 28th February, effected the pacification of two great independent Pathan tribes, the Bunnoochees and Wuzerees, without firing a shot, and converted this district, which for twenty-five years had defied the arms of the Sikh rulers, into one of the most secure provinces of the Punjaub. He found the finances of the Bunnoo country in a state of complete disarrangement, and had the satisfaction of leaving the revenue so clearly systematised as to remove all obstacles to its future collection. This may not look like a brilliant achievement for a military man, and the details are certainly not half so exciting, neither do they appeal to the imagination so effectively, as the deeds of an ordinary campaign; yet it may safely be said that the qualities requisite to the accomplishment of such results are of a rarer order than those which enter into the triumphs of a soldier, and, in this instance, they were enhanced by being found in combination with the more showy talents of which we have spoken.

Edwardes arrived, on the 1st March, at Lukhee, the chief place in Murwut, where the Sikhs had erected a fort in 1842, and, marching through the Peyzoo Pass with an escort consisting of 900 infantry, 300 horsemen, and two guns, made a night march on the 16th, to beat up the quarters of one Shahzad Khan, head of the Nassur tribe of Povindahs, who had been raiding over the Derajat border, and boasted that he had defied the Ameer Dost Mahomed, and would never yield to the Sikh Durbar. Taking with him 200 Afghan and 60 Sikh horsemen, and directing a force of 250 infantry to follow, Edwardes crossed the Loonee river, now swollen into a torrent, and, about daybreak, came in sight of Nassur's camp lying under the mountain called Takht-i-Soliman (Soliman's throne), in the Sheraunee hills. His force had dwindled down, during the march of twelve miles, to but seventy or eighty horsemen, but, nothing daunted, he rode with his handful of men to the rear of the camp, and charged into the midst of the Nassurs, who had opened a fire from their matchlocks, and were calling to "the Feringhee dog" to come on. It was no time to think of odds, but,

"Scarce could they hear, or see their foes,
Until at weapon point they close—
They close, in clouds of smoke and dust,
With sword-swing and with lances thrust."

His followers, dismayed at the odds, hung back, and only fifteen charged, and of these scarcely a dozen reached the middle of

the camp. The gallant young leader was placed in imminent peril by this cowardly desertion, and escaped with his life almost by a miracle. He gives a grimly humorous account of the fight, which reads like a page out of one of Scott's tales of border warfare:—"How we got out of the *mêlée* is unaccountable; but we did, after cutting our way from one end to the other of the Nassur camp. Somewhere about the middle of it a tall ruffian, whom I was told afterwards was Shahzad's brother, walked deliberately at me with his juzail, and, sticking it into my stomach, so that the muzzle almost pushed me out of my saddle, fired! The priming flashed in the pan, and, as he drew back the juzail, I cut him full over the head; but I might as well have hit a cannon-ball; the sword turned in my hand, and the Nassur, without even resettling his turban commenced re-priming his juzail, an operation which I did not stay to see completed. Between 1845 and 1849 there was no lack of peril on the Punjaub frontier, and I, like all the rest, had my share; but I have always looked back to the moment when that juzail missed fire as the one of all my life when I looked death closest in the face. On getting out to the fresh air again, I looked round and found myself with two men, one of whom was a highwayman I had pardoned a week or ten days before. The brave Dooranees and Sikhs were to be seen circling and curveting round the circumference of the camp, handsomely followed up by the enemy, and I was thinking what course to pursue, when my eye fell on the Nassur herd of camels tied down in a ring. 'Now,' said I to the highwayman, 'the victory is ours, after all;' and away we both dashed at the camels, whose long necks were already bobbing about with fright, like geese looking out of a market basket. Up they all jumped, and tore themselves free from their fastenings, and I put a lot of them before me and drove them off as if I had all my life been a mosstrooper; my friend, the thief, entering heart and soul into the business, and giving them a professional poke with his spear which set them stepping out gloriously. The Nassurs, who were in charge, yelled like demons, and one 'took up a rock,' as Homer would have said (a great stone as big as his own head), and hurled it at me with such good aim that it hit me below the knee, and would have unhorsed me if that excellent villain, the highwayman, had not put his hand under my shoulder and tossed me back again into the saddle. The heroes outside now joined us, and very glad I was to see them, for the whole swarm of angry Nassurs were in hot pursuit of their camels."

The valiant Sikh horsemen, with their predatory instincts,

had come to secure the 75 camels carried off in this brilliant raid, and, as the whole party was returning home, surrounded another Nassur camp and captured 240 more camels, and took some prisoners, who were detained until some of his men captured in the fray were released. Shahzad Khan, finding it rather hot for him, struck his camp immediately after the fight, and quitted the Derajat for the neighbouring Sheraunee hills. Those of the camels which were Shahzad's own property Edwardes sold, realising on government account 3,600 rupees, in satisfaction of the 50 rupees which the Nassur chief had sent word to say that "he never would pay to the dogs of Sikhs and Feringhees."

This was the sort of service common on the frontier in those early days of our occupation of the Punjaub; hard blows were given and taken without much thought, and, in the records of great battles and sieges, little was known of the adventures of these frontier officers, who carried their lives in their hands, and awed the daring freebooters and hill robbers by the reckless display of hardihood even greater than they could boast. At this time the Punjaub government was indeed well served, and Edwardes, Reynell Taylor, Nicholson, James Abbott, and Harry Lumsden, among others, were such men as were an honour to their country—brave in action, and prompt in council, they handled the sword as well as the pen, and whether in the saddle hunting up some desperadoes in their fastnesses, or settling dry details of revenue assessment, they were equally at home and efficient. They were, moreover, gifted with the accomplishments of English gentlemen. In the wildest part of Hazara, as in the most inaccessible districts of the Derajat, the occasional visitor to the British officer would see with surprise in the small pâl (tent) with which the political assistant moved about in the province committed to his charge, the latest volume of poems by Tennyson, or the proceedings of archaeological and Asiatic societies, containing contributions by his host, or, perhaps, finished sketches of mountain scenery, or works of poetry displaying high cultivation and deep reading with real poetic feeling and philosophic insight. Yes! those were certainly remarkable men who gravitated round the two Lawrences, and, perhaps, we may not again see such a constellation of talent gathered within so small a focus; though we doubt not the future will produce equally able officers, if only our councils are guided by clear heads and sound judgments, such as ruled in those days at Calcutta and Lahore.

So thoroughly cowed was Shahzad Khan, that, even in the

height of the ensuing troubles at Mooltan, and during the Punjaub campaign, he refused to join the insurgents, and declined the invitation of Afzul Khan, son of the Ameer Dost Mahomed, who came down as far as Bunnoo with an army; and yet Sir Frederick Currie, the officiating Resident at Lahore, administered an official wiggling to Edwardes, pointing out the folly of his risking his life in such a quarrel, and the serious consequences that would have ensued had he been killed, as well as lecturing him on the impropriety of seizing cattle and detaining prisoners, though, in his ignorance, the Resident was not aware that the captured camels and hostages belonged to Shahzad.

For some weeks Edwardes suffered greatly from his injured knee, and had to be carried about in a palanquin, but he did not lay up for a day, and busied himself in the revenue settlement of the district of Kolachee.* The district had been treated with great oppression by Dewan Dowlut Raie, who squeezed 61,000 rupees out of it, but Edwardes, having inquired into its condition and resources when returning from his first expedition to Bunnoo, made a report, on which, at Colonel Lawrence's request, the Durbar reduced the revenue to 48,000, which was the utmost the people could pay. Now that General Cortlandt was Governor, Edwardes, under orders from the Resident, made an entirely new settlement of the Kolachee revenue. This he completed on the 28th March, and proceeded to the district of Drabund, in extent about 12 miles by 21, the revenue of which he fixed at 17,664 rupees, the amount originally paid to the Sikh sovereign being 21,000 rupees, though Dewan Lukkee Mull, father and predecessor of Dowlut Raie, extorted some 3,400 more. Edwardes quitted Drabund on the 7th April, and arrived at Choudwan, which, being part of the jageer, or estate, conferred by the Durbar on Shere Mahomed Khan, the deposed Newaub of Dera Ishmael Khan, was not subject to his control; but he settled a boundary dispute between the Babbhurs of Choudwan and the Mean Khails, for which the people illuminated the town in his honour. On the 12th April, he reached Dera Futteh Khan, on the Indus, situated in the district of the same name, which the Sikhs called Girang, after a strong fort a few miles distant, which Runjeet Singh had always held with a small Sikh garrison. At this

* Kolachee, so called after the town of the same name, has Tak on the north, the Soliman Mountains on the west, Drabund on the south-west, and Dera Ishmael Khan on the east and south-east. The district belongs to the Gundapoors and was originally about 28 miles long and 22 wide, but early in the century, a part was annexed by the Newaub of Dera Ishmael Khan.

point Edwardes' labours for the benefit of the people received a rude ending.

Moolraj, the Dewan, or Governor, of Mooltan, having shortly before voluntarily tendered his resignation to the Lahore Durbar, the Sirdar Khan Singh was sent from Lahore to supersede him, accompanied by two British officers, Mr. Vans Agnew, of the Civil Service, and Lieutenant Anderson, of the 1st Bombay Fusiliers. On their arrival at Mooltan, the British officers attended the Durbar with Khan Singh, and no thought of treachery on the part of Moolraj crossed their minds, until the moment when the assassin's dagger struck them both to the earth, wounded but not killed. It is ever thus in dealing with an Oriental prince, with whom duplicity and treachery are as the breath of life. As Hastings said when sent to the block by the remorseless Richard :—

“ Who builds his hope on air of your fair looks,
Lives like a drunken sailor on a mast,
Ready with every nod to tumble down
Into the fatal bowels of the deep.”

The keys of the fort were surrendered to the new garrison on the 19th April, and, as the British officers who witnessed the ceremony were returning from the fortress, suddenly they were wounded by a man in the crowd, and Moolraj, by whose side they were riding, galloped off, leaving them to their fate. They were carried by Khan Singh's followers to the Eedgah, a fortified temple near the town, but being deserted by the troops which formed their escort, were murdered on the following evening by an infuriated mob, poor Anderson ejaculating with his last breath as he fell covered with wounds, “ You can kill me, but others will avenge my death.” Deserted by their escort, and alone in the midst of treachery, the two Englishmen met death holding each other's hands.

On the evening of the 22nd April, Edwardes was sitting in a tent, surrounded by Beloochee Zemindars, taking evidence in the trial of Bhowanee Singh, the Sikh commander of Girang fort, who had for 20 years been plundering and murdering the surrounding country he had been sent to protect, when, suddenly, a kossid (native messenger) rushed into his presence, with an urgent missive “ from the Sahib at Mooltan to the Sahib at Bunnoo.” Hastily opening the bag, Edwardes found in it a copy of a letter, dated the 19th April, addressed by Mr. Vans Agnew to Sir Frederick Currie, announcing the mutiny of the Mooltan troops, and that he and Lieutenant Anderson were severely wounded. At

the foot of this letter was a postscript in pencil, in Agnew's handwriting, addressed "to General Cortlandt or Lieutenant Edwardes," urgently requesting assistance. On reading this document, Edwardes, aware that many eyes were fixed upon him, retained his presence of mind, and, proceeding with the trial as if nothing had happened, after hearing further evidence, dismissed the court. The situation in which the young officer was placed was one requiring a clear brain and a brave heart, but Edwardes possessed both, and his mind was soon made up that, without waiting for instructions, he must act on his own responsibility, and do all in his power to save the lives of his countrymen, and, failing this, to avenge their fate and uphold the authority of his Government. Alone and surrounded by truculent chiefs and a restless people, it was a situation requiring the capacities of a Clive, but his instincts told him that "*audace et toujours audace*" would carry the day, while any hesitation must prove fatal not only to his own life, but to the cause of order and British rule in the province committed to his keeping. Rapidly revolving these points in his mind, he prepared instantly to cross the Indus with his camp, and march on Mooltan, 90 miles distant from Dera Futteh Khan, with two broad rivers intervening.

Edwardes wrote off instantly to General Van Cortlandt, summoning him from Bunnoo to join him with one regiment and 4 guns, also to Sir Frederick Currie, detailing the measures he intended to take, and to Agnew—who, poor fellow, as well as Anderson, was already beyond all human aid—promising assistance. He then busied himself in hastily collecting transport and boats for crossing the Indus, and, by the 24th April, was on the opposite bank of the broad and rapid river, and in full march for Leia, the capital of the Sind Saugor Doâb, with 1,200 men and 12 guns. On the following day, he was in Leia, where he again wrote to Sir Frederick Currie, informing him of his movements, and that he was enlisting men, and, adding with a prescient wisdom not given to his civil or military seniors:—"I calculate that you will have sent off a field brigade on the 24th April, and that it will reach Mooltan in 10 days, but trust that it will be only the vanguard of a regular army for the reduction of Mooltan, for it will be no child's play." But Edwardes "calculated" without his host, and the dead weight of officialism and mediocrity was not to be moved by the voice of an eager young subaltern of infantry. In truth, the steps taken by Edwardes displayed not only a clear perception of the danger, but betokened superior boldness and self-reliance,

inasmuch as he assumed a heavy responsibility and laid himself open to a charge of rashness, in taking the initiative for crushing, with a handful of men, a revolt in a formidable stronghold like Mooltan, without orders from either Sir Frederick Currie or Sir Hugh Gough.

On the 26th April, Edwardes wrote again to the Resident at Lahore, urging prompt action, and the despatch of European troops from Lahore, but without avail, for Sir Frederick Currie was not Henry Lawrence. And here we would observe of the latter great man, that some injury has been done by injudicious friends, such as Kaye and other writers, who have spoken of him as "the greatest Englishman who ever went to India." Morally, no doubt, Henry Lawrence had few equals and no superior; intellectually, he was unsurpassed, even by Wellesley or Dalhousie; but as an administrator, he had his equal in Warren Hastings and his brother John; while, as a soldier, he was surpassed by Clive, and by many other soldier-diplomatists, as Malcolm, Ochterlony, and Outram. In undertaking that fatal expedition to Chinhut against his own better judgment, he displayed a weak point in his character, such as we do not find in the greatest names of history, and which, had it not been for the prescience he displayed in making all provision for a siege, must have borne disastrous consequences to the Lucknow garrison. The young subaltern of artillery who worked his way up by sheer force of character to the highest position—for he was nominated provisional Governor-General before his death—possessed so many of the qualities of the truly great, that superlatives are unnecessary in giving him his relative position with those mighty names to whose genius we owe our Indian Empire. To return to Edwardes at Leia.

On the evening of the 26th April, Edwardes summoned General Cortlandt to proceed from Bunnoo to Girang, with a second regiment, 2 guns, and 100 horse, to guard his frontier or co-operate with him, and requested Lieutenant Taylor, then at Bunnoo, to send for assistance from Peshawur. On the same day, a proclamation was put into his hands, from the Sikh troops at Mooltan, calling upon his levies to join the cause of their countrymen, and he also learned that Moolraj had proclaimed the *jehad* or religious war. Edwardes received from the Colonel and officers of the Sikh regiment with him, a bond of fidelity, but, though he openly expressed his satisfaction with their conduct, he had lost all confidence in their loyalty to their salt, and his suspicions were strengthened by the revelations of the Adjutants of the artillery, and of the Poorbeah infantry,

who came to him at night and warned him his life was in danger, and that the Futteh Pultan, one of the regiments of Sikh infantry, was hatching mutiny. Edwardes also learned that the Sikh soldiers, who formed the majority of his small force, had actually agreed upon the price of his head, 12,000 rupees, with a like sum to be paid on their joining Moolraj. Meantime he received no answer from the Resident to his urgent request for European troops, until, on the night of the 27th, a letter arrived, dated the 21st April, written on receipt of Agnew's letter, intimating the despatch of a Sikh regiment and a troop of Horse Artillery.

Edwardes continued to enlist Pathans, but, on the 29th April, his plans were changed by the receipt of news to the effect that Moolraj had thrown off the mask, and had moved 5,000 men and 8 guns across the Chenaub, and was marching on Leia. As he was not in sufficient strength to oppose him, having only 1,500 unreliable men and 2 guns, Edwardes resolved to recross the Indus, and assist Cortlandt at Girang, on the opposite bank. Accordingly, on the following morning he marched from Leia, but, learning that Moolraj had halted, he encamped opposite Dera Futteh Khan, and sent cavalry to Leia, about 12 miles distant, to collect intelligence and secure revenue. On the 2nd May, however, the advance-guard of the enemy, under Sham Singh, brother of Moolraj, appeared only 4 koss* from Leia, and, having ascertained from his cavalry that they were in force, on the same day Edwardes crossed his baggage and transport over the Indus, and, at dawn on the following morning, followed with his infantry, cavalry, and guns, resigning the Doab to Sham Singh, who entered Leia on the same day. It certainly is astonishing that the Sikh levies obeyed the solitary representative of the English name when they had him in their power, and, with the bribe of 24,000 rupees as the price for his head and their defection, crossed the Indus at his orders. Edwardes did not soon forget that night, as he lay down, but not to sleep, with the handful of faithful Poorbeahs and 2 guns in front of him and between the two wings of the Futteh Pultan Regiment, the Pathan levies and other horsemen being thrown out towards Leia. On the 3rd May Edwardes had the satisfaction of being joined by General Van Cortlandt, with Soobhar Khan's Regiment of Mohammedans and 6 Horse Artillery guns, which had performed the march from Bunnoo to Dera Ishmael Khan, and thence by boat down the Indus, in 8 days.

As already mentioned, Sir F. Currie had, on the 21st April,

* A koss is from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 miles.

* Lieutenant-General Sir Herbert Edwardes.

...the attack on Agnew and Anderson, ... on the 24th, he made ... commanding the Punjab ... from Lahore to Mooltan, ... on the following ... murdered, which, as ... Governor-General, "quite ... reason for doing so was the ... troops despatched by the ... British reserve sent to support and ... friends and foes ... his letter to Lord ... this season of the year, ... be required, and at ... reserves and magazines, ... commanders at Lahore, ... their inability to suppress ... Resident, who seemed ... letter to Lord Gough, ... considerations, the ... to his Lordship ... possibility of such ... Lord Gough, in replying ... his disinclination to ... operations against ... of the year, would ... This opinion ... of the Indian mutiny, ... in one of the ... Sir John Campbell and our ... through the year; ... authority at ... taking the field in ... Sir Charles Dyer and Sir Colin ... afterwards said ... for the war and ... mischief ... I was opposed ... result of General Whish's ... for a large army was ... apparently, the ... complying ... of a strong

British column, before the rebellion had gathered head. Of this opinion were Sir Henry Lawrence and the "Politicals," so derided by Sir Charles Napier, who spoke of them as "good men and true as presidents of opium boards and revenue collectors in Calcutta," a by no means bad description if applied to men of the calibre of Sir Frederick Currie, but which was ludicrously inappropriate to Henry Lawrence, Herbert Edwardes, and such men. Lawrence wrote:—"We cannot afford in India to shilly-shally, and talk of weather and seasons. If we are not ready to take the field at all seasons, we have no business here." Lord Dalhousie, in reviewing the whole case in a letter to the Secret Committee in the following April, on the conclusion of the Punjab War, described the situation as "a choice of difficulties, an alternative of evils, and the government of India selected that which appeared the lesser evil of the two." And his lordship added, "I venture still to maintain that the decision was not an error."

Edwardes, meanwhile, continued to enlist men, but was in want of money. He wrote to the Resident, asking for the assistance of the troops of the Mohammedan Newaub of Bhawalpore, whose territories were only divided by the Sutlej from those of Moolraj, but begged him to send no more Sikhs. On the 8th and 9th May, Edwardes received letters from the Resident, the first that had come to hand, directing him and Cortlandt to defend their own province of Dera Ishmael Khan, and get possession of the whole of the Derajat to its extreme limit at Rooghan on the frontier of Scinde, and advising Edwardes of a plan of campaign for occupying Moolraj's territories, with five converging columns of Sikh and other native troops, of which Edwardes was to form one, leaving the occupation of the city and fort of Mooltan to be accomplished by British troops—a plan which in its reliance on the fidelity of the Sikh army, was destined to fail.

A good beginning was made by Edwardes with his column, on the 11th May, when the fort of Mungrota, which, with the exception of Hurrund was the only fort of consequence in the Trans-Indus Mooltan territory, was surrendered to a detachment of horse he sent across country, a success due to his sagacity in calling on a Kusranee chieftain, Mitha Khan by name, to render assistance. Two days later he directed General Cortlandt to march, with two regiments and 6 guns, in the direction of Mungrota, but halted him at Littree, 4 koss from Futteh Khan, on learning that the enemy were in full march for Leia, and, on the 15th, Cortlandt moved to Ratera where

he was reinforced by another Sikh regiment from Bunnoo. On learning that a detachment of the enemy were within fifteen miles of Leia, Edwardes, who was still at Futteh Khan, strengthened his pickets across the river, and, on the following day, a smart skirmish took place between the opposing detachments, in which Edwardes' Pathan levies drove off the enemy with great gallantry. As Moolraj's force consisted of 6,000 men and 15 guns, and his own and Cortlandt's together, did not exceed 4,000 men and 10 guns, of whom the Sikhs were not trustworthy, Edwardes, the same evening, addressed a letter to Bhawul Khan, the Bhawulpore Newaub, requesting him to cross the Sutlej and threaten Mooltan, and wrote to the Resident requesting his authorisation, as the alternative was to give up Dera Ghazee Khan and Sungurh to the rebels.

Edwardes withdrew his pickets from the Sind Saugor Doab, and, on learning that the enemy were in great force about seven koss below General Cortlandt's force, on the evening of the 18th March, sent his cavalry and some infantry by the land route from Futteh Khan, and, with the remainder and 4 guns, embarked in twenty-seven boats and proceeded down the branch of the Indus which passes under Futteh Khan, to effect a junction with the General. This was accomplished on the 19th May, and, on the following day, Edwardes wrote to the Resident from Peerounwulluh, a place twenty-five koss direct north from Dera Ghazee Khan, on the right bank of the Indus, that his bold move had the best effect, and added:—"I am prepared to undertake the blockade of that rebel in Mooltan for the rest of the hot season and rains, if you should honour me with that commission, and order Bhawul Khan to assist me."* But Sir F. Currie did nothing beyond placing the Bhawulpore troops under his orders, though he said:—"I look with the most anxious expectation for the next account of you. The position in which you were placed when your letters were closed, was a very intricate one, but I have such confidence in your judgment, energy, and resource, that I am not without hope that you may have succeeded in extricating your force from the peril in which it was placed." This was, doubtless, very complimentary, but still was not reassuring to a man struggling against numberless difficulties, aggravated by the knowledge that a price was set on

* In reply to this letter, Sir Frederick Currie wrote to Edwardes, on the 29th May, though the letter did not reach its destination for a long time, that he was not to cross the Indus, but confine his efforts to "maintaining the peace of his frontier and jurisdiction, and holding and collecting the revenues of the Trans-Indus provinces."

his head, while he felt that he was deserted by those to whom he was entitled to look for succour.

The following letter, written by Edwardes, from his Camp at Peeronwulluh, dated "night of the 22nd May," addressed to a friend in high office in the Punjaub, gives his private view of the condition of affairs, and of the action of the British authorities. At this distance of time, with the chief actors in the drama no longer on this shifting scene, there can be no indiscretion in publishing the letter, which places the opinions of himself and the other Punjaub political officers as to the danger of procrastination, in a light diametrically opposed to that held by the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, and their advisers :—

"I am encamped on the left bank of the Indus with a regiment of Sikhs who had been requested to go over for 12,000 rupees, and to take my head with them for 12,000 more; and the enemy's army was advancing to exact the bond. Yet I showed no distrust, but retreated on military principles alone, viz., the inability of 1,500 men and 2 guns to fight three or four thousand, and 10 guns. Under Providence this saved my life. There can be doubt whatever that the whole Sikh army and nation, and all the Hindoos, and many of the old Mussulman regiments even, sympathize with the rebel whose wealth affords to their secret discontent the means of throwing off the mask, and once more struggling for the Raj; and had Currie carried out the plan on which he first hit, of concentrating a Sikh army on Mooltan, it is as possible as anything can be that the whole would have gone over to Moolraj, and that the British Resident would suddenly have discovered that he had himself created a hostile Khalsa army, and taken infinite pains to get up a Punjaub war. That he countermanded that order must be regarded as a pure *Godsend*, or it was the result of a reasonable suspicion of the spirit of the Sikhs. What justification can there be for Currie allowing that spirit to work on through several months of inactivity and acknowledged weakness?

"You quite agree, I see, with me in this view of Currie's policy, as indeed does every Assistant from whom I have heard on the subject. It is unnecessary to argue the point, and difficult to write on it with temper. Myself, I feel more bitterly than any one else can, the disgrace and danger of this pusillanimous and un-English policy, *for I have to bear the whole weight of the consequences without any adequate means or hopes of assistance.* For nearly a month I have now been playing at chess with a superior force; advancing and retreating, and

receiving the while from Lahore *no answers** even to my many public letters detailing the state of the most important frontier of the Punjab. In vain I urge this move or that, report the dangers which threaten, and the ways in which they can alone be met. The British Resident is busy inspecting the Maharajah's copy-books, and he delegates to a Junior Assistant the bore of writing to the man whom he knows to be in the face of a rebellious army, within forty koss of Mooltan! and what does the said Junior Assistant write? Sometimes one of them, sometimes another, tells me he hopes God will bless me, but I must take care of myself, for there is no chance of any move being made against Mooltan till the cold weather and cricket set in! The consequence is, I feel myself *deserted*; that I am serving a man who has either not common sense, or else not common feeling. Either he is incapable of understanding what I have repeatedly written to him, *that this frontier is untenable unless he advances Bhawal Khan down the Sutlej*, or else he is quite indifferent to the destruction which awaits me whenever Moolraj makes up his mind to lead all his strength against me.

"Oh, how often—how *earnestly*—do I lament the absence of Henry Lawrence from the helm. He would have long since avenged poor Agnew and Anderson. The monstrous infatuation under which Currie labours is that it rests with *him* to say when the campaign shall be fought. If that is the case he ought to have been consulted before the rebellion broke out. Has he taken a Mochulka † from Moolraj, not to fight while he, Currie nods! None but a Civil Secretary could have entertained so conceited an idea of his own privileges, and those of rebels. Moolraj is no longer a mere refractory governor, holding out in a loyal fort: he is a bold rebel *in the field*, marching and countermarching over the country of the Maharajah, in pursuit of the Maharajah's armies and the unhappy Assistants of the British Resident. Is this a spectacle consistent with our power? or if it is, is it one consistent with our pretensions in British Asia? I will just give you an outline of my proceedings and intentions.

"On the 22nd April, a last note from poor Agnew called on me for assistance. I was at Dera Futteh Khan, started that night, and though I had only four boats, managed to get over the Indus by evening of 24th. On 25th I advanced to where I

* It appears that Sir Frederick Currie replied promptly to all of Edwardes's letters, but some were intercepted by the enemies and others arrived after a considerable interval. Edwardes later himself recognised the Resident's punctuality.

† "Agreement.

heard that all was over. Certain that the British Resident would advance on Mooltan at once, I proceeded to occupy the Doab, in which I found myself so suddenly plunged. I recalled kardars, replaced those who had fled, reassured the people, set the revenue going; and withal, held myself in readiness to move on in co-operation with our friends from Lahore, leaving all in good order behind me. Day after day passed; no news, no army, no move. It was incomprehensible. People began first to look at each other, then to whisper, and at last to *talk*. The revenue came to a full stop. The kardars wrote to Moolraj that I had no force, the traitor in Mooltan wrote to my Sikhs to follow their example; they agreed. Moolraj sent 4,000 men and ten or twelve guns across the Chenaub; and the collision was to be the signal for desertion. I held my peace, but with a beating heart, consulted my officers, overruled their kind offers of being *tukra*; * and, slowly retiring before the advancing rebels, I drew back over the Indus. Thus were they saved from disgrace, I from assassination, and the Sirkar † from the disastrous effect of a defeat. But, I ask you, is it just that I should have been reduced to such a pass? Had I not a right to calculate on a move from Lahore at such a crisis? and had a move occurred, was I not in the very position that the General would have wished me to be in, to co-operate with him in his advance?

"Well, this was on the 3rd May. On the 5th Cortlandt reinforced me at Futteh Khan with two guns and a regiment of *safe soldiers*. On the 7th, the enemy abandoned Leia hastily, and marched back to the Chenaub. I reoccupied Leia with a picket, and sent Cortlandt on towards Sungurh on the right bank. The fort of Mungrota fell before I arrived; all seemed going well. Suddenly the enemy again marched north from the Chenaub; and one Jus Mull, who had been appointed Hakim of Leia, by Moolraj, made a rush on Leia with 500 cavalry and some zumburruks, thinking my picket was gone. Instead of that, I heard of their advance and reinforced the picket in the night; a fight ensued; the rebels were defeated, and lost all their zumburruks; I then withdrew my picket with honour, under cover of the smoke.

"Next Cortlandt wrote that the enemy, 6,000 strong, with 15 guns, had crossed the Indus below him. I said, fall back on me at once, and we must entrench on our own ground. Next day it appeared that the enemy was only trying to cross, so I got

* *Tukra* means being "firm."

† Sirkar is the government.

into boats and rushed down the Indus, 32 koss, and occupied the very ghaut at which the rebels intended to come over, seven koss below Cortlandt, who joined me at this place on 20th. On the same day, some Pathans, whom we had ordered to seize the kardar (Longa Mull) of Dera Ghazee Khan, attacked that worthy, who, with his uncle, Cheytun Mull, kardar of Gungurh and Mungrota, 500 men and one gun, took up a position to fight. The battle lasted three hours; Longa Mull was taken prisoner, Cheytun Mull killed, the gun captured, and 40 of the enemy slain; 12 of our side slain and about 50 wounded. This day I sent Cortlandt to take possession of Ghazee Khan, a country of 8 lakhs, and here am I, face to face with the enemy's main body of from 4,000 to 6,000 men with 12 guns. My own force consists of 6 regular companies, 4 guns, and 2,000 Pathans newly raised; a few koss of water separate us.

"What is to be the end of this? Either Moolraj will be confounded at these defeats and draw in his horns, or he will arouse himself and throw all his men and guns upon me, in which case the decisive battle will be fought on the Indus.

"Yet Sir Frederick Currie seems positively ignorant of my being in any danger, and as for sending me any help, would much more likely send me a wiggling for wanting it while the weather is so warm for the poor Sepoys!

"23rd May, Night.—Again the enemy has disappeared, and not a trace of *where*, so that they may have crossed between me and Cortlandt, or gone to Mooltan, or to Dera Ghazee Khan; action is imperative without any grounds to act upon. Again I must 'stand the hazard of the die,' and have ordered Cortlandt to push on by a forced march to Ghazee Khan and be prepared there, leaving me to take the chance of the rebels having got across.

"As for the hot season; our Sepoys can stand sun, I suppose, as well as Moolraj's, and the latter seem to find no inconvenience in bullying me in May. If it is really impossible for British soldiers to move in the hot winds, still there is a remedy at hand. Bhawul Khan wants but the word to move 15,000 men over the Sutlej, and this would drive Moolraj, into his fort for the rest of the year. In vain I write this to Currie; perhaps he will agree with me when I am past helping, and then prove it wasn't his fault in the *Delhi Gazette*.

"One thing, I am determined that let Currie be as imbecile as he pleases, I will go on entertaining soldiers until I am strong enough to 'never mind,' and to the best of my ability, will do Moolraj as much harm as I can. After all, and above all, we

have the reflection that whatever is, is by the permission of the Irresistible; and that all the Curries and all the Moolrajs in the world could not put the country in danger, or the wisest save it, unless God willed it so—a reflection which puts the gentlest woman on a par with heroes.”

The defeat inflicted at Dera Ghazee Khan on Moolraj, on the 21st May, by the young Gholam Hyder Khan, and his father, Kowrah Khan, resulted in the capture of the fort of Ghazee Khan, and the death of Cheytun Mull, his nephew, Longa Mull, being taken prisoner. Lord Dalhousie wrote to the Secret Committee, on the 10th June, 1848, of the effect of these successes:—“The occupation of Dera Ghazee Khan is not only gratifying in itself, but especially for the mode in which that post was gained. By the encouragement held out to a native chief of influence, and by the conquest he has effected on behalf of Lieutenant Edwardes, the sympathies of the rude Mohammedan tribes of the Derajat have been enlisted on the side of that gallant officer, securing for him a greater chance of being able to offer successful resistance to the Sikh troops in his own camp, whom he suspects of disaffection, and even of more treasonable designs, if they had the means to carry them into effect. These two actions, at Leia and Ghazee Khan, will by their complete success, operate most favourably upon the minds of those who maintain but a doubtful allegiance; and as the river has already begun to rise, and will now daily increase in depth and rapidity, we have great reason to hope that Lieutenant Edwardes will be able to maintain his position till the British troops advance to Mooltan.”

Edwardes sent General Cortlandt with his force to Dera Ghazee Khan, while he remained to watch the enemy on the opposite bank, but the latter suddenly disappeared, and the cavalry made a forced march to Koreyshee, directly opposite Dera Ghazee Khan, with the object of seizing the boats, but found themselves anticipated by Edwardes, who had sent a party, 24 hours before, to secure the fleet. Edwardes marched on the 24th from Peeronwulluh, and, two days later, effected a junction with Cortlandt at Dera Ghazee Khan, having employed 33 boats to carry his artillery and infantry, and secured on the way 39 more, collected by Moolraj's Lieutenant, Longa Mull, before his recent defeat. He thus had a magnificent fleet of 72 boats, which would enable him to throw 6,000 men across the Indus at one passage, while the enemy had not one. Edwardes had now a well organised force of 6,000 men, with 12 guns, and 30 zoomburraks, (camel pieces) and as he had

got rid of the Futteh Pultan, which had been a thorn in his side, by sending them to Mithankote, he was eager for action, and, Sir F. Currie's four converging columns not putting in an appearance, resolved, notwithstanding the Resident's orders,* to cross the Indus—"at this time, about 13 miles wide and roaring like a sea"—at the first favourable opportunity and drive the rebels back on Mooltan.

On the 2nd June, Edwardes received a letter from the Khan of Bhawalpore, informing him that he was crossing the Sutlej, and, having received, on the 30th May, permission from the Resident to cooperate with the Newaub between the Indus and Chenaub, he crossed his army between that day and the 14th, and occupied Koreyshee, which had been evacuated, early in the morning, by Hur Bugwan Doss, the rebel General. On the 15th, Edwardes marched, with 3,000 men, across the Doâb to Khamgurh, on the right bank of the Chenaub, where was a large fort just abandoned by the enemy, and, learning that Moolraj had sent the whole of his disposable force to engage the Daoodpotra † army, east of the Chenaub, before he had effected a junction with them, he marched to their assistance with his force of 5,000 Pathan irregulars, and 1,500 regulars and 10 guns under General Cortlandt. Had the rebel leader, Rung Ram, attacked the Daoodpotras on the morning of the 17th, with his force of nearly 10,000 well-disciplined soldiers and 16 guns, the former, under Futteh Mahomed Khan, consisting of 8,500 irregulars with 11 guns and 30 camel-pieces, must have suffered a defeat. On that day, Edwardes moved to Goggianwallah, on the right bank of the Chenaub, and sent orders to Futteh Mahomed, then at Goweyn, "to strike his tents and march down to this ferry at whatever hour of the night this reaches you." The same night, 3,000 of Edwardes' men, under Foujdar Khan, effected the passage at the ferry of Kineyree, and marched to join the Daoodpotras.

* Sir F. Currie, writing on 20th May, declined Edwardes's offer to co-operate with Bhawal Khan, but on the Newaub requesting such assistance, he wrote, on the 21st, modifying his instructions so far as to leave it to his discretion to cross the Indus and co-operate with that prince eastward of the Chenaub. On the 5th, he wrote to Edwardes, that the state of his force "reflects the greatest credit on his zeal and perseverance, which have raised the greater portion of it and made it what it is in one month." Writing to Lord Dalhousie on the same day, Sir F. Currie said:—"If the chiefs of the Durbar, or any one individual among them, had shown one-tenth part of the zeal, energy, and judgment, exhibited by Lieutenant Edwardes, for the preservation of their Government, the Mooltan rebellion might have been put down ere this." The Resident had not the sagacity to perceive that the Durbar were traitors and had no wish or intention to put down the rebellion.

† Daoodpotra means "descendants of David"; it is the family name of the chief and tribe of Bhawalpore.

Edwardes crossed on the following morning, leaving Cortlandt to follow with the remainder, when, suddenly, he heard the sound of heavy firing, and, with the thought in his heart that "no Englishman could be beaten on the 18th June," he rode hastily forward through the jungle, guided by the smoke and roar of the guns. On the way he met a horseman, sent by Foujdar, to apprise him of the state of affairs, and guide him to the field of battle. From him he learnt that Rung Ram had marched before dawn from Bukree, to seize the ferry at Kineyree, but, finding it occupied, had taken up a strong position on the salt hills of the village of Noonar, and opened fire with his guns on the allies, who had attacked without waiting for orders, and were driven back with heavy loss. At this juncture Edwardes arrived on the scene. He says:—"I arrived upon the field, a plain covered with jungle, amongst which loaded camels were passing to the rear, out of range of the enemy's guns, and detachments of wild-looking warriors, with red-stained hair and beards, were taking up a line of posts. Suddenly, a European stepped out of the crowd, and advanced to me in a hurried manner, wiping his forehead, and exclaiming, 'Oh, Sir, our army, is disorganized!'—a pleasing salutation on arriving at a field of battle! He then told me his name was Macpherson, and that he commanded one of the Newaub's two regular regiments. I asked him where his general was? He laughed; and pointed to a large peepul tree, round which a crowd was gathered. I galloped up, and looking over the shoulders of the people, saw a little old man, in dirty clothes, and with nothing but a skull-cap on his head, sitting under the tree, with a rosary in his hands, the beads of which he was rapidly telling, and muttering, in a peevish, helpless manner, Ulhumdoolillah! Ulhumdoolillah! (God be praised! God be praised!) apparently quite abstracted from the scene around him, and utterly unconscious that six-pounder balls were going through the branches, that officers were imploring him for orders, and that 8,000 or 9,000 rebels were waiting to destroy an army of which he was the General. He had to be shaken by his people before he could comprehend that I had arrived; and as he rose and tottered forward, looking vacantly in my face, I saw that excitement had completed the imbecility of his years, and that I might as well talk to a post."

Turning to the officers of Futteh Mahomed's staff, among whom were good and experienced soldiers, Edwardes learnt the position of affairs, and as he anticipated that the enemy would wait to be attacked, he made the force lie down in line in the

jungle, and counselling the leaders to have patience and self-reliance, rode down the Daoodpotra line to instil confidence among the men, who received him with cheers, continued as he arrived in front of his division of 3,000 Pathans on the left, whom he found in excellent order. As he rode down the line :—

“Every wretch, pining and pale before
Beholding him, plucked comfort from his looks;
A largess universal, like the sun,
His liberal eye doth give to every one,
Thawing cold fear.”

Edwardes despatched two notes to Cortlandt, one at 8 A.M., the second half-an-hour later, directing him to bring his guns across the river with all haste, and expressing his ability to hold the enemy in check until 3 P.M. He says :—“Those seven hours I should never forget if I lived seven centuries.” Soon after two, the Daoodpotra artillery slackened their fire, and Futteh Mahomed, the half-imbecile commander, without giving Edwardes information, commenced falling back on the river. The enemy also slowly advanced, and Edwardes saw that all would be over with the Pathans unless the guns soon arrived. As a desperate expedient to drive back the rebel cavalry and instil confidence in his men, he directed Foujdar Khan, and a body of chiefs and officers, to charge the enemy, and right gallantly did these noble fellows obey the order of their chief; the attack was successful from its audacity, and the Mooltan horse fell back. But they again advanced, and Edwardes made up his mind to charge with his whole line, as the only resource, when the guns, six* in number, and two regiments of regular infantry arrived on the scene amid shouts of welcome, and all felt they were saved. The whole line now advanced, Edwardes himself leading with the guns, which were soon hotly engaged with the enemy's artillery. After a brief cannonade, in which both sides used grape, the Sikh infantry advanced, followed by the irregulars, and so they continued, retreating on one side and advancing on the other, the enemy's artillery every now and then rallying to open fire. At this point Edwardes had a narrow escape of his life. Seeing a small body of cavalry approaching his guns on the left, and thinking they were his Pathan chiefs, he turned his horse and rode towards them with an order, “when,” he says, “a single horseman advanced, and taking a deliberate aim, discharged a matchlock at me within fifty or sixty yards. The ball passed first through the sleeve of the brown holland

* In his despatch Edwardes reported that he had ten guns, and captured six of those of the enemy, but he afterwards corrected the numbers, which were six and eight respectively.

blouse which I had on, then through my shirt, and out again on the other side through both, and must have been within a hairsbreadth of my elbow. But the party paid dearly for their daring, for two guns were instantly laid on them, and horses and riders were soon rolling in the dust."

And now he gave the word for the whole line to charge the enemy, and after a volley from the guns, the Pathans, with a wild yell, dashed at the enemy, who fell back in disorder, abandoning gun after gun. The pursuit was now taken up by the Daoodpotras, who had returned on seeing that the tide of battle had turned, and the rebel army, throwing aside their arms and abandoned by their general, fled, without halting, to Mooltan, leaving over 500 dead on the field of battle and their camp in the hands of the victors. At 5 p.m. Edwardes halted his troops, having gained a victory as creditable to his abilities as a general as almost any recorded in our annals, with the loss of only 247 killed and wounded.

A period of three days' inaction followed the battle of Kineyree, during which Edwardes buried the dead and attended to the wounded, though, as there was no European surgeon with his army, he was witness to a vast amount of human suffering. On the 20th, the Daoodpotras marched towards Shoojabad, which sent deputies surrendering the fort and town to Edwardes, who encamped there on the 22nd, with the combined force of 18,000 men and 30 guns, including those captured on the 18th. From Shoojabad he wrote to Sir F. Currie, suggesting that he should be permitted to undertake the siege of Mooltan "at once," and adding:—"All we require are a few heavy guns, a mortar battery, as many sappers and miners as you can spare, and Major Napier * to plan our operations. That brave and able officer is, I believe, at Lahore; and the guns and mortars are, doubtless, ere this at Ferozepore, and only require to be put into boats and floated down to Bhawulpore. Lieutenant Lake,† for whose arrival I am daily looking, is also an engineer, so we should not want science; and every other material is at hand for bringing to a rapid and honourable conclusion the rebellion of Mooltan."

* Now Lord Napier of Magdala.

† The late Major-General Edward Lake, C.S.I., of the Bengal Engineers, who was then Acting Deputy Commissioner at Jullundur, but was despatched by the Resident to undertake the supervision of the Bhawulpore army, and co-operate with Edwardes. The Resident, in his letter to him of the 9th June, says:—"Your duty will be to join the head-quarters of the Bhawulpore troops, and to give your advice, which will be implicitly followed, in directing the movement of the troops, and the operations which are to be undertaken for carrying out the objects of Government."

Edwardes received a letter from his friend Lake, from Bhawulpore, congratulating him on his "last victory," and adding, "Don't fight any more battles, like a good fellow, till I join you." That he was to be speedily joined by an officer of the energy and talent of Lake, and that the imbecile Futteh Mahomed Khan was to be superseded, was good news to Edwardes, who was also joined at this time by a Mr. G. Quin, an office clerk at Lahore, who had served five years in the British army, and, at his special request, was sent to Edwardes "to make himself generally useful, but to fight by preference."

After some delay, required to bridge the numerous canals and arrange for obtaining supplies for the troops, Edwardes marched, on the 26th of June, towards Mooltan, to meet the enemy who were once more in force, and, on the 28th, arrived at Sooruj-Khoond, about three and a half koss from Mooltan, where he was joined by Lieutenant Lake, who had ridden in from Bhawulpore, and assumed command of the Daoodpotra army, though, with the rare disinterestedness and regard for the public service which characterised this gallant officer, he offered to act under Edwardes' orders. On the following day Edwardes' army was augmented by the arrival of 4,000 men and two guns, under Sheikh Emaum-oo-deen, the pardoned leader of the Cashmere rebellion. Breaking up his camp on the 1st July, Edwardes marched in order of battle, Cortlandt in advance with the infantry and guns, then the baggage, and Lake bringing up the rear with the cavalry. At 11 a.m., the vanguard arrived at Tibbee, two koss south-west of Mooltan, thus at the same time threatening the city and preventing an attack in his rear. Moolraj, who had posted a force to contest the passage of a broad and deep nullah between Sooruj-Khoond and his capital, now recalled the troops, and, advancing with 11,000 men and 10 guns across a masonry bridge in front of the city, took up a good position at the village of Suddosâm, with his infantry under jungle cover, and his guns strongly posted in mud villages and groves of date trees. Nothing loth, Edwardes accepted the challenge of battle, and, turning out his men at once, advanced in line, the Daoodpotras, under Lake, on the right, the two Sikh regiments and the guns in the centre, under General Cortlandt, the Pathan levies on the left-centre, flanked by the cavalry, and Sheikh Emaum-oo-deen's troops, of whose fidelity Edwards entertained doubts, on the extreme left.

Lake, seizing some high ground in front of him, opened fire with his guns, and soon the action became general, the infantry lying down while the guns maintained a heavy fire. But ten

guns, even when advantageously posted, were no match for twenty-two—though the guns of the Daoodpotras were unable to leave their first position, and those of Sheikh Emaum-oo-deen were jammed in a water-course—and soon the Sikh gunners gave ground and the infantry advanced. A severe struggle now ensued, but the enemy were gradually driven from the villages and groves and across the intervening nullahs, contesting every bridge and ford. At last, Moolraj, who commanded in person, and is said to have been knocked off his elephant by a round-shot, mounted his horse, and fled precipitately into Mooltan, taking with him all the guns except two. These continued the unequal combat, until Mr. Quin made a brilliant charge with the Sooruj Mookher regiment of Sikh infantry, and captured them. The whole of the infantry and cavalry now rushed forward and the enemy fled in irretrievable rout, Edwardes following them almost to the walls of Mooltan, when, night having fallen, he returned to his camp.

The late Sir Henry Havelock put the achievements of Edwardes with great force and his usual terseness. He writes:—"The Military Commander and the Resident had scarcely ceased to bandy arguments, when a man of genius, acting in the spirit of Lord Hardinge's instructions, cut the gordian knot. A lieutenant in the Company's service—Herbert Edwardes—employed as a political assistant in a remote part of the country, with an energy and military enterprise to which India had afforded no parallel since the days of Clive, and evincing a moral courage just so much greater than that of Clive, as his position was inferior to that of the wonderful founder of our eastern empire, when he ventured on the overwhelming responsibility of his greatest achievement, the march on Moorshedabad—this gifted lieutenant, overleaping all conditions which could embarrass him in the discharge of an important duty to the State, raised an auxiliary force, united it to a portion of the Khalsa troops, called to his aid an allied native sovereign, encountered Moolraj in the open field, and drove him within his fortress."

Though numerically inferior to the heterogeneous allied army, the Sikhs fought with great spirit, and Edwardes attributed his victory "entirely to each division of our line being led and sustained by European officers." His total loss was 281 killed and wounded, among the former being Captain Macpherson of the Bhawulpore army, who fell at the head of his regiment. Moolraj lost heavily, and, of 400 Goorkhas forming Agnew's escort who had deserted to the enemy, 150 only returned to Mooltan.

Of his personal adventures on this day Edwardes says:—"The

battle of Kineyree was for a long while one of endurance ; that of Suddosâm, though it lasted from noon to sunset, was one of incessant action. In the former, it was my painful duty to keep still and quiet my men ; in the latter, I did nothing but ride up and down the line encouraging the different divisions to advance from point to point ; now driving skulkers out of a village or a cornfield ; now reproving a standard-bearer for letting other colours go ahead of him ; now hurriedly thanking Cortlandt for pointing his own guns ; now dashing off to keep an eye on Sheikh Emaum-oo-deen. The equestrian vicissitudes I underwent that day are truly ludicrous to remember, though very serious matters at the moment. I commenced the action on a big chestnut Arab, named Zal, but, sulky at being so long without his dinner, he refused to leap a canal, which had brought the artillery to a halt, and fell with me right into the middle. Nor with all my pulling and hauling could I get him out, and I was obliged to leave him till the fight was over. General Cortlandt then got me a bay horse from an officer in his artillery ; but I had not gone 200 yards when over he came backwards, and bruised me dreadfully on the ground. My aide-de-camp next put me on a grey belonging to one of his own followers, and this beast I had fairly ridden to a standstill, when up came one of my syces with a grey Cabul horse of my own, called Punch, on which I finished the day."

On the following day Edwardes met with an accident which deprived him of the use of his right hand for life. While engaged in his tent, writing to Sir F. Currie, a messenger rode up saying that the enemy were advancing in order of battle across the bridge over the canal, which they had strongly fortified. Edwardes hastily beat to arms, and having summoned Lake and Cortlandt, was engaged in conference with them, the while buckling on his sword and loading his pistols, when the hammer of one got entangled in his belt, and, as he pushed the barrel down, it exploded, the ball going through the palm of his right hand and lodging in the floor at his feet. Lake took the place of his friend, but fortunately it was a false alarm, and the enemy fell back behind the city walls. Something like a panic ensued among his men at the unfortunate occurrence, and Moolraj, on hearing a report that his conqueror was dead, remarked that he was "a stout youth, and it was a pity he should be cut off so young." For twelve days Edwardes was without medical assistance, and suffered excruciating torture from the treatment of a native doctor, who sewed up the wound with a packing-needle ; the tightness of the stitches and the intense

heat of the sun brought on inflammation, and it was not until Dr. Cole,* who arrived from Lahore, cut the stitches, that he obtained relief, though weeks elapsed before he could even put his hand in a sling, and had to lie with it resting on a pillow at his side. Unfortunately he was not entitled to a pension, the wound not having been received in action; but the Court of Directors made "a special grant of £100 a year, with reference to his eminent services."

Edwardes had now succeeded in shutting up Moolraj within his capital, by means of irregular levies, and within ten weeks of taking the field, had recovered a province 300 miles in length and 200 in breadth, with a revenue of 27 lacs of rupees; but not having the siege train for which he had written, he could not undertake siege operations. Major Napier, for whose services Edwardes had applied, gave it as his opinion that "operations are perfectly practicable, and may be undertaken with every prospect of success;" but on Sir F. Currie communicating this professional opinion from one who has now a world-wide reputation, to the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Gough replied on 1st July:—"I cannot see anything in the altered position of affairs which would justify me in taking upon myself the siege of Mooltan at the present moment. On the contrary, the success of Lieutenant Edwardes renders it less necessary, in my opinion, to risk the lives of the European soldiers at this season. Moolraj is shut up in his fort; all, I take it, that was contemplated by the movement of the Bhawulpore force and that under Lieutenant Edwardes." Lord Gough wrote in the same sense to Lord Dalhousie, adding that although he should prefer waiting until after the rainy season, still if the Governor-General decided on an immediate advance, he should recommend a division of two European, and five Native regiments of infantry, three regiments of cavalry, and two troops of horse artillery, besides the siege train. Lord Dalhousie concurred in the views of Lord Gough, as did also Sir John Littler.

On the 10th July, Sir F. Currie received the intelligence of the battle of Suddoosain, and forthwith, acting on his own responsibility, he directed General Whish to despatch immediately a siege train and "a competent escort and force for the reduction of the fort of Mooltan." For adopting this course the Resident incurred the censure of the highest military authorities, and, from the result, it would appear that it should have been carried into effect when Edwardes first

* This talented young surgeon had no sinecure attending on the wounded, few of whom, however, would allow him to amputate a limb, preferring to die rather.

applied in June, while the military aid accruing from the arrival of a strong British column before Mooltan, was quite neutralised by the defection of Rajah Shere Singh's division, against sending which Edwardes had from the first protested.

While Edwardes lay in his tent helpless from his wound, Moolraj lined the walls of the city with an enormous rampart of mud, and recruited his army with Sikhs from Lahore. On the 6th July, Shere Singh joined the allied army with 4,000 men and 12 guns, and, from this date till the 18th August, when General Whish arrived before Mooltan, Edwardes, who had been joined by Lieutenant (now Sir Harry B.) Lumsden, with his newly-raised corps of Guides, remained encamped, with Moolraj in his front, and Shere Singh in his rear, and with pickets watching both. On the 4th September, the siege train of 32 guns arrived before Mooltan, and Major Napier forthwith broke ground for the first siege of Mooltan. The strength of the enemy was 12,000 men, with 54 guns, and 5 mortars; that of the besiegers, 209 Europeans, and 119 Native officers, and 7,513 men, including H.M.'s 10th and 32nd Regiments, and 12 guns; besides the irregulars, 7,718 infantry, and 3,133 cavalry of Edwardes' force, and 5,700 infantry and 1,900 cavalry of Lake's. This was exclusive of Rajah Shere Singh's levies. From this time the history of Edwardes's force merges into that of the British army, and his independent command ceased.

On 1st September, Edwardes, under orders from General Whish, moved from his position at Sooruj-Khoond to a point closer to his camp at Seetul-Ke-Maree, and, in doing so, came into collision with the enemy on the south face of Mooltan. The new position was within cannon-shot range of the Khonee Bhooj, or Bloody Bastion, on the city walls, and from that time the irregular camp was always under fire, and Edwardes and the other officers were occasionally waked up by round shot plunging into their tents.* The siege train of 32 pieces, under charge

* Edwardes writes of an incident in which the present Lord Napier figures:— "On another occasion Major Napier came over to me one night to talk over the morrow's plans. We sat together under the awning of my tent, with our feet resting on the table, in the favourite attitude of Englishmen in the East, sipping hot tea, and breathing the cool night air. Lake, exhausted with his day's work, was fast asleep in his bed under the same awning as ourselves. Presently the rebel gunners seemed to awake, and one shot buried itself hissing in the sand by Napier's side; then another ripped its way by me. A third fell at the head of Lake's bed, and his servant immediately got up, and, with great carefulness, turned his bed round. Poor Lake gave a yawn, and asked sleepily, 'What's the matter?' 'Nothing!' replied the bearer, 'it's only a cannon-ball!' Lake went to sleep again. Five minutes later another shot fell at his feet, and seemed to say, 'Fiah!' as it hit nothing but the ground, when it came for a man. Again the good bearer shifted his master's bed, and again Lake, half-asleep, asked, 'What's the matter, now?' and was told in

of Major Robert Napier, arrived at the camp on the 4th September, and, on the 6th, Edwardes attended a Council of War convened by General Whish, at which a plan of attack on the fort and city of Mooltan was arranged. The British and irregular forces having moved closer together, on the 7th September the first parallel was opened within 1,600 yards of the *enceinte*, by working parties of 1,600 men from the former, and 1,000 from the latter. Some heavy fighting, in which Edwardes was not engaged, took place on the night of the 9th, and on the 12th September, but on the 14th, Rajah Shere Singh, with his division, went over to the enemy.* This defection changed the whole aspect of affairs, and it became evident that the British Government had to contend not only against a local governor, but as Edwardes had all along sought to impress upon the military and civil authorities, against the whole Sikh nation animated with religious fanaticism. General Whish accordingly raised the siege,† and retired to Sooruj-Khoond, where he formed an entrenched camp. The whole Punjaub was now in flames, and so we found ourselves committed to another Sikh war.

The siege of Mooltan might have been resumed on the departure of Rajah Shere Singh with his division, on the 9th October, but it was wisely determined to await the arrival of reinforcements. Meantime some fighting took place in which the irregulars increased the reputation they had already earned. Moolraj had erected batteries, which opened fire on the 2nd November, upon the flank of the irregular camp, completely raking it. General Whish constructed a heavy battery to silence the enemy's fire, and Edwardes also threw up a work for 8 light guns, within 1,200 yards of the nearest rebel battery, on the top of the canal; and, on the nights of 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th, he slept here, 400 yards in front of his camp, to encourage the men, but found it hot work—on one occasion a 6lb. shot coming into his tent and rolling itself up in his carpet while he was engaged talking with four other officers, though without injuring any one. Much discouragement arose in the irregular camp, by the defection on the night of the 6th November, of a

reply, 'Another cannon-ball, nothing more!' on which he said 'Oh!' and returned calmly to the land of dreams, while Napier and I finished our conversation."

* The losses experienced during the first siege between the 1st and 16th of September were:—Regular forces, 39 killed, including Colonel Patterson, of 32nd, and Lieutenant Christopher of the Indian Navy; and 216 wounded, including Major Napier. Irregular camp—44 killed, and 238 wounded.

† Moolraj, doubtful of Shere Singh's good faith, would not permit him to enter the town with his troops, and, on the 9th October, the Rajah marched away from Mooltan with his men.

portion of the regiment of Poorbeahs, called the Kuthar Mookhee, belonging to Cortlandt's force, who, with 1,200 men, had been sent to occupy the advanced British battery preparatory to a combined attack on the enemy. Moolraj, encouraged by this desertion, immediately attacked the irregular advanced battery, and their position in the nullah, with 15,000 men, but was driven back at all points, after a desperate hand-to-hand struggle, in which the Pathans and Daoodpotras, led by their young commanders, Edwardes, Lake, Pollock, Hugo James, and Quin, suffered severely. Their losses by the cannonade between the 1st and 6th November, were 37 killed, and 143 wounded; and in the action of 7th November, 39 killed and 173 wounded. During the action Brigadier Markham attacked the enemy in flank, and destroyed their batteries, capturing 5 guns, with the loss of only 3 killed and 57 wounded.

On the 21st December a division of Bombay troops, under Brigadier-General Hon. H. Dundas (the late Lord Melville) arrived before Mooltan. On the 25th, General Whish left his camp at Araby, and returned to his old position at Seetul-Ke-Maree, and on the 27th, the siege was resumed, Colonel (the late Sir John) Cheape, of the Bengal Engineers, conducting the siege operations as senior to Major Napier. The total effective strength of the British army before Mooltan was 436 officers, 237 Native officers, and 14,975 men, with 97 pieces of ordnance.* This was exclusive of Edwardes' and Lake's irregulars, now in diminished numbers, owing to 3,000 men being employed on detached duty in keeping the road open to the Sutlej on the one hand and the Chenaub on the other, and Sheikh Emaum-oo-deen's force of over 2,000 men and 2 guns, engaged in driving the Sikhs out of the adjoining province of Jhung. In the operations of the 27th, preliminary to opening the siege of the city, which it was decided to reduce before attacking the fort, the irregulars made a diversion, while the British troops were seizing the whole line of suburbs between the canal and Sectul-Ke-Maree. During the ensuing operations, which are described in detail in the *Journal of the siege of Mooltan*, by Major Siddons, of the Bengal Engineers, the irregulars were chiefly engaged in keeping open the communication with the rear, protecting depôts, and escorting military stores to the army; but on finding that the Bombay division could not, without a

* Sixty-seven siege train; eighteen horse artillery guns, and twelve Bombay light field battery guns. The siege train included two batteries of 18-pounders, and eight mortars, manned by 100 seamen-gunners of the Indian Navy, under Commander Powell, I.N.

harassing amount of duty, maintain possession of the long line of suburbs it had seized, Lieutenants Edwardes and Lake volunteered to relieve it of the charge of Seedee-Lal-Ke-Beyd, and thus leave the whole of the British force at liberty to prosecute the siege without fear of its left flank being turned. The offer was accepted, and handsomely acknowledged by General Whish; and in this position the besieging armies remained throughout the siege, with the Bengal division on the right, the Bombay in the centre, and the irregulars on the left.

At this time a notable volunteer arrived at the British Camp before Mooltan, in the person of Colonel Henry Lawrence, who returned to India on intelligence of the outbreak of hostilities in the Punjaub. He stood by the side of Edwardes on the 29th December, when 2,000 of the enemy, among whom the Kuthar Mookhee deserters were conspicuous, made a sally from the Delhi Gate of the city, and attacked the Irregular position, but were dislodged from the gardens they had occupied, and driven back within the walls, after an hour and a half of hard fighting. On the following day, after a furious cannonade, to which Moolraj returned shot for shot, a powder magazine in the city, containing 400,000lbs. of powder, exploded, and shook the earth for many miles round, darkening the air with smoke and fragments, and causing the loss of 500 of Moolraj's troops. After a short pause the firing recommenced, the Bengal and Bombay Artillery vying with each other.

On the 2nd January, 1849, the breach in the Khonee Bhoorj was declared practicable, and a second at the Delhi gate was thought sufficiently good to allow of an attempt being made upon it as a diversion. A party from the Bengal division was told off for the assault on the latter, and one from the Bombay division for the breach at the bastion. The irregular force was to assist both by a diversion on the left, which was commenced at one in the afternoon, and the assault, by a signal from the batteries, at 3 p.m. The party storming the Delhi Gate were repulsed, but the Khonee Bhoorj (Bloody Bastion), which was assaulted by three companies of the 1st Bombay Fusiliers, under Captain Leith, was carried and the Union Jack planted. The city presented a melancholy air of desolation, and the horrors of war never received more awful exemplification; the buildings had crumbled to pieces under the storm of shot and shell, and a large portion of the inhabitants lay dead and dying in the streets. Moolraj, leaving three-fourths of his soldiers in the city, retired with 3,000 men into the citadel, which he defended with great heroism. After sustaining a terrible bombardment

from the howitzers, when not a roof was left standing in the fort, except in one bomb-proof gateway, at 9 a.m. on January 22nd, at the moment when the British troops were formed for the assault, he surrendered himself to General Whish, his surviving soldiers and chiefs prostrating themselves in passionate devotion as he passed along to deliver his sword to his conquerors.

Throughout the negotiations between the 6th and 22nd January, which resulted in his surrender, Moolraj addressed himself to Edwardes as the medium with the British general. The British loss in this siege, the most important, with the exception of Bhurtpore in 1826, in our Indian annals, was 210 killed, and 382 wounded; and during the twenty-seven days of its continuance, upwards of 26,000 shell and 13,000 shot were rained on the city and fort. After the capture of Mooltan the greater portion of General Whish's army joined Lord Gough, thus enabling him to put the finishing stroke on the war by the complete victory he achieved at Goojerat. Edwardes was engaged until the conclusion of hostilities in reducing his province to order; and soon after he returned to England for the restoration of his health.

For his very great and meritorious services, though still only a regimental subaltern, Edwardes received a brevet-majority, as also the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, and was created a C.B., by a special statute of the Order. The Directors of the East India Company, his immediate masters, voted him a gold medal, in testimony of their appreciation of his services, and subsequently added a good-service pension of £100 a year. He was also warmly received by all classes of his countrymen, and the University of Oxford honoured him with the degree of D.C.L. While in England Major Edwardes married Emma, daughter of Mr. James Sidney, who survives him.

A pleasing anecdote is told of him in connection with his bosom friend, Nicholson, who was also in England at this time, and it is one that exhibits him in the light of an unselfish, generous-hearted soldier.

At a grand dinner given at the Fishmongers' Hall, at which the great Duke of Wellington, Lord Hill, Lord Gough, and other distinguished officers were present, Edwardes, then the lion of the hour, was called upon to return thanks for the Indian Army. He rose from his seat, walked down to where Nicholson was sitting, and laying his hand upon him, said, "Here, gentlemen, sits the real hero of half the noble deeds which the world has been so ready to attribute entirely to me, and his name ought, rather than my own, to have been coupled with your toast."

The effect of this speech was, as may be supposed, almost electrical. Truly these young Punjaub soldiers of Henry Lawrence's school were heroes of no common order!

On his return to India, in 1851, Edwardes resumed his duties in the Punjaub under his old chief, Sir Henry Lawrence. After holding charge successively of the districts of Jullundur and Hazara, on the murder of Colonel Mackeson, he succeeded him as Commissioner of the Peshawur frontier, in November, 1853, and was present at more than one of the expeditions against the Pathan frontier tribes, including that against the Boree Afreedees in 1852.

Early in 1857 Major Edwardes was prominently concerned in negotiating a treaty which had the most important results in minimizing the effects of the great convulsion through which the British power was about to pass. This was the treaty with our old enemy, Dost Mahomed, Ameer of Afghanistan. In 1848, the death of his heir-apparent had led the Ameer to nominate as his successor Gholam Hyder Khan, a scion of a younger branch of his family. Two years later the Ameer annexed Balkh, and, in 1854, made himself master of Candahar to secure it from Persia, upon which the Shah's troops occupied Herat, and threatened Candahar. This brought the Indian Government on the scene as the ally of the Ameer, and led to the Persian War of 1856-7. In March, 1855, Gholam Hyder (who died on 3rd July, 1858), on the part of his father, had negotiated with Mr. John Lawrence (the late Lord Lawrence) and Major Edwardes, a treaty by which we guaranteed the independence of Afghanistan. As ally of the Ameer, we accordingly declared war, and brought the Shah to reason after a brief campaign. This honourable observance of a compact at a sacrifice of much treasure and some blood, so pleased the Ameer that, in January, 1857, he personally entered into a treaty with Sir John Lawrence and Herbert Edwardes at Peshawur, by which, in consideration of receiving a monthly subsidy of a lakh of rupees, he bound himself to keep up a regular army for the defence of Afghanistan. He also agreed to allow such British officers as might be deputed for the purpose, to visit any part of his country to see that the subsidy was properly applied, as well as to give assistance in military matters. Accordingly, a mission was sent to Candahar, consisting of Major (now General Sir H. B.) Lumsden, Lieutenant Lumsden, Dr. Bellew, and two natives, one of whom was to be left as our vakeel at Cabul. On the 13th March, 1857, the mission left Peshawur with an escort of Guides and Mooltanis. Marching through the Shutur Garden Pass, never before visited

by Europeans, they reached Candahar on the 26th April. When Major Lumsden had settled down at Candahar, and begun to cultivate friendly relations with the Afghans, the Indian Mutiny broke out, and the mission were in peril of their lives. The Shah of Persia, notwithstanding the treaty concluded at Paris on the 4th March, 1857, sent his troops to the frontiers of Herat, ready to take advantage of the extinction of British power in Hindostan, while the whole Afghan nation called on the Ameer to lead them against the infidel, and re-establish the Dooranee name and the Moslem faith supreme throughout Asia. Dost Mahomed would have yielded but for his son Azim Khan, who, like Jung Bahadoor in Nepaul, Dinkur Rao in Gwalior, and Salar Jung in Hyderabad, opposed the tide of popular feeling, and gained over the heir-apparent, who had seen our power when he visited the three Presidencies. Together they showed their old father that the British power presented an unbroken front at Peshawur, that it had triumphed over more deadly dangers before, and that if it triumphed now, as surely it would, Dost Mahomed, if found in the ranks of the enemy, would no longer remain Ameer of Cabul. Delhi fell in time to secure the Ameer's wavering allegiance, as well as that of the chiefs of the Punjaub, and of our native allies throughout India. Meanwhile Major Lumsden's solitary mission remained in the midst of a turbulent nation of fanatics, and encouraged the heir-apparent to resist the fanaticism of the Afghans. They saw two confident Persian armies driven back by the Turcoman hordes, and lived through a revolt of the Moolvies in Candahar, quietly pursuing their duty of watching the state of the country, noting the condition of the Government, the army, the chiefs and the people, inquiring into its products, and studying its topography, while by their presence they secured the fidelity of the Ameer. It is impossible to overrate the important service rendered to British interests by this mission, and Major Lumsden and his assistants are deserving of gratitude and applause for their patriotic self-denying conduct during the crisis of 1857, while the far-seeing statesmanship of Sir John Lawrence and his trusted assistant, Major Edwardes, was vindicated by what is called "the inexorable logic of events."

The presence of Lieutenant-Colonel Edwardes at Peshawur at the crisis of 1857 was of incalculable value to Sir John Lawrence, who felt that with such a lieutenant holding the "key of India," he was safe as far as human sagacity and forethought could guarantee safety from hour to hour to the storm-

distracted ship labouring heavily under his feet. It was a sublime spectacle, that presented by the handful of British soldiers and statesmen trying to uphold their country's cause in this unparalleled crisis, while sedition and mutiny stalked through the land, and men looked anxiously into each other's faces as Delhi still held out, and they felt that any day or hour might bring the fabric of empire in ruin about their heads. But though anxiety there was, fear there was none, while Lawrence was at the helm of the ship of state, and Edwardes remained at his frontier post with a stout soldier like Sir Sydney Cotton by his side.

Scarcely less important was the service Edwardes was enabled to render to the state at this juncture, by raising about 5,000 hardy soldiers on the frontier, whom he despatched to Delhi to assist at the siege. His great reputation drew volunteers to his side, and while his old Punjaub friends were shedding their blood freely in their country's service before the old Mogul capital, Edwardes was enabled to render not less important aid in providing them with soldiers to bring to a successful conclusion the famous siege on which the destinies of India depended.

First Chamberlain was called away to participate in the deadly struggle raging round the walls of Delhi, and then Nicholson—his two most intimate friends, one to languish for weeks of a severe wound, and the other to die the hero's death in the conquered breach. Did any foreboding cross the minds of the friends as they thus parted, like Brutus and Cassius on the morning of Philippi?

“Whether we shall meet again, I know not.

Therefore, our everlasting farewell take :—

For ever, and for ever, farewell Cassius !

If we do meet again, why we shall smile ;

If not, why then this parting was well made.”

In April, 1858, Colonel Edwardes accompanied Sir Sidney Cotton in his expedition into Eusofzye, and the General acknowledged “his very able co-operation and advice, which have enabled me to bring the operations of this short campaign to such a satisfactory termination.” For his invaluable services during the crisis of the mutiny Edwardes was made a K.C.B. in 1860, with the rank of Brevet-Colonel. In May of the previous year he visited England on furlough, and, during his stay in this country, which was prolonged till January, 1862, the University of Cambridge recognised his eminent public services by conferring upon him the degree of LL.D. On his return

to India, Edwardes was appointed Commissioner to the Cis-Sutlej States, but was obliged, by failing health, to leave the scene of his many and distinguished labours for England on the 7th February, 1865. In this year he received from the Government a second good service pension of £100 a year, and, in May, 1866, was created a Knight Commander of the Star of India.

Sir Herbert Edwardes was a man of strong religious views, and, in common with Lord Lawrence, advocated an openly Christian course in the Government of India, granting toleration to native religions, but withdrawing from them all countenance and support, and making the Bible a class-book in the Government schools.

Sir Herbert Edwardes attained the rank of Major-General on the 22nd February, 1868, but died on the 23rd December of the same year at the age of forty-nine. On learning his untimely death, the Indian Council, on the 7th January following, passed the following resolution:—"Resolved by the Secretary of State in Council (*nemine contradicente*), that the death of Major-General Sir Herbert Edwardes, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., has closed a career of great usefulness and of great distinction. His earliest achievements, twenty years ago, secured the special recognition of the Court of Directors of the East India Company and of Her Majesty's Government. His last services deserve no less signal an acknowledgment. The Secretary of State for India in Council, in deploring the loss of so devoted and so valued a public servant, feels it a duty to signify his sense of the ability, daring, and resource which Sir Herbert Edwardes displayed in times of great difficulty and of great peril. He desires further, by the erection of a monument to the memory of this most distinguished officer, to attest his high appreciation of the example which Sir Herbert Edwardes has left to all the servants of the Crown of India."

As he was still comparatively young at the time that death closed his short, but most brilliant career, there were few appointments, perhaps, not even excepting the highest prize to which a British subject can attain out of England—we speak of the Governor-Generalship of India—to which this remarkable man might not have aspired. It is not generally known that his friend, Lord Lawrence, on his appointment as Viceroy, offered him first the Foreign Secretaryship of his administration and then the office of Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjaub; but ill-health obliged him to decline these proposals, all the more flattering as they emanated from one who knew him better than

any man living. But too soon the hand of death snatched from the roll of distinguished Indian soldiers and statesmen the honoured name of the victor of Kineyree and Suddoosain.

In his private relations Sir Herbert Edwardes was greatly beloved by his friends, and we cannot close this memoir better than in the simple words of the message sent to him by the dying hero, General Nicholson:—"Tell him I should have been a better man if I had continued to live with him, and our heavy public duties had not prevented my seeing more of him privately. I was always the better for a residence with him and his wife, however short." And Sir Neville Chamberlain, who sent this message from the death-bed of their mutual friend, added:—"What purer gratification could there be in this world than to receive such words from a dying man? I can imagine no higher reward."

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HENRY MARION DURAND, C.B., K.C.S.I., R.E.

Durand's early Service in India in the Public Works Department—Proceeds to Afghanistan—Assists in blowing in the Gate at Ghuznee—Durand and the Cabul Cantonment—Returns to India—Is appointed Military Secretary to Lord Ellenborough—Durand during the Gwalior Campaign—Is employed in Tenasserim—Takes part in the Punjaub Campaign—The Indian Mutiny—Is compelled to fly from Indore—Campaigning with the Malwa Field-Force—Proceeds to England—Serves in the Indian Council—Final Return to India—Is appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjaub—Death and Character of Sir Henry Durand.

NEW YEAR'S DAY of 1871 will be memorable in Indian annals as that on which our great Eastern dependency sustained a severe public loss by the death of Sir Henry Durand. Eminent alike as a soldier and a statesman, the country can ill afford to lose such men, and that at a time when the signs of the times seem to portend the approach of events which will try the clear heads and bold hearts of all those of England's sons who are placed in positions of responsibility in that country.

We have not been able to discover anything very definite regarding the parentage of the late Sir Henry Durand, but it is known that he used the Percy arms, with the bâton sinister. He was born in 1812, and was educated at the East India Company's military seminary of Addiscombe, where he was a cotemporary of Lord Napier of Magdala, who passed out and proceeded to India two years before young Durand. In June, 1828, he entered the army as second-lieutenant in the Bengal Engineers.

Henry Durand sailed for India in a ship among whose passengers was another great spirit, though distinguished in more peaceful fields than those in which his fellow-passenger earned renown. This was Alexander Duff, the missionary, one of that eminent and unselfish band of soldiers of the Cross which includes the names of Marshman and Martyn. The ship

was wrecked on Dassen Island, and the friends were separated ; but long years after, in May, 1870, the successful soldier-statesman, whom all India congratulated on his well-earned nomination to the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Punjab, wrote in reply to a letter from Dr. Duff, expressing the pleasure of the writer at Durand's promotion to so congenial a sphere of duty, that he considered his career to be "a mere flash in the pan," when he contrasted it with the enduring and admirable work of Dr. Duff. The anecdote is worth preserving, as showing that Durand possessed that modest appreciation of his own merits which is one of the attributes of true greatness.

In India the young Lieutenant of Engineers quickly became noted for his professional ability, and for the zeal with which he pursued the scientific researches which were then newly introduced into the East. The early part of his career was uneventful. Like many officers of his standing, who have since earned distinction in the field, he arrived in India soon after the termination of the first Burmese war and the siege of Bhurtpore.

Between the years 1829 and 1838 he was chiefly employed in the north-west provinces, and from 1834 until he went on active service, a period of four years, he held the office of Superintendent of Feroze Shah's Canal. Meantime, young Durand acquired an intimate knowledge of the agrarian tenures, the productive capabilities, and the economical conditions of the north-west provinces. So conspicuous was his ability in this direction, that he was appointed Secretary to the Agra Board of Revenue—an unprecedented appointment for a military officer.

A period of profound peace supervened on Durand's arrival in India, and the country progressed greatly under the enlightened administration of Lord William Bentinck, the successor of Lord Amherst. Not a cloud as large as a man's hand portended the disturbance of the serenity of the political sky. The military "sister Anns" must have sighed frequently and deeply as they watched for the coming of the armed man who was to usher in the period of wars and fighting, and put an end to the stagnation in promotion that had so long prevailed. How these ardent men of the sword must have cursed their ill-luck when they learned that another peacefully-inclined Governor-General had been appointed to succeed Lord William Bentinck. We can fancy the lugubrious expressions on the countenances of gallant officers of all the Presidencies, as they anxiously scanned the report of the speech of Lord Auckland, at the farewell banquet given to him at the Freemason's Tavern, just prior to his departure for India, wherein he stated his firm resolve that the doors of the Temple

of Janus should not turn on its hinges during his vice-royalty. But the portals of the ancient heathen edifice were not destined to rest where they stood during the memorable years that marked the tenure of office of the late Whig First Lord of the Admiralty. Though he came in a peaceful guise, and with the most sincerely "benevolent intentions" animating his breast, yet the time of annual Indian surpluses in the revenue, and of remissions of taxation, had gone by, not to return for a quarter of a century.

Ere six months had elapsed since the accession to office of the new Governor-General, he appeared to the astonished gaze of the world as a man bent on "restoring our just influence in Central Asia." Thousands of ardent spirits responded with alacrity as the order went forth once more that the sword was to be unsheathed, and this time in the almost *terra incognita* of Afghanistan; and yet but a few short years passed quickly by, and many of these brave hearts had ceased to beat amid the snows and horrid defiles of that barren and sterile country to which hope had beckoned them with her "too flattering tale," as the scene where honour and glory and the "bubble reputation" were to be won.

In 1838, on the assembling of the army for service in Afghanistan, Lieutenant Durand, anxious to see service as a soldier, threw up his good civil appointment with its high pay, and was appointed to the engineering department of the expeditionary army, under the orders of Captain Thomson. No noteworthy incident occurred to Durand during the march into Afghanistan. After a delay of ten weeks at Candahar, the army set out on its march to Cabul, the Commander-in-Chief intending on the way to capture Ghuznee. Sir John Keane, it is true, neglected to take with him his battering train, and would have been responsible had there been a failure, but the blame of the omission rests chiefly with his advisers, who assured him that it would not be required, as Ghuznee could not be defended.*

* On this point Captain Thomson, the chief Engineer of the army of the Indus, has stated in a memorandum:—"Why the battering train was left behind at Candahar—Before doing so, Sir John Keane took every precaution by requiring the opinion of all concerned. When called on for mine, I made particular inquiries, which satisfied me that the guns should be left. I can recollect that the commissariat were much pressed for cattle, and the quantity of ammunition was not sufficient to breach a good mud wall, though it might have answered for such stone, or brick, as we anticipated before entering the country, and the politicals assured us that Ghuznee would not be defended. In a letter to a brother now in my possession, dated July 29, 1839, I wrote, 'All the prognostications of our politicals have turned out false, though repeated daily with such phrases as, "I stake my credit there will be no attempt at resistance."' These induced Sir John Keane to leave our four battering guns at Candahar, and such was the scarcity of cattle, we could only bring in ammunition sufficient for one day's consumption. Therefore, if there was blame, it does not rest with Sir John Keane." The present Lord Keane, who was an

Ghuznee was about 86 miles distant from Cabul, and 230 from Candahar, and, on the arrival of the army before the walls of this hitherto considered impregnable fortress, it was discovered that it was garrisoned by 3,500 Afghans under command of Hyder Khan, a son of Dost Mahomed Khan, who had made some preparations for slight defence. Parties of the enemy were posted in the villages and gardens round the fort; but the light companies of the advancing force soon dislodged them. The morning of the 21st July was spent in brisk skirmishing, and a close reconnaissance of the place was then undertaken by the Engineers, who reported the fortifications as equally strong all round.

At daylight on the following morning, Sir John Keane reconnoitred Ghuznee with the officers of his staff, and then, seeing the impracticability of battering down the walls with his field guns, adopted a plan which, with the intuition of genius, Captain Thomson had propounded to him the previous day. The Commander-in-Chief says in his report, "Instead of the tedious process of breaching (for which we were ill-prepared) Captain Thomson undertook, with the assistance of Captain Peat of the Bombay Engineers, Lieutenants Durand and MacLeod of the Bengal Engineers, and other officers, to blow in the Cabul Gate, the weakest point, with gunpowder; and so much faith did I place in the success of this operation, that my plans for the assault were immediately laid down, and the orders given." Captain Thomson had arrived at this decision after a conversation with one Abdool Rashed, the nephew of Dost Mahomed, who had been bribed to turn traitor by Mohun Lal, the famous Moonshee of Sir Alexander Burnes. "I introduced him," says Mohun Lal in his memoirs, "to the Envoy, who placed him under the immediate disposal of Lord Keane. The information which he gave to the chief Engineer, relative to the fortifications of Ghuznee, was so valuable and necessary, that my friend Abdool Rashed Khan was requested to attend upon him in all his reconnoitring expeditions." From this man it was learned that all

aide-de-camp on his father's staff, wrote on the 4th May, 1869, with reference to some points in the author's memoir of Sir George Macgregor, in a military magazine:—"Sir John Keane left his four heavy 18-pounder battering guns behind at Candahar owing not only to the infinite trouble they had given in dragging them by bullocks up to that city, but mainly in deference to the representations of Major Todd, who had seen Cabul and Ghuznee, that they would not be required. It was, perhaps, fortunate that they were left behind, as they would have much delayed the march of the army, and their presence might have induced the Engineers to recommend a regular siege, in place of the brilliant *coup-de-main* by which the fortress was taken, and for which Sir John Keane always gave Major Thomson full credit.

"The sword of Hyder Khan, the Governor, was bought at the sale of the prize property, for 4,000 rupees, or 400*l.*, and presented to the Commander-in-Chief by the Bombay column. It is now in my possession."

the gates of the fortress, except the Cabul Gate, had been built up, and accordingly the Engineers came to the resolution to try a *coup-de-main* at this point.

At midnight of the 22nd July, the whole of the horse and field artillery moved off without noise, and took up the positions assigned them about 250 yards from the wall; in like manner the advance and storming columns were formed up in the Cabul road. It was at three o'clock on a stormy morning that the "explosion party"—consisting of Captain Peat, Lieutenants Durand and MacLeod, three sergeants, and 18 men of the Native Sappers—moved off, carrying 300lbs. of powder in 12 sandbags, with a hose 72 feet long, and portfire. The party was accompanied by six men of the 13th Light Infantry, to protect them from any sortie that might be made from the Gate, and keep down the fire from the ramparts, and was supported by a detachment of the same regiment, which extended to the right and left of the road when they arrived at the ditch, taking advantage of what cover they could find.

"The explosion party," says Captain Thomson, in his Report, "marched steadily on, headed by Lieutenant Durand." Blue lights were shown by the garrison which rendered the surrounding objects clearly visible, but luckily they were burned from the top of the parapet, instead of being thrown into the passage below, when they would have shown the Afghans the imminence of the deadly stratagem that was to level their vaunted walls. The artillery and covering party opened fire when the blue lights were burnt, but so quickly was the operation performed, and so little were the enemy aware of the nature of it—for, expecting a general escalade, they had manned the *enceinte*—that not a man of the explosion party was hit.

Lieutenant Durand, on whom devolved the critical task of laying the bags and lighting the portfire, on first going up, saw through a chink in the gate that there was a light and a guard immediately behind it, and from that circumstance was convinced that no interior obstacles of importance existed to deaden the force of an explosion. "Durand," says Hough, "was obliged to scrape the hose with his finger nails, finding the powder failed to ignite on the first application of the portfire." Directly the train was fired, the carrying party retired to cover and awaited the result. The effect was as mighty as it was sudden. The charge was so heavy—that usually employed in blowing open gates is, according to Pasley, between sixty and one hundred and twenty pounds—that it not only destroyed the gate, but brought down a considerable portion of the roof of the square building in which

it was placed. Now the bugle sounded the advance. Accompanied by Lieutenant Durand, Colonel Dennie, at the head of the advance, consisting of the light companies of the 2nd and 17th Foot, and of the Bengal European Regiment, with one company from the 13th, pushed forward through the smoke and dust and rubbish of the shattered gateway, encountering a determined resistance from the Afghans. Then Sale pressed on with the storming party, consisting of the 2nd Queen's, and the Bengal European Regiment, followed by the 13th Light Infantry and the 17th. As the Brigadier, notwithstanding his forty-four years' service, rushed towards the gate with characteristic gallantry, he met Captain Peat, of the Engineers, the officer in command of the explosion party, who had been thrown to the ground, and had but just recovered himself. Captain Peat was suffering from the effects of the concussion, and announced that the gate was choked, and Dennie and his party had been unable to force an entrance. Sale sounded the retreat, and the column, which was to assist the handful of British troops forming the advance, was halted, when Lieutenant Anderson,* of the Engineers (a gallant officer, who died during the siege of Lucknow, being then chief Engineer of Oude), with great presence of mind informed the Brigadier of the true state of affairs. Once more Sale ordered the bugler to sound the advance. The moment of doubt and anxiety was succeeded by the wild enthusiasm that should animate the breasts of a storming party, and before the notes of the call the British soldier knows best, had died away, Sale pressed on to the support of the forlorn hope.

The storm of Ghuznee is a feat of arms of which any nation might be proud, and the prowess of the British soldier has seldom shown to better advantage than in the circumstances attending its capture. It cost the victors a loss of seventeen killed, and one hundred and sixty-five wounded, of whom eighteen were officers. Upwards of five hundred dead Afghans were

* It had always been mentioned by historians, and the statement was repeated by Lord Napier on the occasion of the banquet given to Sir Henry Durand at Simla, on the 23rd May, 1870, that Durand was the officer who, by his presence of mind, may be said almost to have saved the army from a great disaster, but on the occasion of the publication of this memoir in a military magazine, Captain Thomson wrote contradicting this statement, and the author has much pleasure in placing the truth on permanent record, though it is a little singular that Sir Henry Durand did not disclaim the honour to which he was not entitled, when Lord Napier credited him with it to his face. "Durand did not induce Brigadier Sale to turn again after the latter had sounded the retreat (Lord Napier of Magdala has also made the same mistake). Durand had by that time entered the fortress with Colonel Dennie, who preceded Brigadier Sale with four light companies of Europeans. It was the other subaltern Engineer officer, Lieutenant Anderson, to whom the credit is due for doing so, and who died afterwards during the mutiny at the siege of Lucknow, being then chief Engineer in Oude."

buried by our troops, and many more are supposed to have fallen outside the walls under the sabres of the cavalry; sixteen hundred prisoners were taken, and immense stores of grain and flour, as well as a large number of horses and arms, swelled the value of the loot which was divided among the captors.

Captain Thomson, in a letter dated the 29th July, 1869, gives some interesting particulars of the capture of Ghuznee, which are worth preserving as they do not appear in the histories of the war, by Havelock, Hough, Outram, or Kaye:—

“All the truth about our capture of Ghuznee will never be known. I have never heard even an allusion to the effects of a message sent by Sir John Keane to Macnaghten, on the evening of the first day, and yet it saved many lives—perhaps hundreds.

“On discussing with the Commander-in-Chief the proposed assault on Ghuznee, I mentioned the necessity for secrecy, as the success of the attempt depended on the ignorance of the enemy. Next morning, alluding to our conversation, he mentioned that having learnt that the Envoy was in great despair at what was called our repulse in the forenoon, and that his evident grief was causing a bad feeling in the Shah's camp, where the Mission were, he had considered it necessary to send his son (the present Lord Keane), an aide-de-camp on his staff, to re-assure the Envoy, and tell him in confidence, that a plan of attack had been devised, which probably would succeed. The Envoy's joy was so great that he could not refrain from communicating what he had heard to the Shah, who had also been much depressed at our defeat, as the Afghans considered it.

“After Ghuznee was taken, we made inquiries about all that had occurred; among other things, how the Rownee,* which was well manned the day before, was empty when the gate was destroyed. I learnt that the news sent to the Envoy had oozed out in the Shah's camp, and warning had been sent to Hyder Khan, the Governor, that the fort was to be attacked by night, but how was not known. Hyder consulted his chiefs, but as they could not enlighten him, he sent for his commandant of artillery, an Hindoostanee, supposed to be acquainted with our ways, as he had served in our artillery, and afterwards had charge of Moorcroft's guns. He was of opinion that the mode of attack was to be escalade. The Afghans had never heard of such a proceeding, but on its being explained, Hyder said that nothing would be easier than to take off the Kaffir's heads as they reached the tops of the ladders; so he ordered all

* There is no English equivalent for this word. The Rownee is a level space and loopholed wall between the foot of the rampart and interior edge of the ditch.

the men in the Rownee to be sent to the ramparts, and remain ready to receive the English, and blue lights to be placed along the parapet. These arrangements would have made an escalade a desperate undertaking, had we contemplated such a proceeding. As it was, our men passed along the road commanded by the Rownee, where I expected a heavy loss, without receiving a shot, and the lights which, if thrown down as usual, would have probably blown up the sappers, clearly lit up everything below, while, being full in the eyes of the defenders, they could not distinguish the party placing the bags.

"The tumult and noise of the guns and musketry were so great, that the explosion was not observed by the Afghans on the rampart, so the advance passed through the gate unopposed, and turning round, commenced firing on the enemy above them. Hyder's attention to this was called by a chief plucking his sleeve, and pointing to our men. It was still dark, and for a moment he thought them Afghans, but observing from their mode of loading that they could not be so, and totally ignorant of how they got inside, he said 'his liver became water,' and he exclaimed, 'what is the use of fighting with magicians, let us flee.'

"All our force had great reason to be grateful to Providence, which turned the evil intended to our safety; not upon this occasion only, but on many others. We were conducted with little loss, during a march of many months through a sterile, rugged land, often tried by want of food and water, under great vicissitudes of temperature, and closely watched by pitiless marauders, as well as more powerful enemies. When passing down a line of 40,000 Sikhs, disciplined by European officers, drawn out for inspection near Lahore, I asked General A'Court, why such a force had been assembled? He answered, 'In expectation of hearing that your army had been cut to pieces, or starved, when we should have immediately marched on Delhi, got possession of the Emperor, and used his name among the Mohammedans all over India.'"

* This letter was written, together with other memoranda, by the late chief Engineer of the army of the Indus, in correction of certain details of the capture of Ghuznee, published by the author of this work. Captain Thomson received the O.B. for his important services at Ghuznee and a Brevet-Majority.

Regarding the statement by Marshman, in his *History of India*, that Captain Thomson retired from the service in disgust at the neglect with which he had been treated, we have the gallant officer's own statement to the contrary, and we suppose he is the best judge on so personal a matter. He says in a memorandum, "I was perfectly satisfied with the Commander-in-Chief's approbation, expressed in his despatch, and on other occasions, the Governor-General's thanks, and the offer of any appointment that might fall vacant, for which I was eligible by the rules of

On the 6th August, the British army appeared before the walls of Cabul. Sir John Keane at first encamped on the south side, but, on the 22nd August, moved his head-quarters to a spot about two miles to the north-east of the city, where he continued until his departure to India on the 15th October following. The cavalry were encamped more to the east, and the infantry chiefly under the Seeah Sung hills. To the right of these hills, and between them and the Bala Hissar, or citadel of Cabul, were encamped the Sikh troops under Captain Wade.

And now came up the question of the military occupation of Afghanistan. It had been originally intended that the entire force, with the exception of a single brigade, should return to India, and that the duty of consolidating the power of the new Ameer should be left chiefly to the subsidiary force, called the Shah's contingent, raised and paid by the Indian Government for his protection.

The official order, detailing the disposition of the army of the Indus, appeared on the 2nd October, and, to the great disappointment of all concerned, it appeared that the greater portion of the Bengal division was to remain in the country, under command of Sir Willoughby Cotton, and that only a small detachment was to accompany Sir John Keane on his return to India, General Willshire also returning with the Bombay division.

There now came up for consideration the important question of cantoning, during the approaching winter, the brigade which was to remain at Cabul. We must enter into some detail of the measures that were adopted, as not only was the course that was ultimately pursued the chief cause for the unparalleled disasters that overtook the Cabul division of the army of occupation, but the professional reputation of Lieutenant Durand, as the Engineer officer who was consulted on this important measure, is concerned in acquitting him of having sanctioned the construction of a cantonment which is described in the following terms by Sir Frederick Abbott, chief Engineer to Sir George Pollock's force, who minutely surveyed the site:—
“One glance at the accompanying plan is sufficient to show the extreme faultiness of the position. The cantonment appears to have been purposely surrounded by difficulties; indeed, a stranger might suppose that many of the mud forts, approaching so closely to the wall, must have been built for the express

the service. I retired in 1841, as my medical advisers did not consider that my constitution would any longer bear the hot season in the plains, being weakened from repeated attacks of liver disease.”

purpose of besieging it." The description reminds one vividly of the lines defended by Sir Hugh Wheeler, in the Cawnpore tragedy, in the memorable year 1857.

A writer in the *Calcutta Review*, who was at Cabul at this time, and who there is good reason to believe was Durand himself, thus writes of the difficulties thrown in the way of the Engineer officers who had been called into council, and who had given the only advice that was likely to emanate from competent military authority. "Occupied with the reception of Shah-zadah Timour, with the foregoing expeditions and detachments,* and with the establishment of the Shah's Court, and of his civil administration, Macnaghten for some time neglected to consider how the troops, which he kept at Cabul, were to be lodged. The question was one demanding instant decision, as the winter of 1839 was rapidly approaching, and there was no suitable cover for troops. Though pressed upon this subject, as soon as it was decided that a portion of the British army was to remain, it was not until the end of August that any steps were taken in this important matter; and then they consented in sending an Engineer officer, Lieutenant Durand, accompanied by Mohun Lal, to examine three small forts, which Burnes had reported as affording a suitable position for the troops. These diminutive forts were west of Cabul several miles; and having neither cover, space, water, nor in fact any other requisite, for the convenience of the troops, and being, in a military point of view, ill-placed as a position for the force, were at once rejected by the Engineer, who considered that it was essential to have military possession of the Bala Hissar; and that it was the proper place, under every point of view, both with reference to the present and the future, for lodging the troops. The Shah, upon various pretences, opposed this measure of precaution, and Macnaghten yielded to objections which he felt and acknowledged to be ridiculous. Sale was to be left in command at Cabul, and he had, therefore, a voice in the selection of the locality for the cantonment of his force. The Engineer, however, stated that it was impossible, before the winter set in—that is, in the course of six weeks—to build barracks, hospitals, sheds, and stables for a brigade and its attached cavalry and guns, outside the Bala Hissar, building material having as yet to be made and collected; whereas, inside the Bala Hissar, by taking advantage of what already existed, it was possible to obtain good and sufficient cover.

* These were expeditions to the Hindoo-Koosh to watch the movements of Dost Mohammed.

"Thus circumstanced, a reluctant consent was extracted from the Shah, and the pioneers of the force were immediately set to work with the view of rendering the citadel a strong work, with cover for its garrison, stores, and ammunition. The Shah no sooner learned that the work was seriously commenced, than he renewed strenuously his objections, urging that the citadel overlooked his own palace and the city; that its occupation would make him unpopular, as the feelings of the inhabitants would be hurt; and that he had already received strong remonstrances against the measure. Macnaghten, with fatal weakness, yielded; and peremptory orders were issued for the discontinuance of the work. Foiled in his avowed purpose of rendering the citadel a post, which, with one thousand men, a few guns, and proper provisions, might be held against all that Afghanistan could bring before it, the Engineer was forced to content himself with keeping such hold of the Bala Hissar as admitted of its citadel being occupied at any moment, by lodging the troops in hastily-prepared accommodation* at its base. It seemed indeed, that the troops, being once in military possession of

* The *Times* correspondent with General Roberts's army at Cabul, in a letter dated 4th December, 1879, describing the Sherepore cantonment, refers in the following terms to the old cantonment, of the origin and nature of which an account was given in the author's recently published work, *The Afghan War of 1838-42, from the Papers and Correspondence of Major-General Augustus Abbott, C.B., R.A.*:—"In connection with this notice of the Sherpur cantonment it may be interesting to say that one angle of the former British cantonment has fallen within the area of the modern work, but that the trace of nearly the whole of that labour of imbecility and folly can still be followed. In a recently published memoir of the late General Augustus Abbott, it has been sought to show that the character of the Cabul cantonment has been misunderstood, and that it was never intended as a fortified position for our troops, but merely as an encampment for time of peace, round which it was convenient to throw an unpretending wall to prevent annoyance to the troops from thieves and marauders. I can only say that this explanation is hardly borne out by the still existing remains of the walls and ditch. It is now thirty-seven years since that day of disgrace when our troops marched out of the fatal inclosure; but though the site has been probably ever since under constant cultivation, as evinced by unmistakable signs, yet the walls and ditch, on at least one side, were of sufficiently massive construction to present even now very considerable shelter, while a gateway on the Peeshawur face, and bastions, still almost respectable at two of the angles, convey the impression that they were not constructed without the purpose of being used for serious defence. The forts which bore so prominent a share in the gloomy record of the outbreak are still in existence, and one still contemplates with wonder the proofs of imbecility which reigned supreme during those dreary days of beleaguement." This apparent inconsistency may be explained as follows. It was stated in the *Journal* that the Shah had given a "garden" for the encampment; and such royal gardens in the East are almost invariably inclosed by a wall flanked by towers, and have conspicuous gateways. The existing remains on one side, and the gateway and towers, were no doubt part of the garden inclosure. The other sides were, doubtless, formed by the entrenchment (the inclosed garden not being sufficiently capacious) described in the *Journal*, as "a slight field-work," for walking over which several Afghans were at different times punished, and over which Captain Younghusband, of the 34th Regiment, N.I., rode his pony in 1841. So careful an observer as General Abbott, the senior artillery officer, writing from the very spot, was not likely to be inaccurate in so very circumstantial a description, and he is borne

the Bala Hissar, the evacuation of that stronghold, in future, was an event as improbable as it would be impolitic, and that the occupation of the citadel, and the repair of its works would in time inevitably follow. Macnaghten could not but coincide with the Engineer, and those who succeeded him, and held similar views; and, as the cost would have been trifling in comparison with the sums thrown away in Afghanistan upon objects to which political importance was attached, the Envoy, for some time, contemplated following up the project. But the Shah and the Kuzzilbash party, as well as the Afghans, were very averse to a measure which, so long as the British troops remained in Afghanistan, would keep Cabul subject to their effectual control: and Macnaghten, being in the false position of having to reconcile the declared intention of the Government to withdraw the army from Afghanistan with its present actual military occupation in force, wavered in the adoption of necessary measures of precaution, which might countenance the suspicion of a purpose on the part of the British Government permanently to hold the country; and, ultimately, in an evil hour for himself and his country's arms, not only entirely neglected such salutary precaution, but gave up the barracks constructed in the Bala Hissar to the Shah as accommodation for his harem, evacuated the fort, and thought no more, until too late, of strengthening himself therein."

Durand's remonstrances against the giving up of the whole of the Bala Hissar to the King being attended with no result, he resigned his appointment, and returned to India with Sir John Keane, who, on the 15th October, set out for the provinces through the Eastern passes. It was after his departure from Afghanistan that the cardinal error, which, more than any other, contributed to the disasters of the winter of 1841—42, was committed, of placing the cantonments on a site which the chief engineer of Sir George Pollock's army characterised as one only adapted to insure the destruction of the hapless troops occupying it.

Durand was fortunate in quitting the country when he did, for henceforth the service in which the troops were employed was

not by Kaye in his *History of the Afghan War* (Vol. II., p. 140). Speaking of the cantonments, he says that they were extensive and ill-defended, nearly a mile in extent, and were surrounded by ramparts so little formidable that they might be ridden over; and in a footnote it is recorded that, "a small pony," says Lieutenant Battray, "was backed by an officer to scramble down the ditch and over the wall," probably the incident referred to by General Abbott. The above explanation as to the cantonment being of a temporary nature, is also borne out by Durand's statement that "he had to content himself with lodging the troops in hastily constructed accommodation."

arduous with much danger and hardship, but little honour. No chief could raise the standard of revolt (as we called it, though *independence* might be a more appropriate term) but a column was sent to beat down all opposition and raze his fort to the ground. Shah Soojah relied on British bayonets, and Macnaghten, confident in his strength, and turning a deaf ear to the warning voices of Pottinger and others, wrote gaily of the "mufsids" (rebels) whom he styled "rascals." Our rule was one of "sentry-boxes," and no attempt was made at conciliation, or to disguise the iron hand in the velvet glove. As Isabella says in *Measure for Measure*—

"Oh! 'tis excellent

To have a giant's strength; but it is tyrannous

To use it like a giant."

On arriving in India Lieutenant Durand proceeded home on furlough. While in England he became acquainted with Lord Ellenborough, who was on the point of superseding Lord Auckland, and the young Engineer officer excited an interest in the active mind of the new Governor-General. He offered Durand the post of aide-de-camp, which the latter accepted, and, after his arrival in India, appointed him his own private secretary—a flattering testimony of regard towards so young a man, as the appointment, from being one of the best paid in India, and from its confidential nature, is much prized by Indian officers.

In June, 1843, Henry Durand attained his regimental captaincy, and, during the course of the same year, was married to Mary, a daughter of Major-General Sir John McCaskill, K.C.B., one of Sir George Pollock's divisional commanders in the Afghan campaign of 1842, who fell at Moodkee. In the active performance of his duties as private secretary to the Governor-General, Durand kept pace with the restless energy of his chief. He was soon, however, once more engaged in the exciting and congenial events of a soldier's life.

India is a country regarding which it is ever impossible to foretell, even for a few months, what may happen in the way of peace or war. Many of the officers who had done such good service in Afghanistan, had betaken themselves to England, to recruit, after the fatigue and exposure of the recent events, when suddenly we were involved in the Scinde campaign; and no sooner was that country conquered and annexed—with a disregard for justice, for which, happily, it stands unique in Indian history—than Lord Ellenborough found himself embroiled with another power, with the further prospect of a life and

death struggle with yet another state, with whom his far-seeing statesmanship taught him there could be no peace until its military pride had been humbled in the dust. This last power was the Sikh nation ; but the state with which he first decided to settle accounts was the Mahratta kingdom of Gwalior, which latterly had assumed a most arrogant bearing. Lord Ellenborough, who gloried in the army and its exploits, was not averse to taking up the gage of battle. The cause of the quarrel may be briefly stated.

The reigning sovereign of the Gwalior state at the time of which we are writing was the Ranee, or widow of the late Maharajah, herself a child not more than thirteen years of age. Immediately upon her husband's death, in 1843, she had adopted a boy of the age of eight, with the full concurrence of the Governor-General and the Durbar, which comprised the most influential chiefs in the country. Lord Ellenborough, for various very sufficient state reasons, deemed it necessary that a regent should be appointed, and directed the Political Resident to inform the Durbar that the uncle of the late Rajah should be installed in the office. The Ranee, however, strongly advocated the claims of Dada Khajee, the hereditary chamberlain, who also received the support of an influential party jealous of British interference. However, the uncle was installed, but he had no sooner come into possession of power, than court intrigue was brought to bear against him, and he was finally dismissed by the Ranee, who called the Dada to the head of her councils. Upon this, the Governor-General recalled the British Resident, and, after abortive negotiations, recorded a minute on the 1st November, 1843, in which, after reviewing with his customary vigour of style and clearness of exposition, the transactions of the past few months, ending with the refusal of the Ranee to surrender the Dada, he stated his determination to vindicate the position of the British Government as the dominant authority throughout India.

Lord Ellenborough, accompanied by his private secretary, Captain Durand, arrived at Agra on the 11th December, and, finding that the obnoxious minister had not left Gwalior, wrote to the Ranee, stating that he had directed his troops to march on the capital, and would not arrest their movements till he had full security for the future tranquillity of the common frontier. The troops we were about to encounter were no contemptible foe ; in a manner similar to the Sikh soldiery, after the death of Runjeet Singh, they had assumed almost paramount authority in the state, and candidates for political

power were wont first to bribe them heavily to secure their support. This force numbered some 30,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry, with no less than 200 guns, commanded for the most part by Christian officers of European descent. It absorbed two-thirds of the income of the state and was out of all proportion to the requirements of the kingdom, which was protected from external invasion by its British alliance.

As a measure of precaution, Lord Ellenborough had directed a force to be assembled on our frontier facing the Mahratta territory, to be styled the Army of Exercise, and had since gradually increased it to three divisions of infantry, three brigades of cavalry, with six troops and batteries of field artillery. The following were the arrangements of the campaign made by Sir Hugh Gough, the Commander-in-Chief:—General Grey was to take the lead with a division of infantry and a brigade of cavalry, and crossing the Jumna at Calpee, to threaten Gwalior territory from the south. Two divisions of infantry and two brigades of cavalry, with suitable artillery, were to be united under the personal command of Sir Hugh Gough, and move down on Gwalior from the northward. The Commander-in-Chief had 12,000 men under his immediate command, while General Grey took the field with 9,000 soldiers.

Sir Hugh Gough commenced his march towards Gwalior on the 13th December, when the Ranee resorted once more to negotiations, and despatched the Dada to Dholpore with a letter, requesting the Governor-General to stay the march of the army, as she had complied with his demand that the obnoxious regent should be sent to him. Lord Ellenborough replied to this communication on the 18th, requiring that the Mahratta army should be reduced within reasonable limits, and that the British contingent should be increased. The completion of this measure should alone, he added, render the advance of the troops unnecessary. The Ranee finding that the Governor-General was moving down with a large force to the Chumbul, the boundary of the two states, determined to advance to the frontier town of Dholpore to meet him; and a deputation of three influential chiefs of the Durbar, friendly to the Company's Government, was sent forward to arrange the interview. They suggested that the queen and the youthful prince, who were then on the eve of leaving the capital should meet the Governor-General at his present encampment, which was the spot were all viceroys had awaited the visit of the Gwalior Rajahs. To this Lord Ellenborough replied that he could not wait their arrival, and that the army must advance, and in this resolve he

persisted, notwithstanding their earnest protestations. The chiefs then proposed that the Ranee and the prince should meet him at Hingona, about twenty-three miles distant from Gwalior, and there sign the treaty; to this Lord Ellenborough consented, and promised to suspend his advance, fixing the 26th as the day for the meeting. But the Mahratta soldiery saw that with the occupation of the capital by a British army, their reign as a paramount authority would cease; they, accordingly, prevented the Ranee and the prince from keeping their appointment at Hingona, where Lord Ellenborough, after waiting for two days, on the 28th December, directed Sir Hugh Gough to march on Gwalior.

The Gwalior troops, some 20,000 strong, had taken up a strong position at Chounda; and the Commander-in-Chief, having ordered a reconnaissance during the day, made his arrangements for attacking them. The Governor-General and the ladies of some of the higher officers, accompanied the march, mounted on elephants, and the entire affair was regarded as a sort of military pic-nic; but they were nearly paying dearly for this ill-placed confidence. During the night of the 28th the enemy, to the number of seven battalions of infantry, with twenty guns of heavy calibre, abandoned the strong position they had taken up at Chounda, and advanced to the village of Maharajpore, where they entrenched themselves, with their formidable batteries in front. No further reconnaissance was made on the morning of the 29th, so that our army encountered the enemy much earlier than they expected. The cavalcade was advancing gaily on Maharajpore, where it was intended to breakfast, when suddenly the Mahrattas opened fire from their masked batteries, and the first intimation our army had of the proximity of the contemptible rabble (as they were described by the staff), was a shower of cannon shot which sent the elephants, with the ladies mounted on their backs, right about to the rear. The Commander-in-Chief, says Marshman, was required to alter his dispositions in haste, and the battle which ensued was justly characterised as one in which everybody and everything were out of place.

Fortunately there was no military organisation among the Gwalior troops, each brigade having marched out of the capital independently of the others, and there was no general-in-chief. Thus, though they fought with a desperate valour that did credit to the European officers that drilled them, they were no match for the army that obeyed but one will, and thus acted with the precision of a machine of which each part is subordinated to

effect one great purpose. After the surrender of the Dada, the heavy guns which accompanied the force were unaccountably left in the rear, and the light field pieces were soon silenced or dismounted by the heavy ordnance of the enemy. The tactics that were subsequently employed with such fatal effect at Ferozeshuhur and Chillianwallah, were, accordingly, for the first time brought into play at Maharajpore, and the infantry were hurled against the Mahratta batteries, which were served by the swarthy artillerymen with energy and determination; but all their heroic efforts were fruitless against the valour of the British soldier, who carried the batteries at the point of the bayonet. Even after the capture of the guns, the enemy continued to maintain their ground, but, at length, the rout was complete. Our loss was 1,000 killed and wounded. Lord Ellenborough, accompanied by Durand, was seen moving about, with the greatest intrepidity, amidst a shower of bullets, distributing money and oranges among the wounded.

General Grey was equally fortunate with his division, and, on the same day as the battle of Maharajpore was fought, a section of the Gwalior troops attacked him at Punniar, where he totally defeated them, and marched on the capital from the south, while Sir Hugh Gough advanced from the north. Thus the troops, who, a few days before, when marching out of Gwalior had informed Colonel Sleeman, the Political Resident, that they intended to drive the British across the Chumbul, were broken and humiliated. These victories placed the kingdom of Scindia at the feet of the Governor-General, but he left it entire, and simply suppressed its independence. The Ranee was deposed from the management of affairs, and pensioned off with three lacs of rupees a year. Other changes were made in the executive of Gwalior; the army was reduced to 9,000 men with thirty-two guns, and the British contingent of native troops, which played so prominent a part during the Indian Mutiny, was increased to 10,000. In the splendour of its uniform, and the superiority of its discipline and efficiency, the Gwalior contingent eclipsed every other native force, and was called the model corps of India.

Captain Durand was by the side of the Governor-General throughout the short but decisive campaign in Gwalior, and received, in common with the rest of the army, the bronze star for Maharajpore. He lost his appointment of private secretary. on the recall of Lord Ellenborough by "the ignominious tyrants of the East," as his lordship called the Directors of the Company. In the latter part of 1844, he was appointed to the Commissioner-

ship of the Tenasserim provinces, where his energy and hatred of corruption raised against him a storm of official anger. Certain charges were preferred against him, in themselves frivolous, and afterwards proved to be groundless, and he was removed. In 1846, accordingly, he went to England, and having convinced the Court of Directors of the groundlessness of the imputations, he returned with an order directing his appointment to a post of equal value to that from which he had been removed. But Lord Dalhousie was in power on his return, and his lordship, who had conceived a dislike for Durand, offered him a post so inferior to the one he had lost, that he declined it, and returned to his military duties. Thus he was fortunate enough to participate in the Punjaub campaign.

Captain Durand was not present at the actions of Ramnuggur and Sadoolapore, but joined Lord Gough's army before the battle of Chillianwallah. Throughout the month of December, and a portion of January, 1849, the Commander-in-Chief remained in a state of inactivity between the Jhelum and the Chenab, while the Sikh general-in-chief, Shere Singh, took up a position of great strength, with his rear resting on the former river, and his front covered by a broad and dense belt of jungle. Lord Gough, with two infantry divisions, broke ground on the 11th January, and two days later was fought the drawn battle of Chillianwallah. Our laurels were, however, retrieved by the great victory at Goojerat. During the campaign Captain Durand was attached to the 3rd Division under the orders of Brigadier-General Colin Campbell (the late Lord Clyde), who says in his despatch of 23rd February, to Lord Gough, that Durand "rendered valuable assistance," and that his "warmest acknowledgments" are due to him.

For his services at Chillianwallah and Goojerat, Captain Durand was raised to the rank of Brevet-Major, on the 7th June, 1849, and received the war medal and two clasps. He was now appointed Political Agent at Gwalior, and, from this time, was almost exclusively employed in a civil or political capacity. His management of the delicate complications of Mahratta politics was characterised, says a well informed writer, by "consummate skill." While Political Agent at Gwalior he wrote in the 14th Volume of the *Calcutta Review*, an able and exhaustive essay on Central India politics. From Gwalior he was transferred to Bhopal, and was thence promoted, in 1853, to the Residency at Nagpore. During this varied service the gallant officer carefully studied the history and social condition of the peoples of India, and his essays, contributed to the *Calcutta*

Review, are scarcely less instructive than those of Sir Henry Lawrence.

Durand came to England in the latter part of 1853, and after three years' leave, returned to India, having, on the 29th April, 1856, attained his Lieutenant-Colonelcy. He arrived at a most critical time—a time when the courage and capacity of those in high office throughout the country were put to a crucial test, under which many reputations that had been built up by years of devoted and meritorious service were marred; but on the other hand men, civilians and soldiers, came to the front, who otherwise would have pined away in obscurity in some out-of-the-way up-country station. It was a terrible sifting for the incompetent, or for the man of mediocre talents, that Indian Mutiny of 1857; even officers of tried courage and military reputation as Brigadier Ponsonby at Benares, and Generals Lloyd and Hewett at Meerut and Dinapore, failed under the strain of responsibility. Never was the bold heart and the ready brain in greater need than during that eventful year.

And yet there were not wanting warnings to indicate that something was brewing. Putting out of question the mutiny of the native troops of Barrackpore, and the subsequent bad conduct of the 19th Native Infantry at Berhampore, near Moorshedabad, which was clearly traceable to the greased cartridge rumours, greater significance should have been attributed to the mysterious chupattie movement originated by the native police of the north-west provinces.

On his return to India, Colonel Durand performed the duties of superintending Engineer of the Residency Circle, but he was too valuable and experienced a statesman to be left to fulfil routine duties, and, shortly before the mutiny broke out, he was appointed acting Political Agent at the Court of Holkar at Indore, in the room of Sir Robert Hamilton who had proceeded to England.

Colonel Durand assumed office at Indore on the 5th April, and on the 14th of the following month, received news of the outbreak of the mutiny at Meerut four days before. He at once recognised the gravity of the crisis, both as regards the Government and his own isolated position in the midst of an alien and fanatic population. He had under his orders only 200 men of the Malwa contingent, and quartered about forty miles distant was a corps of Bheels, low caste men, of whose services Outram had first availed himself at Candeish when he raised the first Bheel corps. The first step Durand took was to order to Indore two guns and a strong detachment of horse and

foot belonging to the Bhopal contingent, and he obtained from Holkar three guns and three companies of infantry; but this did little to mend his position, as these troops were not reliable. His position was indeed critical, for Indore was completely cut off on three sides from British territory by native troops and contingents, while the nearest British military station, Mhow, was thirteen miles distant, and was garrisoned by a native infantry regiment, half a regiment of native cavalry, and Hungerford's battery of artillery, having European gunners, but native drivers.

In the middle of June Colonel Travers brought up some cavalry from Bhopal, and took military command of the garrison of the Residency. This was a double-storied stone building in an open inclosure, four hundred yards to the north of a river, and about two miles from the city of Indore. Within the inclosure, which was an open and park-like place surrounded by groves and gardens, were bungalows for the officials, bazaars, and native buildings. In and about these were the troops lent by Holkar.

Durand maintained a firm front and exercised unceasing vigilance, and for some time checked any open manifestations of rebellion in the province to which he was accredited, though station after station rose all around. His position, temporarily strengthened by a report of the fall of Delhi, became untenable on the truth becoming known. On the morning of the 1st July he received a despatch stating that the report was untrue, and that the besieging army was obliged to remain on the defensive till the arrival of reinforcements; and while engaged preparing a condensed report of the position at Indore for the information of Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, the sudden discharge of three guns announced that the long expected crisis had arrived. The guns were fired by the troops sent to his assistance by Holkar, and immediately afterwards a mob, headed by one of Holkar's officers, arrived before the Residency, crying out, "Kill the Sahibs; it is the order of the Maharajah!" Colonel Travers at once called out the troops, and, ordering the cavalry picket to mount, with prompt courage led them against the guns; but they hung back, and Travers, with a devotion that afterwards secured him the Victoria Cross, charged the guns with only five men at his back. For a brief space the gallant officer held the guns, but was obliged to retire under the fire of the rebel infantry. He soon found that he was deserted by his men, and retired into the Residency, to defend which the only reliable men were fourteen native

gunners, eight officers, two doctors, two sergeants, and five Europeans belonging to the telegraph department. Under their charge were eight ladies and three children. The Bheels were completely cowed and would do nothing, while the enemy were every instant becoming bolder and more numerous. The position was evidently desperate. Colonel Durand and the other European men might, perhaps, have cut their way through the enemy, but they would have succeeded only at the sacrifice of the women and children. At this crisis also the few cavalry sent word to Travers that further resistance was hopeless, and that they were about to consult their own safety, but were willing to escort the party. Durand had at the commencement of the attack sent off a mounted messenger with a pencil note to the officer commanding at Mhow, containing these words: "Please send the European battery over sharp. Holkar has attacked us at the Residency." As Captain Hungerford was proceeding to his assistance he received a counter-order to return, informing him that the Europeans had been massacred, which was too true, thirty-four men, women, and children having been murdered at Mhow. Meantime the situation at Indore admitted of no delay, and Durand was aware that some time must elapse ere the guns could arrive from Mhow. After a hurried consultation it was unanimously resolved to evacuate the Residency, and the operation commenced at 10.30 a.m., two hours after the first gun was fired. Happily the evacuation was effected almost without loss, and the party safely reached Sehore. It has been asserted that Colonel Durand should have proceeded to Mhow, but from the position of the bridge it was impossible to do so, and, in addition, the native cavalry refused to take any other road than that which led to Sehore. Meanwhile the result showed that any hope of succour from Mhow was useless, and had Durand waited for Hungerford's guns, every soul in the Residency must have perished, as Captain Hungerford was not ready to start till noon.

Sir Henry Durand, like almost every one else engaged in that fierce time of trial, had his detractors, and some there were who even accused him of pusillanimity; but it appears to the unbiased observer of those events that he acted with courage and calmness in a crisis of singular urgency. No British interest was subserved by his remaining at the Residency, while the lives of the European women and children were in imminent peril. Durand's character and services ought to have screened him from such imputations; but doubtless he made many

enemies, for, like Outram, he was honest and outspoken in the presence of abuses, though he had not the same conciliating manners, and that faculty of attaching to him by the ties of friendship even those from whom he disagreed. Regarding the complicity of Holkar in the *emeute*, Colonel Durand always entertained a strong opinion that Holkar was a traitor at heart, and that in him not the will but the courage was wanting to declare himself. The same has been said of Scindiah during the Mutiny; but though the question of the loyalty of these two princes can never be cleared up, it is certain they committed no overt act of treachery or sedition, and they are entitled at least to the benefit of the Scotch verdict of "Not proven."

Colonel Durand escaped with his wife, Captain and Mrs. Shakespear, and thirty-one European officers, civilians, ladies and children to Sehore, but was obliged to fly from that place, as the Bhopal contingent and the Ranee's troops also mutinied. On the 6th July, Durand and the party of fugitives arrived at Hoosungabad, from whence they made their way to Bombay. Arrived here, he used every exertion to induce the Government to despatch a force to restore order, foreseeing the ruin that would ensue were the contagion of insurrection to spread to the Deccan.

Holkar, on his part, was anxious to free himself from complicity in the unhappy events that had occurred at his capital.* Without a day's delay, he despatched a special messenger to the Bombay Government, expressing his regret at what had taken place, and his assurance that he should always remain what he had hitherto been, the faithful friend of the English, and promising to raise fresh and trustworthy levies for the punishment of the mutineers and the preservation of order. Nor did he confine himself to mere protestations of loyalty. He proved

* A native functionary, describing the state of affairs at Indore after the massacre or flight of the Europeans, says:—"The disorder that lasted for three days can hardly be described; servants were plundering their masters, old retainers were shamefully revolting, not for 'deen,' but for plunder. The mutineers dictated their own terms to the Maharajah, and, not satisfied with receiving all they wanted, they proposed to him to cut off and send to them the heads of a few poor Europeans and Christians to whom he had given protection in his own palace, together with those of his advisers who were in the British interest. He firmly refused to yield to any such terms. On the 4th the general plunder of the town of Indore commenced; the Maharajah rode with a very few of his paigah, guarded the posts, and then went to the mutineers' camp with a handful of followers, and told them in the name of 'deen' to cease plundering. He said he would, as long as he lived, never consent to give up his European *protégés*, dead or alive. He then came home, and the plundering in the town ceased. On the evening of the 6th they plundered the British treasury to the extent of ten lacs, and, with about six of the guns which had been given over to the mutineers, marched on towards Dhar."

his sincerity by sending his treasure, to the amount of twenty four lacs of rupees (£240,000) into the fort of Mhow, and he also collected the balance belonging to Government left at the Residency, some £40,000 or £50,000, and sent it to the same place of safety.

The rumour that the mutiny at Indore had been instigated by Holkar was at once sufficient to rouse more than one of the petty chiefs of Malwa. The Rajah of Dhar, to the westward, bestirred himself, as also his neighbour of Amjhera. In the meantime the rising at the capital was followed by a mutiny of the native troops at Mhow, in which Colonel Platt, commanding the troops, was killed.

On the formation of a field-force for the relief of the Europeans who had taken refuge in the fort of Mhow, Colonel Durand accompanied the column which was commanded by Brigadier (the late Sir Charles) Stuart. Mhow was reached on the 2nd August, and the small party of officers, and ladies and children rescued from further danger. Immediately on his arrival, Colonel Durand summoned the *vakeels*, or envoys, of the various rajahs, to attend him at Mhow, until order was fully restored and the Residency at Indore rebuilt. Further operations were suspended in consequence of the rains, which, in that quarter, had rendered the roads impassable. Indeed, the marches made by the relieving column to Mhow were very fatiguing, and by great good fortune they were able to ford the Nerbudda.

Early in October news arrived at Mhow that the followers of the Rajah of Dhar had been plundering several towns at no great distance from that station. Hopes were entertained that some of the outlying parties in the vicinity of Dhar might be cut off, and, accordingly, a detachment of native auxiliaries, together with one troop of the 14th Dragoons, two companies of the 25th Bombay N.I., and three guns, under Major Robertson, of the 25th N.I., moved out, and endeavoured to decoy the enemy to an engagement on the 15th October, but without success. As the enemy had assembled in force near Dhar, and occupied the fort at that place, Brigadier Stuart, accompanied by Colonel Durand, marched at 3 p.m. on the 22nd October on Dhar, with one troop 14th Dragoons; seventy men 86th regiment; three guns of Captain Woolcombe's battery; and sixty rank and file of the 25th Bombay Native Infantry. During the course of the day he effected a junction with Major Robertson, and, at daylight on the following day, the combined column advanced on Dhar. Within three miles of the town, the reconnoitring party came

on a picket of the enemy, near the village of Dameelee, and were fired upon. The picket fell back, and immediately after the sound of heavy guns was heard from the fort of Dhar. On approaching the open plain, Major Keane's column,* which had marched on Dhar by a different route, was seen about two miles on the right engaged with the enemy, who came out to meet them from the east side of the town. The cavalry drove back a party of the enemy, whose main body was found posted on hillocks to the south of the town, with three guns in advance. The enemy's front was difficult of access, but detachments of the 86th and 25th were thrown into skirmishing order with a small party of cavalry on their left, to assist in clearing the ground. This was quickly done, and directly the enemy retired, Captain Woolcombe's battery nearly silenced the three guns on the hill, and drove the enemy's infantry into a ravine behind the hill. At this period, Captain Gall, with part of a troop of the 14th, and Lieutenant Macdonald, with twenty-five men of the 3rd Hyderabad Cavalry, charged up the hill and got possession of the three guns, the enemy, after firing a volley, hastily beating a retreat. Captain Woolcombe's battery then advanced on to a ridge, and opened fire on the retreating rebels and on the fort, distant about 900 yards.

Below and on the left of the hill, which was now occupied, lay the road to Dhar, overhung by high ground, forming a species of gorge, through which the road passed. At the mouth of this pass a picket was placed. Brigadier Stuart, finding he could not effect anything with the guns at his disposal, withdrew the troops and encamped beyond the ridge, of which he retained possession.

The Brigadier had hoped that the rebels would evacuate Dhar, but the 23rd October passed, and the fort still held out. During the course of the following day, an 8-inch howitzer and a mortar arrived, and during the night a battery was raised at a range of 900 yards from the fort, and armed with these pieces of ordnance. At dawn two columns occupied the pettah, and some high ground between it and the fort, when the battery opened fire with good effect. On the 25th October a breaching battery opened fire within 300 yards, and, after a continuous cannonade, the fort was captured on the 31st, a large number of the rebels managing to effect their escape.

Brigadier Stuart, whose column was now designated the

* Squadron 14th Dragoons; half of Captain Hungerford's battery; 100 men H.M. 86th Regiment; 100 men 25th Regiment Bombay N.I.; and the 3rd Regiment Cavalry, Hyderabad Contingent.

Malwa Field-force, accompanied by Colonel Durand, marched for Mundisore, where the rebels had taken up a position. On the 21st November, he arrived within $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles of Mundisore, but having no reliable information of the roads or country in the immediate vicinity of the town, nor as to the fords of the river Sowna, which it was necessary to cross before reaching the town, he determined to encamp and reconnoitre. The rebels mustered in considerable force outside the walls of the town, and at three in the afternoon advanced in force, threatening both flanks and centre at the same time. Stuart, accordingly, moved out to meet them, and as they advanced on the right front, in great numbers, with banners flying, charged them with his cavalry. The enemy were driven back with great loss; at the same time the attack upon the centre was repulsed by a few rounds from the artillery, whilst that on the left was equally successfully encountered by the Hyderabad contingent, under Major Orr. The enemy, thus driven back at all points, were pursued almost up to the walls of the town.

At this time Colonel Durand received intelligence that the rebel forces laying siege to Neemuch—which was gallantly held by a handful of Europeans against 5,000 of the enemy—were about to march on Mundisore, with the object of effecting a junction with the forces opposed by the Malwa Field-force before that place, and, on apprising Brigadier Stuart of the intended movement, that gallant officer determined to intercept them. Accordingly, early on the morning of the 22nd November, the column moved out in order of battle. The advance was unopposed, and on the left wing reaching the village of Kuljepore, the Brigadier—leaving the advance-guard to cover the village, and to reinforce the rear-guard as the main body crossed the Bakri ford of the river Sowna, about 1,400 yards to the south-west of the town of Mundisore—made a flank movement to the left. Protected by the advance-guard, the passage of the river was safely effected, and the Field-force encamped, facing the west of the city, the flanks being well protected by the two branches of the Sowna. The position was in close proximity to the line taken up by Sir Thomas Hislop, in the Mahratta and Pindaree campaign of 1817, Stuart's line running at right angles to the right of General Hislop's camp.

At eight o'clock on the following morning, Brigadier Stuart broke up his camp, and crossed the northern branch of the river Sowna, with the object of attacking the enemy. Halting his column and collecting all the baggage on the reverse flank, he

moved on the Neemuch and Mundisore road, ready to oppose the enemy from either direction.

The Brigadier advanced to attack the enemy who were occupying in great force a strong position, with their right in and beyond the village of Goraria, their right centre covered by a nullah and lines of date trees, their battery of six guns on rising ground, and their left placed on the ridge running east from the village. The British line advanced, covered by skirmishers, and the enemy's infantry, exhibiting great daring, moved down to the encounter through the intermediate fields of high "jowarree," with banners flying and their guns keeping up a lively fire. Halting his line, the Brigadier replied to the fire with Captains Woolcombe's and Hungerford's batteries, and, after firing a few rounds at 900 yards, again advanced his line, the batteries resuming their fire at 600 yards. Soon after, the rebel guns were charged by the 14th Dragoons, and captured, the enemy flying in great numbers into the village to their right. At this moment, Captain Orr rapidly advanced by the right front with the 3rd Hyderabad Cavalry, and, wheeling to the left, swept down upon the retreating enemy. Stuart now moved steadily on the village, which was held in force by the rebels. Driving their skirmishers back, he halted within about three hundred yards of the village, upon which the guns now opened with shot and shell. After a few rounds the infantry were ordered to advance and carry it; this the men of the 86th and 25th attempted to effect with their accustomed gallantry, but encountered so hot a fire from the houses that the Brigadier was compelled to recall them. During the course of these operations, a strong body of the enemy from Mundisore, attacked his rear, and made repeated but ineffectual endeavours to carry off the siege train and baggage. At noon, on the following day, the Brigadier having resolved to carry the village of Goraria at all hazards, moved his guns forward to clear the way for his infantry, which, after three hours' continuous shelling, were again brought to the front. The detachment of the 86th, under Major Keane, and the 25th, under Major Robertson, now advanced against the village, and, after a hard struggle, carried it by storm, killing a large number of rebels.

At sunset the troops were withdrawn, and on the morning of the 25th November, intelligence was received that the enemy had evacuated Mundisore, and were flying in various directions through the country, having lost during the four days' operations about 1,500 of their number. The town and fort of Mundisore was at once occupied, and the strong works of the

enemy were dismantled. So great was the effect of these successes, that the rebels, who had been blockading a small party of European officers in Neemuch, in the neighbourhood, broke up their camp, and fled with such precipitancy that they left behind them the scaling ladders they had prepared for the assault.

Colonel Durand participated in all the operations just detailed, and Brigadier Stuart availed himself of his military experience, both as a soldier and engineer. "I must now, in conclusion," says Stuart, in his report dated Mundisore, 30th November, "place on record my grateful acknowledgments to Colonel Durand, officiating agent to the Governor-General for Central India, for his cordial assistance to me on all occasions. He was present in the field throughout the operations, and gave me the benefit of his advice, which proved of great service to me."

From Mundisore, the column, accompanied by Colonel Durand, proceeded to intercept Tantia Topee, who proposed to cross the Nerbudda and raise the Deccan, but here Durand's services with the Malwa Field-force terminated.

On the 24th November, Sir Robert Hamilton, the Governor-General's Agent in Central India, for whom he was acting, arrived at Bombay, and prepared to assume charge of his duties. Colonel Durand was then summoned to Calcutta, and Sir Robert Hamilton joined the forces which had been placed under the chief command of Sir Hugh Rose, and comprised the divisions of Brigadier C. S. Stuart of the Bombay army, whose fortunes in the field we have been following, and Brigadier Stewart, of the 14th Dragoons.

Lord Canning, in speaking of Durand's services throughout the trying days of the Mutiny, says his conduct was "marked by great foresight and the soundest judgment, as well in military as civil affairs;" and further that "Colonel Durand saved our interests in India, until support could arrive." In recognition of these services he received the C.B., and was promoted to a Brevet-Colonelcy.

No sooner was the Mutiny suppressed than the Government of the country was transferred from the East India Company to the Queen. Certain changes were projected, and Durand, who enjoyed Lord Canning's confidence—indeed he may be said to have shaped the feudatory policy of the Viceroy—was sent by the Governor-General to England, to confer with the home authorities regarding the reconstruction of the Indian army. Here it should be recorded that one part of the scheme, that relating to the constitution of the cumbrous and costly Staff

Corps of the three Presidencies, did not meet with the approval of Colonel Durand. While in England, Lord Stanley, the first Secretary of State for India, invited Durand to a seat in his Council, and for nearly three years he sat at the Board, an eager critic, a ready adviser, and an eloquent writer of those minutes which are to Anglo-Indian statesmanship what great orations are to parliamentary leaders. In 1861, Colonel Durand disinterestedly resigned his seat in the Council, to make room for the war-worn and sagacious soldier-statesman, Sir James Outram, who, however, was not destined long to fill the post.

While at home Durand married for the second time—his first wife having died from the shock caused by the terrible events at Indore—the widow of the Rev. Henry S. Polehampton.

Lord Canning offered Durand the foreign secretaryship of his administration, which the gallant officer accepted, returning to India for the last time. The unprecedented appointment of a military officer to this place was displeasing to the civilians, but in spite of protests, Sir Charles Wood, the Secretary of State for India, who had succeeded Lord Stanley, approved Lord Canning's choice, and Colonel Durand's performance of his responsible duties amply justified the selection. From the foreign department he was promoted, in 1865, on the appointment of Sir Robert Napier to the command of the Bombay army, to the office of military member of the Governor-General's Council, a post somewhat analogous to that of Minister at War in this country, allowing for the more direct rule of the army by the Commander-in-Chief in India.

In 1867 Colonel Durand was promoted to the rank of Major-General, and also received the well earned decoration of a Knight Commander of the Star of India.

He remained in Calcutta as military member of the Governor-General's Council to the general satisfaction of the Indian public, and for the undoubted benefit of the service until in May 1870, on the retirement of Sir Donald Macleod from the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Punjab, Lord Mayo selected him for that honourable and important office.

"His lordship," said the *Times* correspondent, "has done no act since his accession to power that could compare for popularity with this too long delayed promotion, for Sir Henry Durand had not been a favourite in official circles. His independence of character and bluntness of speech alienated more than one Governor-General from this perilously able subordinate. Thus, notwithstanding Sir Henry Durand's distinguished services, it was thought unlikely, up to the moment of his nomination, that he

would be advanced to the highest place in the system of Anglo-Indian Government. Lord Mayo had the courage to choose the best man for the post left vacant by Sir Donald Macleod, and his choice was so heartily approved by the popular verdict that detraction was silent."

It was on the occasion of the banquet given at Lahore to Sir Donald Macleod, Durand's predecessor in the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Punjaub, that Lord Mayo announced to an enthusiastic audience, that the reward of long and faithful service was to fall to the man to whom it was most due. "In Major-General Sir Henry Durand," said the Governor-General, "you will find a Lieutenant-Governor worthy to be the successor of Sir Donald Macleod. You will have one of the foremost men in the Indian service; you will find in him all those qualities which enable men to rule with success; you will find him firm and fearless, honest and brave. I believe there is not a man in the service of the Queen who would bring to this high office more power or greater experience than Sir Henry Durand."

The Lieutenant-Governorship of the Punjaub, though inferior in dignity and emoluments to the office of Governor of either Madras or Bombay, is generally regarded as superior in importance and responsibility to either. The Punjaub is the great outwork of our Anglo-Indian empire, and the man who holds that post should be gifted with a happy, but rare, admixture of the judicious firmness and tact of the statesman, and the iron hand and prompt will of a soldier. Such a one the country felt it had in Sir Henry Durand.

He left Calcutta followed by the regrets of all classes, for though his manly and unflinching independence had created him some enemies in the official world, all ranks of society deplored his promotion. The chief organ of native opinion, the *Hindoo Patriot*, in an article published after his death, eulogising his eminent services to the state, said, "We had so much confidence in his general honesty of purpose, and his high-minded statesmanship, that we did not hesitate to declare that if we had a choice in the matter we would be happy to welcome him as our Governor." Of his services while military member of the Governor-General's Council, it says, "He touched upon questions of all descriptions which came before the Council with all the skill and masterliness of an expert. Land questions, economic questions, general questions, or military questions were equally done justice to by him. He took a prominent part in the deliberations of the Legislative Council, and all his utterances were marked by an intelligent appreciation of the want and

wishes of the people, by broad sympathies, and by fearless independence. We need not go further for proofs of our statement than the debates on the Punjaub Tenancy Act, the North-West Municipal Act, and the Income Tax. In the first he showed he had no sympathy with the dead level policy of the Government. In the second he did not hesitate to pronounce the municipalities unmitigated shams, practically used for the convenience of a few European inhabitants of towns rather than for the good of the mass of the population. And in the last he raised his voice firmly, though in vain, against the "odious" policy of Income Tax. He and Sir William Mansfield constituted the only independent element in the Council, and when they left it, we might say the right hand of the Government was lopped off."

A farewell banquet was given to Sir Henry Durand, by the United Service Club at Simla, on Monday, May 23rd, on the occasion of his appointment to the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Punjaub, under the presidency of Lord Napier,* the Commander-in-Chief, at which there present about 100 gentlemen, including Sir R. Temple and General Norman.

Sir Henry Durand said, in the course of his reply, which has a melancholy interest as his last public utterance:—"It is now three-and-forty years since I first marched in the ranks as

* Lord Napier, in proposing the health of the guest of the evening, said:—"He was my fellow student at Addiscombe, where by the by, he accuses me of having given him once a severe punishment, and my friend and comrade for a great many years. At the Lahore banquet, when the Viceroy announced Sir Henry Durand as successor to Sir Donald Macleod, a unanimous burst of acclamation told me how fully and clearly the representatives of the Punjaub then present appreciated the wisdom of the selection, and the vital importance of the question to the welfare and happiness of the millions of that great province." After enumerating his services, Lord Napier continued:—"This outline of the important services rendered by our noble guest of this evening, gives, however, but a faint idea of the many important occasions in which his ability and experience have been of the greatest value to the State. All men may not share my views, but every one must admire the independent and fearless manner in which he has endeavoured to discharge his duties. The Viceroy has truly said that the new Lieutenant-Governor succeeds to an arduous and responsible office. Though great strides have been made in the civilisation of the province, there remains the more delicate and difficult duty of managing a people awaking to the blessings of good government, and learning to appreciate it; whose struggle of three hundred years has enabled them to acquire more self-reliance than is to be found elsewhere in India. The relations of landlord and tenant there, as elsewhere, require a cool temper and impartial judgment. Our frontier neighbours have to be consolidated and civilised, measures which I have always believed to be practicable, for they consist of a fine race with many noble qualities by which they may be won and civilised. Their reputation for bravery is of the highest class in every state in Southern India, and their most faithful and trustworthy services are the admiration of the frontier force, which I desire to see maintained in its special character and traditions, feeling an *esprit de corps* and pride in being the vanguard of the Indian army. These advantages, with the new-born facilities arising from the commencement of magnificent railways and public works of irrigation, afford a field for a noble ambition."

a cadet under the command of General Lord Napier. I have now the gratification to have the honour of my name being proposed to an assembly amongst whom I see many who have been associated with me in several departments of the public service, who have been my friends, and who have worked with me. I say it is a matter of intense gratification to me to find that my name has been proposed by my old, valued, and most noble friend, Lord Napier of Magdala. After long years of service, if there is anything that would be an encouragement to a public servant, it is a meeting of this kind in which all branches of the service are united, and in which, however humble the individual may be, however little merit on his part, so much hearty cordiality is given to his name. Lord Napier has done me the honour to advert to my services, and amongst them has referred to one to which I look back with great pleasure and with great satisfaction, for it brought me into connection with a small force of the Bombay Presidency. I can only say that I look back to the work which that small column did, with a satisfaction which perhaps very few at this table would quite enter into, for I do not think it was very much known, or at the time much appreciated, but that small column of Bombay troops did the work of—I was about to say—an army, though certainly they did the work of a very large division of the army. What is more, gentlemen, they did it in the face of the greatest possible risk and danger. There was hardly a camp-follower who would go out with them. Everything was against them; they were opposed to enormous masses, and I never saw that small column flinch in the smallest degree. During the course of what I now think will be allowed is a very long period of service in India, I have ever felt it a support and a strength that we are serving the greatest people—I think the greatest nation—on the face of the earth. Take it on the sea, take it on the land; whether it be a sailor or whether it be a soldier, it is a nation worth serving, for wherever you employ them, cast them where you like and where you please, send them up to the heights of Abyssinia and Magdala with a Napier, and they do their duty. I say it is a privilege and pride to be associated with servants of that nation, and to feel you are really serving a great people. It so happens that by the orders of the Viceroy, I am deputed to a province in which as a soldier I have had to fight—that is, to take my share of fighting—against the Sikh nation. Well, gentlemen, as the principle of loving your enemies is a right one, I certainly feel it towards the men who fought us like

men. I saw them as infantry, fighting, giving ground step by step, taxing the courage, taxing the endurance, taxing the firmness of our troops. I saw them as gunners, standing at their guns, and fighting them as long as they could. I saw them all retreat in a solid mass, followed by our troops, dealing with them as they deal with a brave and resolute enemy. Gentlemen, it was no ordinary struggle; and I go to that province with all the stronger affection towards the people, because I had the honour of being one who fought against them, and certainly, if there be any remains of vigour or ability or earnest devotion to the welfare of that people remaining to me at my time of life, it shall be devoted heartily to all that can in any way be done for the welfare of the people of the province."

It is melancholy to reflect that these noble sentiments and patriotic aspirations were never destined to have their fulfilment. Within eight months a fatal accident cut short this promising career, and robbed India and the State of one of its most able servants, and that too just as he attained a position which offered a fair field for the display of those talents for governing and conciliating alien races, of which Sir Henry Durand was possessed in so eminent a degree. For some weeks he had been travelling through the province committed to his care with the object of mastering, by personal inspection and inquiry, its entire social and administrative system.

Sir Henry left Murree on the 7th November, and arrived at Abbottabad on the evening of the following day. On the 9th he held a levee of officers, civil and military, and inspected the troops at that station. On the 11th he arrived at the village of Khakee, at the foot of the Soosul Pass, the ascent of which was afterwards made, and, at the summit, 5,090 feet high, the party was met by Attar Mahomed Khan, of Agror, and about two hundred followers. The scene from the top of the Pass is striking for its extent and grandeur. On one side the Paklee Valley skirted with hills; on the other was the mighty Mahabun, rising to a height of 10,000 feet, and below, nestling at its feet, the pleasant valley of Agror. Camp was pitched near to the village of Oghee, where Sir Henry received the Khan and his sons; and, on the 15th, he returned to Abbottabad. Three days later he pitched camp at Huripore, the capital of Huzara, now prosperous, and peaceful, though up to the time of the annexation of the Punjab, a scene of continued disorder. In this district of Huzara worked well and successfully for eight years, between 1846-54, Major-General James Abbott, of the Bengal Artillery, a worthy

coadjutor and friend of Sir Henry Lawrence and Sir Herbert Edwardes.

The Lieutenant-Governor halted for two days at Torbela, at the junction of the Indus and Sirrun rivers, where the Newaub had a sham fight and a night of "mahseer," or Indian salmon-spearing; and, on the 21st, he crossed the Indus by ferry, parting from the officers of Huzara, the limit of whose district ended here, and being met by those of Peshawur and Eusofzye, whose district now began. On the 25th and 26th the party halted at Hoti Murdan, where Sir Henry inspected the Guides, cavalry and infantry, a splendid body of men ready for anything, as they showed at Delhi,—whither they made the most rapid march recorded in Indian annals, under their chivalrous leaders Daly and Battye, who fell before that city,—and as they have more recently shown in Afghanistan, under the leadership of a brother of that hero, and the gallant Hamilton, both of whom died the soldier's death.

Some Bhuddist ruins also were examined with interest by Durand, whose antiquarian instincts were aroused by these memorials of the past; and on the 1st December he crossed the Cabul river, arriving at Peshawur on the following day.

On the last day of the old year he entered Tonk—a town thirty-five miles west of the Indus, and one hundred and fifty miles south-west of Peshawur,—where occurred the accident which deprived him of life.

About five o'clock in the afternoon, Sir Henry left the camp for the purpose of visiting the outpost, garden, and town of Tonk. Having inspected the outpost on foot, he proceeded on one of the camp elephants, in a howdah with the Newaub of Tonk, a chuprassie being on the back seat. The son of the Newaub was in advance on horseback to show the way, and on another elephant were Brigadier-General Keyes, commanding the frontier force, and other officials.

The Lieutenant-Governor having inspected the garden, proceeded to the entrance of the town, which consists of an outer gateway leading into a covered square inclosure, out of which a second gateway, of considerably lower elevation, leads into the main street. Sir Henry's elephant passed without any difficulty the outer gateway into the square inclosure, and then, before any warning could be given, a crash of breaking howdah was heard as the elephant passed through the inner gateway. The officers on the second elephant got down quickly, and found Sir Henry Durand on the ground just beyond the inner gateway, lying on his face, with blood profusely streaming out of his nose. The

Newaub was still on the broken howdah, with his head thrown back on the seat. Sir Henry was immediately conveyed on a charpoy to the camp; on the way he groaned heavily, and appeared quite insensible, and on examination by two medical officers, it was discovered that his lower extremities were paralysed and his arms partially so. After a short interval he was able to speak, but not connectedly, and towards morning fully recovered his consciousness.

At two o'clock p.m. on the 1st January he became worse, though he retained his faculties to within half an hour of his death, which took place at eight o'clock on the same evening. Thus died, as the *Delhi Gazette* describes, "the very best of India's public men."

The funeral of Sir Henry Durand took place at Dehra Ismail Khan, on the afternoon of Thursday, January 5th. All the troops in the station—two regiments of native infantry, one regiment of native cavalry, a battery of Artillery, and a detachment of a British regiment—were under arms.

Minute guns, equal in number to the years of the late Lieutenant-Governor, were fired during the ceremony—the sanction of the Viceroy, which is necessary to such a salute, having been received just as the procession left camp.

Sir Henry Durand's attainments were of a varied character. He was distinguished as a soldier and statesman, and not less as a scholarly writer in the pages of the *Calcutta Review*, a periodical enriched with the contributions of Sir Henry Lawrence. He penned a review of the life and labours of Judson, the American Baptist missionary, who was his friend at Moulemein during the time he held the Commissionership of the Tenasserim Provinces. On his departure, Dr. Judson was the medium of presenting an address expressive of the regret of himself and his fellow-labourers at his retirement, and the high personal regard in which they held him for the rugged and unswerving uprightness and independence which had characterised his conduct during his administration of the province. We have spoken of his able articles on the Cabul War, on the Punjaub Campaign of 1848-49, and on the Politics of Central India. Further, he wrote a paper on the Burmese War of 1852, which appeared in the eighteenth volume of the *Calcutta Review*. In the fifteenth volume may be found a scientific article on Captain Hutton's "Chronology of Creation." His last paper, which appeared in 1865, was a review of Aitchison's Treatises, and is described as "a masterly historical and juridical exposition of the feudatory policy which bears Lord

Canning's name." These essays betrayed considerable familiarity with the dead languages, Greek and Latin, no less than with German, Italian, and French.

But there is another phase of Durand's varied accomplishments that should not be omitted in this sketch—we refer to his attainments as an antiquarian. While engaged as superintendent of Feroze Shah's Canal in the early portion of his career, in conjunction with Napier, Cautley, and Baker, the whole sub-Himalayan range, between the Jumna and Sutlej, was carefully examined; and, in 1834, Lieutenants Durand and Baker still further prosecuted their discoveries, which are recorded in Dr. Murchison's *Palæontological Memoirs of Falconer*. "By the joint labours of all these officers," writes Dr. Murchison, "a sub-tropical mammalia fossil fauna was brought to light unexampled for richness and extent in any other region then known." These discoveries formed the starting-point of the subsequent researches of such geologists as Lyell and Murchison. Durand contributed in 1835-6 several drawings and papers on the subject to the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*.

Indian journals of every shade of opinion, both native and European, joined in deploring his death as a national calamity; and the Government of India issued a notification in which Lord Mayo well said:—"Her Majesty has lost a true and faithful servant, the Viceroy an able and experienced comrade, the Punjaub a just and energetic ruler, and the Indian service one of its brightest ornaments. His Excellency in Council feels assured that the sad intelligence of Sir Henry Durand's untimely end will be received in every part of the Empire with feelings of the keenest regret, not only among his brethren of the services and many friends, but by thousands of his native fellow subjects, whose interests and whose welfare it was the main object of his life to promote.

"As a mark of respect for the memory of Sir Henry Durand, his Excellency in Council directs that seventeen minute guns be fired from the ramparts of Fort William at noon to-day, and that the Fort flag be lowered to half-mast high. The same course of procedure is also to be observed at the seats of Government in India on receipt of this notification."

It may with truth be said that Sir Henry Durand fell a victim to that characteristic energy and conscientiousness which impelled him to devote heart and brain—or as he said in his speech, "everything in the shape of energy, attention, and devotion which I can give"—to the work he had undertaken; and he died in the service of his country as undoubtedly as if

he had fallen in his soldier's harness before the Cabul gate of Ghuznee, on that memorable morning of the 23rd July, 1839.

On learning Durand's death, the Secretary of State for India, the Duke of Argyll, addressed a letter to the Governor-General on the career and character of the deceased officer, in which his grace said:—"By this sad calamity the Government of India at home and abroad has been deprived of the services of one of its best officers in the performance of his public duties, at a time when he had just entered on a new career of utility, for which he was eminently fitted. Having entered the Indian army in one of the scientific branches of the service he distinguished himself at an early period by his gallantry in the field, and subsequently by his ability and independence of character in different high civil and political appointments, and, as a member of the Supreme Government, won for himself the confidence of successive Governors-General, until he was selected by your Excellency for the high office in which his distinguished career has been so suddenly brought to a close. The life of such a man is an example to the service, and Her Majesty's Government deeply deplores his death."

By an inscrutable dispensation, Providence deprived our Indian empire of one of that band of statesmen trained within its borders whom the country can ill spare, and whose sagacity and high purpose would be of inestimable value during the crisis through which British India appears to be passing. But though deprived of his services, the example of Sir Henry Durand will not be lost to those young statesmen and soldiers who are graduating in that school in which were reared the illustrious men, beginning with Clive and having its continuance in the Lawrences and Outrams of our own day. The story of this life and the lesson of single-hearted devotion to duty it conveys will, let us hope, bear its fruit long years after Sir Henry Durand has been laid in the grave in an obscure outpost in the most distant portion of Her Majesty's Indian possessions.

"May our names, like his, be known
When we are passed and gone,
Not memories, as Greek and Mogul are ;
By deeds like these alone,
True triumphs that atone,
And vindicate the violence of war."

MAJOR-GENERAL LORD CHELMSFORD, G.C.B.

Enters the Guards—On Service in the Crimea—Joins the 95th Regiment in India—On Staff employ—Is engaged in the Abyssinian War—Returns to England—Is appointed to the command of the forces in South Africa—The Trans-Kei campaign—The Zulu War—The disaster at Isandlana—Arrival of reinforcements—The action at Gingilhova and Relief of Etshowe—The battle of Ulundi and conclusion of the war—Return to England.

DURING the year 1879 Lord Chelmsford and Sir Bartle Frere were the two best abused men in England—always excepting Mr. Gladstone. As “nothing succeeds like success,” so, in these happy isles, nothing brings down such a storm of abuse as failure, although it may be shown that success, with the limited means at disposal, was absolutely impossible, even with the directing genius of a Hannibal or a Napoleon. But while deprecating the injustice of the pitiless storm that rained on the head of Lord Chelmsford at the time the news arrived of the disaster at Isandlana, we suppose that few, even among his lordship’s personal friends, and their name is legion, would assert that he was guiltless in the matter. Had he taken the precaution he adopted at the termination of each day’s march when advancing to the relief of Etshowe, and entrenched his position at Isandlana, on the 21st January, before quitting his camp, it is probable—with the knowledge of the defence made at Rorke’s Drift by a handful of men behind the most temporary of defences—that the attack of the Zulu army would have been repulsed; we use the qualifying term *probable*, because the reckless valour and contempt of death displayed by the Zulu warriors, their overwhelming numbers, the extent of the camp and stores to be defended, and the difficulty Colonel Wood, with two entire British regiments and one complete battery, experienced, on the 29th March, in defeating the desperate assaults, prolonged for four hours, of an “impi” little superior in strength to that which fought at Isandlana—all prove that it is by no means unlikely that had every precaution been taken

in fortifying the camp, the diminished numbers under Colonels Durnford and Pulleine could not have made a successful resistance. Nevertheless, he is responsible for the two cardinal errors which led to the disaster of January 22nd—weakening his column by detaching half of it on a reconnaissance, and leaving his camp in a defenceless condition.

Lord Chelmsford, better known in the army under his name of Thesiger, is the eldest son of the first Lord Chelmsford, who was twice Lord Chancellor in the Government of the late Lord Derby. As Sir Frederick Thesiger this nobleman was well-known at the bar for his forensic talents, and, though not possessed of the brilliant oratorical genius of a Brougham or a Cairns, or the consummate legal knowledge of a St. Leonards or a Selborne, was, nevertheless, a trusty member of the Tory party, and of successive Conservative administrations. In early life his lordship served in the navy, towards which, to the end of his career, he entertained a warm interest, and, on more than one occasion, at public dinners, referred with pride to his connection with that glorious service.

Alfred Thesiger, a younger son of this nobleman, entered the legal profession, rose to eminence by the possession of solid rather than brilliant qualities, and was promoted by the present administration to the high office of Lord Justice of Appeal, with a seat on the Privy Council, at an age when few barristers have attained the position of senior counsel; but, notwithstanding his rapid advancement, no one of his compeers can gainsay the capacity of the young Lord Justice, who appears as popular at the bar and on the bench as his brother in the army. Another son of the late Lord Chelmsford, Colonel Charles Thesiger, entered the cavalry branch of the army, in which he is known as a good soldier. He served in India with his regiment, the 6th (Inniskilling) Dragoons, and, in 1860, proceeded from Bombay to China with a squadron of his regiment, which, in conjunction with the 1st Dragoon Guards, now serving in the Transvaal, did good service in the campaign that ended by the capitulation of Peking.

Frederick Augustus, the eldest son of the late Lord Chancellor, and the subject of this memoir, was born on the 31st May, 1827, and entered the army on the 28th November, 1845, as Ensign and Lieutenant in the Grenadier Guards, in which distinguished regiment he attained, five years later, the rank of Lieutenant and Captain. Though between the years 1845-50 this country waged two sanguinary campaigns in India, and subjugated the most warlike race we had yet encountered in

our great Eastern dependency, yet in Europe it was a period of peace. As the young aspirant of military honours surveyed the political horizon for the small cloud, no bigger than a man's hand, which was to presage the storm of war, he saw only the sky, whose deep azure was undimmed by any threatenings of tempest, while already could be seen rising that temple of industry in Hyde Park which was to inaugurate the millenium. Those were the halcyon days of peace, and no one dreamt that Europe, in entering upon the second half of the 19th century, was commencing an epoch of bloodshed, in which, within thirty years, five wars of the first magnitude would be waged — the Russian, Italian, Austro-Prussian, Franco-German, and Russo-Turkish.

During the years 1845-50, Captain Thesiger devoted himself to the study of his profession, for which the Guards officers have peculiar facilities in the library and lecture-room of the Royal United Service Institution, wherein the mysteries of their profession may be acquired and discussed.

Captain Thesiger was not so fortunate as to participate in the battles of the Alma and Inkerman, and did not arrive in the Crimea until the 31st May, 1855, when the siege of the great stronghold that had defied the utmost efforts of the allies, was approaching a conclusion. He was appointed aide-de-camp to Major-General Markham, and served throughout the remainder of the campaign. For his services he received the Crimean medal and clasp for Sebastopol, the Turkish and Sardinian medals, and the fifth class of the Medjidie, and was promoted to a Brevet-Majority. Major Thesiger, being anxious to see more service than falls to the lot of a Guardsman, naturally turned his eyes towards that field for military honours, India, then in the throes of that great convulsion, the mutiny of the Bengal native army, and his high interest at head-quarters procured him an exchange into the 95th Regiment as junior Lieutenant-Colonel, which rank he attained on the 17th November, 1857, after only twelve years' service. His appointment created a great outcry and much heartburning, as was not unnatural, and the experiment, which bore a striking similitude to a job, was the last of the description, and is not likely to be repeated. On arriving at Bombay he joined the 95th Regiment in the field, but was only in time to be present at a small affair, the last in which the regiment participated. On the termination of hostilities he received the brevet of Colonel. He succeeded Colonel Raines, C.B., in command of the 95th Regiment, and, while stationed at Kurrachee, on the 1st January, 1867,

married a daughter of Major-General Heath, of the Bombay army, by whom he has a family of five children.

Colonel Thesiger's first service on the staff, in which he has earned the high encomiums of some of the best soldiers of the army, was in the year 1861, and during the time he held the office of Deputy Adjutant-General of the Bombay army, he made his mark as an able and conscientious military administrator, and attracted the approval and regard of the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Robert Napier, who has since stood his fast friend. In 1868 when Sir Robert was appointed to the command of the Abyssinian Expedition, he selected Colonel Thesiger to be the head of the Adjutant-General's Department of his army of 12,000 men, which was chiefly drawn from the Western Presidency. How well he performed his responsible duties during the long and arduous march of 400 miles, from Zoulla to the capital of Theodore, are matters of military history, and Lord Napier has placed on record in his admirable and lucid despatches, particularly his last, recounting the capture and destruction of "the rock of Magdala," the high estimation in which he held "the great ability and untiring energy" of his Adjutant-General. Throughout this almost bloodless, but admirably conducted, campaign, Colonel Thesiger was the *alter ego* of the Commander-in-Chief. Where Sir Robert Napier was not, there his chief of the staff was sure to be present as his representative, and though among his generals of division and brigadiers there were such men as Staveley, Merewether, and Field, yet the subject of this memoir was regarded as the "right-hand man of his chief." For his services in this memorable campaign, Colonel Thesiger was nominated a Companion of the Bath, and one of Her Majesty's aides-de-camp.

Soon after these events Lord Napier succeeded Sir William Mansfield (the late Lord Sandhurst) in the post of Commander-in-Chief in India, and he took with him to Calcutta his Adjutant-General, who filled the same responsible office at the head-quarters of the Indian army. In the winter of 1873-74 he commanded a camp of instruction at Roorkee, and in the summer manœuvres of 1874 and 1875 he commanded a brigade. It is scarcely too much to say that there never was in India a better Adjutant-General. Colonel Thesiger commanded the confidence as well of what was the old Indian as the Royal armies, for he was a conscientious officer, who meted out justice alike to both services. His clear-headedness and capacity for work, whether in the saddle or in the office, in a climate where work of any kind is distasteful, was remarkable, and were in no

small measure due to the fact that he was a total abstainer. Firm but conciliatory, courteous and kind, but dignified, he was beloved by all who came in contact with him, while he earned their respect by the exhibition of such soldierly qualities as courage and calmness in the presence of danger. He proved the possession of these military virtues on the disastrous day of Isandlana, when, after addressing his handful of men, he led them on with darkness closing around them, and the chill forebodings of a nameless horror freezing the very marrow in their bones, to the attack of an enemy flushed with the carnage of more than 800 of their comrades.

In 1876 Colonel Thesiger returned to England, and was placed in command of the troops at Shorncliffe, whence he proceeded to Aldershot, where he commanded a brigade of infantry. After a long spell of peace service General * Thesiger again took the field, but in a far different scene to the tropic plains of India or the mountain chains of Abyssinia. In January 1878, he was nominated to the command of the troops in South Africa, in succession to General Sir Arthur Cunningham, G.C.B., who disagreed with the Colonial Prime Minister, and would permit no interference with his management of military affairs. This gallant and distinguished officer had been engaged with a mere handful of troops suppressing a rising of Kaffir "rebels"—as it is our custom in all parts of the world to call those who rise against our rule within the borders of annexed territories. The Fingoes were the cause of the original trouble, and they drew other tribes, such as the Gaikas and Galekas, with their chiefs Kreli, Sandili, Tini Macomo, and others.

Major-General Thesiger, who received the local rank of Lieutenant-General while serving in South Africa, landed at Cape Town on the 25th February, when he was sworn in, and commenced the exercise of his important functions, in association with his old Indian friend Sir Bartle Frere. The neck of the Kaffir rebellion had been broken before the arrival of General Thesiger upon the scene, but there was still some harassing work and smart fighting to be done, as the Kaffirs had broken up into small parties, and were trying to force their way into the colony. To enable him to complete their subjugation and meet the Zulu difficulty, a reinforcement of three regiments was sent out from England.

On his arrival General Thesiger found that though Galeka-land had been cleared of the enemy by the column under Colonel Glyn, the Gaika rebellion was spreading, and Fingoland

* He attained the rank of Major-General on the 15th March, 1877.

had been invaded from Sandili's border. His first task was to direct the operations in the Pirie bush, where the Kaffirs were surrounded by the forces at his disposal; but the enemy were thoroughly cowed, and the operations were of a desultory, and not very stirring, character. He then proceeded to clear the great mountain stronghold of the forest-clad Amantolas, held by Sandili and his Gaika warriors. The force with which he undertook this task, consisted of the 90th Regiment, 2nd battalion 24th Regiment, and a small portion of the 1st battalion of the same regiment, with some small corps of mounted volunteers and the Fingo levies; the remainder of the army, Imperial and local, being engaged in checking the Kaffirs at other points. On the 30th April the British forces attacked and dispersed the enemy at Tutaba and Kandoba, the 90th losing one officer and three men killed, and one officer and three men wounded. Fighting also occurred at other places on the 3rd and 4th May, but it was of a desultory character, and neither officers nor men, from the General to the drummer-boy, thought there was any chance of winning honour or even receiving hard knocks in this most "miserable" of our little wars, as it was repeatedly designated by the military papers. Indeed, soon after these paltry skirmishes, hostilities may be said to have ceased, and General Thesiger returned to Cape Town. Thursday, the 1st August, was kept throughout the colony as a day of public thanksgiving, though there were not wanting many people who openly expressed their opinion that the solemn setting apart of a day by the legislature was, to say the least, premature, and they were justified by the event. On the following day the Cape Parliament was prorogued by Sir Bartle Frere, who formally announced in his speech that the Kaffir War was closed. The Home Government were not backward in rewarding those officers who had specially distinguished themselves during the Transkei campaign, and General Thesiger received the Ribbon of the Bath.

But there were clouds lowering over the border of the distant colony of Natal, and Sir Bartle Frere, being of opinion that a crisis had arrived in our relations with the Zulu king, Cetewayo, resolved to precipitate matters by sending that potentate an ultimatum, which, it is to be presumed, he must have known would be rejected.

The foe against whom we were now to contend, though cruel and barbarous, was one whom we have learnt to respect as the possessor of that highest of virtues, according to the Greek philosopher Aristotle—valour. England was thunderstruck when

the disaster of Isandlana, on the 22nd January, showed that the task of reducing to subjection a race of savages deficient in artillery and arms of precision was to be one that would require the despatch of a large army commanded by six generals, and necessitating a greater strain upon our military resources than this country had been subjected to since the Indian Mutiny.

In 1856, when the Cape Colony had been denuded of troops through the Crimean War, a great danger was averted by the provision of the Governor, Sir George Grey, and the loyal promptitude with which his representations were met by the Palmerston Cabinet. At the close of that year, which was to witness the fulfilment of the Kaffir prophecy, that the slaughtered cattle should rise from their graves, and the white man be driven into the sea, we had on the eastern frontier, besides the old Cape Mounted Rifles, ten line regiments, the greater portion of whom were veterans of former Kaffir wars, together with some battalions of the German Legion, and a small but admirable body of mounted police, with native levies and adequate supply arrangements, according to the scale then considered sufficient for our troops. The contrast between this and our recent preparations was striking. At the close of 1878 we had (inclusive of three battalions, despatched in hot haste in December, 1877) only eight line regiments in the whole of South Africa, with a heterogeneous collection of police, mounted corps of Europeans from the regiments serving at the Cape and the colonies, and native levies, of whom little can be said in their favour. This force was manifestly only sufficient to prevent any resumption of hostilities by the Gaikas and Galekas on the Kaffrarian frontier, who had only been reduced in August, and to overawe the Dutch Boers of the Transvaal, who had expressed their determination of resisting by arms their loss of independence. Yet the High Commissioner, at such a time and with so inadequate a force, determined to force on a rupture with the Zulu king. On September 24th, 1878, soon after the subjugation of the Kaffirs, he warmly supported Lord Chelmsford's demand for reinforcements; but the Colonial Secretary of State objected to the employment of Imperial troops in the aggressive designs of the colonists, and urged that hostilities might be averted by an "exercise of prudence, forbearance, and reasonable compromise." However, the Colonial Office yielded, to a certain extent, to the arguments of the High Commissioner, and a small reinforcement was despatched purely for defensive purposes, "to insure," as Sir Michael Hicks-Beach said, "the safety of the European residents in Natal and Transvaal;" and, "not to furnish means

for a campaign of invasion and conquest, but to afford such protection as may be necessary at this juncture to secure the lives and property of the colonists." Sir Bartle Frere, with his impulsive nature, could see no obstacles in the dangerous path he had determined to tread, and contended that the Zulus—like the Irishman trailing his coat after him in the fair—were only "trying to provoke the British to strike the first blow." He accordingly fulminated his ultimatum, and on the Zulu monarch failing to comply with his demands by the stipulated date, with true Hibernian pugnacity, he assumed the tempting provocation of "striking the first blow." Lord Chelmsford was directed to invade the country with an army of which 5,000 only were British soldiers, Sir Bartle Frere doubtless counting on a swift and assured victory, when his disobedience would be condoned by the Home Government.

In his lengthy and able vindication of his conduct in precipitating matters, the High Commissioner quotes the dictum of one who had studied the question when administering the colony of Natal some few years before. Sir Garnet Wolseley had placed on record his opinion that "the Zulus were a great danger to our colony and to all South Africa." But so they were when Sir Garnet made his tour along the banks of the Tugela and the frontier of Natal for the purpose of deciding upon the necessary measures for the defence of the colony; and nothing of importance had since occurred to increase the urgency of this danger. It may be assumed that with the arrival of the additional reinforcement of three battalions which had been sent out by the Home Government, the energetic and sanguine Governor of the Cape Colony considered that he had a sufficient force to subdue any resistance that Cetewayo could organise, in the event of an invasion of his country being attempted by the British forces. However this may be, it is certain that both Sir Bartle Frere and General Thesiger underrated the power of the Zulu army, and though the former spoke in eloquent terms of the absolute necessity of overthrowing the "celibate, man-slaying machine" which was a standing menace not only to Natal, but to the newly-annexed Transvaal, the measure he took of their prowess, as displayed by his despatching an ultimatum and rushing into hostilities with a total of 5,000 Imperial troops, hardly tallied with the heated language of the despatches describing the imminent peril of the situation.

General Thesiger, as a soldier, had only to take the military measures necessary to enforce the policy of his civil chief, and these he did to the best of his ability, though the forces at his

disposal were inadequate for the invasion of a perfect *terra incognita* like Zululand, and he was totally deficient in regular cavalry, for a regiment of which Sir Bartle Frere had asked in vain. It should be noted, in justice to Sir Frederick Thesiger, that, in his published report, he displays anxiety as to the state of affairs, and the limited forces placed at his disposal, which, including the reinforcements he was then soliciting, he considered absolutely necessary, "even for purely defensive purposes." It may be said that as he did not decline to undertake an offensive war with the small army at his disposal, and did not insist upon larger reinforcements, no blame lay on the Government; but he may have considered the invidious position in which he would have been placed had he done so, and the fact that there were many aspiring officers at home who would have undertaken the duty with a light heart. On the 1st August Sir Frederick Thesiger left Simon's Bay for Natal in Her Majesty's ship *Active*, with Lieutenant-Colonel Crealock, his assistant military secretary, and staff, and, in a few days, landed at Durban, whence he proceeded to Pietermaritzburg, the capital, in order to organise the columns for the invasion of Zululand. The 2nd battalion 24th Regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Degacher, the 90th, under Colonel Palmer—who early in the year had been operating from Fort Beaufort against Tini Macomo—as well as some companies of the Buffs, and a battery of artillery, were also despatched to Natal, and took up their positions on the frontier preparatory to the invasion.

The task of organising the columns with the necessary transport was a difficult one, but to an officer like Lord Chelmsford,* conversant with such work by his experience in the Abyssinian campaign, it was not uncongenial. During the remainder of the year he was thus fully occupied, and, on the 11th January, 1879, the day after the period allowed Cetewayo to concede the demands of the High Commissioner, he commenced the invasion of Zululand by crossing the Buffalo River. The army was organised into five columns† under

* In October, 1878, he attained the title by the death of his father.

† No. 1 column, under Colonel Pearson, of the Buffs, consisted of a detachment of Royal Artillery, under Lieut. Lloyd; No. 2 company Royal Engineers, under Captain Wynne; 2nd battalion Buffs, under Colonel Parnell; 6 companies of the 90th Regiment, under Colonel Welman; and the *Active* Naval Brigade, under Commander Campbell. Besides these regular troops there were a body of mounted infantry, under Captain Barrow, of the 19th Hussars, and several small corps of mounted volunteers, with 2 battalions of the Native Contingent and a company of Natal Native Pioneers. Strength of combatants, 23 artillery, 1,517 infantry, 312 cavalry, 2,256 native troops, with 4 7-pounders, 1 Gatling gun, and 2 rocket-tubes. No. 2 Column, which was broken up after the disaster at Isandlana, was commanded

Colonels Pearson, Durnford, Glyn, Wood, and Rowlands. There were also the detachments for keeping up the communications at Greytown, Helpmakaar, Rorke's Drift, Stanger, Fort Pearson, and Durban. The grand total of the field-force was as follows—85 staff and departments, 263 Royal Artillery, 20 guns, 2 rocket-tubes, 8 rocket-troughs, 5,128 infantry, 1,193 cavalry, 315 mounted natives, 9,035 Native Contingent, 1,910 conductors, drivers, and fore-loopers, 10,023 oxen, 803 horses, 398 mules, 977 waggons, and 56 carts—total, 17,929 officers and men. This force presented a magnificent total on paper, but it was soon found that the only reliable elements were the European soldiers—namely, 5,128 infantry, the 263 Royal Artillerymen, and the volunteer cavalry and mounted infantry. Of these the 80th Regiment, 834 strong, forming a part of Colonel Rowlands's column, was distant from the scene of conflict, so that Lord Chelmsford undertook the invasion of Zululand, known to be defended with some 40,000 warriors, mobile, well armed, and disciplined, and acting on interior lines in a difficult and unexplored country, with considerably less than 5,000 reliable troops.

The operation of crossing the Buffalo River on the 11th January, by No. 3 Column, under command of Colonel Glyn, who was accompanied by Lord Chelmsford, was a difficult one, owing to the swollen condition of the river, caused by the very heavy rains. The European infantry were ferried over on a barrel raft, a pont, and a small boat, while the mounted men of the Native Contingent crossed at the ford lower down; and, by 6.30 a.m., the troops, favoured by a heavy mist, all stood on Zululand, embarked in a campaign destined to be memorable.

by the ill-fated Lieut.-Colonel Durnford, R.E., a man of high character and intimately acquainted with the Zulus, and consisted of a rocket battery, under Captain Russell, R.A.; 3 battalions of the Native Contingent, Sikali's Horse, and a company of Natal Pioneers. Strength, 3,488 native troops, 315 mounted natives, with 3 rocket-tubes. No. 3 Column, commanded by Colonel Glyn, C.B., of the 24th Regiment, included N. Battery, 5th Brigade, Royal Artillery, under Lieut.-Colonel Harness; No. 5 company Royal Engineers, Captain Jones; 1st battalion 24th Regiment, Lieut.-Colonel Pulleine; 2nd battalion 24th Regiment, Lieut.-Colonel Degacher; a squadron of mounted infantry, under Lieut.-Colonel Cecil Russell, 12th Lancers; some corps of mounted police and volunteers; 2 battalions of the Native Contingent, and 1 company of Natal Pioneers—132 artillery, 1,275 infantry, 320 cavalry, 2,568 native troops, with 6 7-pounders and 2 rocket-troughs. No. 4 Column, commanded by Colonel Evelyn Wood, V.C., C.B., 90th Regiment, consisted of 6 7-pounders, Major Tremlett, Royal Artillery; 1 battalion 13th Regiment, Lieut.-Colonel Gilbert; 90th Regiment, Lieut.-Colonel Cherry; Frontier Light Horse, Lieut.-Colonel Buller, C.B. 60th Rifles; and a native corps known as Wood's Irregulars—108 artillery, 1,502 infantry, 208 cavalry, 387 native troops, with 6 7-pounders and 2 rocket-troughs. No. 5 Column, Colonel Rowlands, V.C., C.B., included 80th Regiment, Major Tucker, and several corps of mounted volunteers and natives—834 infantry, 553 cavalry, 338 native troops, with 3 guns.

Opposition had been expected at this point, and had the Zulus then adopted the tactics they put into practice with so much success against the detachment of the 80th Regiment, at the Intombi River, it is probable that a serious check might have been received early in the campaign, which would have opened the eyes of Lord Chelmsford and his staff to the folly of attempting the arduous task before them with insufficient means; but though the chief Usirayo, whose sons had been demanded for the seizure of some Zulu women on British soil, had expressed his intention to fight, and his own kraal lay within four miles of Rorke's Drift, he made no sign. On crossing the river, Lord Chelmsford, who had sent instructions to Colonel Evelyn Wood to meet him at the Itelzi Hill, started off to the rendezvous, taking with him his mounted infantry and volunteers.

The route lay over an open, undulating country, and, after a ride of fifteen miles, he met the gallant commander of No. 4 Column, who had been encamped at Bembas Kop, about thirty-three miles from the Drift, between the 6th and 10th, when he made a march of twelve miles towards the main force. After an interview, Lord Chelmsford returned the same day to his camp on some rising ground on the left bank of the Buffalo River, where he was met by Colonel Durnford, commanding No. 3 Column, who reported "the country in his front was quite quiet, the women and old people in their kraals, but the army with the king." Having received his instructions as to the dispositions of his column, Colonel Durnford returned to his station, and Lord Chelmsford saw no more of this unfortunate officer. His lordship determined not to make any advance into Zululand until he had stored one month's supplies on the right bank of the Buffalo, in addition to fifteen days' supply with the column; but the difficulties to be overcome were very considerable, for not only had three rivers to be crossed between his camp and Greytown, a distance of seventy miles, but the roads were very bad, and the transport difficulties were increased by the great mortality among the oxen, while nothing but cattle could be obtained in the country itself. However, the commander did not remain idle, but, on the day following the crossing at Rorke's Drift, directed Colonel Glyn to make a reconnaissance in the direction of Isepesi Hill, while a portion of the infantry, traversed the valley of the Bashee. By 8.30 the precipitous sides of the Ngudu mountain were occupied by the infantry, and the cattle captured; the cavalry, under Colonel Russell, 12th Lancers, attacking and dispersing the enemy from the higher

terrace of the mountain, with the loss of thirty killed, including a son of Usirayo.

On the 20th January Lord Chelmsford broke up his camp, and marched about ten miles across the waggon track from Rorke's Drift, to the Indeni forest, where he took up a position with the back of the camp to an isolated hill of peculiar appearance known as Isandlana, but though, in the detailed and admirable instructions he issued to the troops before crossing the Buffalo, he emphasised the necessity of always fortifying the camp, either by entrenching or placing the waggons in laager, according to the Dutch fashion, it appears that the General took no steps to direct the execution of this precautionary measure, and this notwithstanding that he had with him all the supplies and transport of the column; to this unhappy omission was mainly due the catastrophe of the 22nd. It may be observed by his apologists that the camp was only a temporary one, but these precautionary measures were required for all halts extending over a night, and he himself entrenched and packed his waggons daily on his march to the relief of Etshowe, with a column double the strength of that with which he encamped at Isandlana.

Thus, though the disaster was primarily due to the failure of ammunition and the scattering of their force by Colonels Durnford and Pulleine, Lord Chelmsford cannot be acquitted of blame in leaving the camp unlaagered. But all the tactical faults were redeemed by the heroism of our troops, officers, and men, and assuredly Isandlana is a name Englishmen may repeat with pride.

On the same day, the 20th January, his lordship made a reconnaissance about ten miles along the waggon track from Rorke's Drift, which skirts the Inhlazatye mountains, as far as a place called Matyanas's stronghold, described as a deep valley, full of caves, with three precipitous sides. Not having time on that day to complete the reconnaissance, he directed two columns of natives, under command of Major Dartnell and Commandant Lonsdale, to proceed thither on the 21st, and, after completing an examination of the locality, to return to camp. During the afternoon Major Dartnell sent back word to say that he had not been able to complete the reconnaissance, as he had found the position occupied by the enemy, and requested that three companies of British troops might be sent to him, when he would attack. Lord Chelmsford, however, declined to comply with the request, as the day was far advanced, but sent out biscuit to the force. At 2.30 on the morning of the 22nd

January, a message was received from Major Dartnell that the enemy was in great strength before him, upon which the General directed Colonel Glyn to march to his assistance with all the available troops, and sent an express to Colonel Durnford, who was at Rorke's Drift with 500 natives, half of whom were mounted and armed with breechloaders, and a rocket battery, to move up and take command of the camp.

Accordingly, at daybreak on this eventful day,—when the sun “fired the proud tops of the eastern pines,”—Lord Chelmsford, having given Colonel Pulleine strict instructions to act on the defensive, left him in command of the camp with a guard of 772 European soldiers, besides natives, and marched with Colonel Glyn's column, which consisted of 600 of the 2nd battalion 24th Regiment, the mounted infantry, and 4 guns. Pressing on with a small escort, his lordship reached Major Dartnell about 6.30 a.m., and at once ordered the two battalions of the Native Contingent to occupy some heights of the Inhlazatye range, on which the enemy showed in considerable strength, while he sent back word to Colonel Glyn to move, with the guns and 24th Regiment, up a valley which lay to the left of the spur, with the mounted corps on both flanks; a general advance was made, the enemy retiring without firing, a manœuvre practised, as appeared by the light of later events, according to a preconcerted scheme, by which the British commander was completely outwitted and out-generalled. At this very time the advance on the camp was in process of development, and had the ordinary precautions been taken of having the country examined by the mounted corps and scouts, or a means of signalling with the camp established by the heliograph, which was in use by the army operating in Afghanistan, it is certain that the presence of the Zulu army would have been detected, or a warning received of their advance in force on the camp. The first notice of anything wrong at Isandlana, was received as early as 9 a.m., when Colonel Pulleine sent a report that firing was heard to the left front of the camp, but Lieutenant Milne, R.N., the General's naval A.D.C., who was despatched to the top of a high hill with a glass, reported that he could detect nothing unusual in that direction. Lord Chelmsford now fixed upon a site for a camp, and, having ordered the troops then on the ground to bivouac there for the night, (with the exception of one battalion of the Native Contingent,) started on his return to Isandlana with the mounted infantry under Colonel Russell, well satisfied with the results of the day's work. But very soon the feeling of self-

gratulation was turned into one of horror, and the frame of mind into which a man of the high sensibility and humanity of Lord Chelmsford must have been thrown by the sights and experiences of the next few hours, may be conceived, but cannot be adequately expressed in words.

When about six miles from the camp, he found the native battalion halted, and soon after Commandant Lonsdale, who had ridden on alone unsuspecting of danger, returned, and made the almost incredible report that the Zulus were in possession of the camp, where all was quiet—the quiet that reigns on a battlefield when every opposing arm is nerveless, and even the cry of the wounded is stilled in death. At this supreme hour of horror, Lord Chelmsford rose to the occasion, and showed that he possessed the true spirit of the soldier. There was no blanching of the lips, and there was no faltering of the tone, as, quickly forming his resolve that the camp must be taken at all costs, he sent back word to Colonel Glyn to bring on all the troops, and himself advanced two miles, when he halted to await their arrival. The interval was employed by Colonel Russell in reconnoitring the camp, when all was reported to be “as bad as could be;” and, on the arrival of the main body, Lord Chelmsford formed them in fighting order, guns in the centre, with three companies of the 24th on each flank, the battalions of natives on each flank of the Europeans, and the mounted corps on the extreme right and left. In a few brief sentences the General told them what he required of them to do, and expressed his confidence in their ability to avenge the death of their comrades and the honour of the flag. The sentiments expressed by their leader found a response in every soldier’s breast, and with a cheer they nerved themselves for the stern task before them, than which, to all appearances, no more desperate venture was ever undertaken—for night was closing on them; there was no spare ammunition, and only a few biscuits; they had marched over thirty miles the previous day, had passed a sleepless night on the stony ground, and were fatigued with a hard day’s work, while, over and above these material disadvantages, there was the depressing influence arising from the consciousness that the enemy, which could in open day annihilate one half of the column, could, with equal certainty, favoured by night, demolish the other half. But the British soldier does not reason or argue, he simply does his duty.

In silence, and amid the deepening gloom, the little column advanced across the plain with great speed, and, on arriving

in the neighbourhood of the camp, Lord Chelmsford directed the artillery to shell the crest of the narrow neck over which the line of retreat to Rorke's Drift lay, whilst the left wing, under Major Black, of the 24th Regiment, moved forward to seize a small stony hill on the left of this neck. The remainder of the column awaited anxiously the result of this movement, which a distant cheer told them had been accomplished. The right wing now advanced and seized the neck, when it was found that the Zulus had decamped, taking with them the supplies and waggons, and leaving nothing behind them but the dead. And so the remnant of No. 3 Column passed the night, amid the *débris* of the plundered camp, which was transformed into a shambles, with the bodies of men, horses and oxen, mixed in inextricable confusion. The scene would baffle the weird pen of a Dante, who never imagined aught so horrifying in his "Inferno," or the pencil of his illustrator Doré. Lord Chelmsford, in his despatch, avoids any description of the scene, and of the horrors of that night, during the long hours of which they expected momentarily to be attacked in front and rear by the Zulu army. He marched early, having no time to examine the field or bury the dead, "for," says he, "it was certain that daylight would reveal a sight which could not but have a demoralising effect upon the whole force;" and, moreover, he was anxious to reach Rorke's Drift, the fate of which was of such moment to the safety of the force, and of the whole colony.

When he first saw the smoke rising from the burning hospital at that post, it appeared certain that the *depôt* had been captured, and, if so, Helpmakaar, twelve miles off, was lost, and the whole colony was at the mercy of the savage Zulu hordes. But he was quickly undeceived by the sight of a British flag and the sound of a British cheer, and then he learned the story of the defence of that lonely post by a detachment of 139 officers and men, than which nothing more gallant is told in the annals of war, and the consequences of which were, no doubt, the safety not only of Lord Chelmsford's force, but of the whole colony of Natal, which would have been overrun and laid waste to Maritzburg and Durban, and every European of both sexes and all ages massacred.

All offensive operations now came to an end, and Lord Chelmsford ordered Colonels Wood and Pearson to stand on the defensive until the arrival of reinforcements, for which he sent an urgent demand to England. We had been so accustomed to triumph in all our little wars, the latest of which had

proved how even a force of only three European regiments could achieve success when handled by a gifted leader, that the ministry and people of England were startled by the news of the reverse that had befallen our arms. Had they taken counsel in the first instance with Sir Garnet Wolseley, who had studied the military question on the spot, they would have learned the total inadequacy of 5,000 imperial troops to overcome the army of Cetewayo. When, however, the invasion of Zululand collapsed—an event which, had it not been precipitated by the Isandlana disaster, would probably have occurred at a later period, when, the army having advanced into the interior of the country, the calamity would have been more complete and irremediable—a cry arose for the recall of Lord Chelmsford, on the ground of general incompetence, which some critics even averred was apparent in his despatches no less than his arrangements.

At a banquet at Merchants' Hall in London, on the 16th December last, Lord Chelmsford spoke in his own defence as follows:—"There can be no one present who has not read the rather severe criticisms which have been passed upon the conduct of that campaign. But war is not one of those exact sciences in which every move can be laid down with mathematical precision; and I believe that was the idea which the Duke of Wellington had in his mind when he said that he was the best general who made the fewest mistakes. It is easy enough to find fault; and no doubt I am not an exception to the general rule to which the Duke of Wellington referred. But I would ask you to remember that it is easy enough for a general officer to state broadly what the object he has in view is, but it is not so easy for him to lay down and declare exactly the means by which he proposes to insure the success of that object. I hope you will acquit me of egotism if I very briefly call to your recollection what occurred during the 16 months while I had the honour of commanding Her Majesty's forces in South Africa. On landing at Cape Town I found that the Gaika rebellion had broken out under the chief Sandili, so well known in connection with Kaffir wars. In three months from the time of my taking the field, that rebellion, which was such a danger to the security of life and property throughout the whole eastern frontier of the Cape Colony, was completely crushed. And with respect to the late war, all I wish to point out to you is that that formidable military power which menaced and I might also say hung like an avalanche over the heads of the inhabitants of Natal and the Transvaal, in less than six

months ceased to exist. I trust you will excuse me for speaking with this confidence, but there is a time to speak and a time to keep silence. And I think I shall not be misunderstood if I ask you to remember that the reputation of a general officer is just as dear to him as that of any other officer or soldier." This sounds more like an apology than a defence, and though the countrymen of his lordship look with sympathy on an officer who does his best and spares not himself in his efforts to attain success, we think impartial history will condemn his strategy as faulty throughout the campaign, and his arrangements as lacking celerity, and a due appreciation of the difficulties to be overcome.

During the few weeks of enforced expectancy in Natal, occurred the reverse on the Intombi River, and then again was made manifest our insular habit, after any disaster, great or small, of calling on the world to witness our shame. Some few years ago it was the fashion to decry the navy, and when an ironclad grounded or touched another at manœuvres, it was heralded forth in the papers, as "another naval disaster." So likewise now, after such an affair of outposts as this Intombi surprise, the public and the press metaphorically rent their garments and heaped ashes on their head. "Another British defeat" was the text of many diatribes against every one concerned, including Lord Chelmsford, who was no more responsible for it than the Emperor of China. It is sadly to be deplored that we do not adopt the Napoleonic axiom, and "wash our dirty linen in private," instead of calling on the world to pity the imbecility of our generals and the decadence of our "boy soldiers," who, nevertheless, died at their posts at Isandlana, and fought at Etshowe and Kambula, with a devotion and stubborn value not surpassed by the veterans of Albuera and Inkerman.

The Home Government, alive to the urgency of the crisis, despatched over 8,000 men and 1,800 horses, who, within three weeks* of the arrival of the telegram from Madeira reporting the disaster, were on their way to Natal, a result largely due to the energy and capacity of the Quartermaster-General, Sir Daniel Lysons.

In the meantime, after steps had been taken to meet the most pressing need—the safety of the colony from a Zulu invasion along the Tugela frontier—Lord Chelmsford turned his attention to organising a column for relieving Colonel Pearson, who had advanced into Zululand, defeated the enemy, with

* News arrived in England of the disaster of the 22nd January on the 11th February, and, on the 19th, two ships sailed with reinforcements, and by the 28th, no less than thirteen or fourteen more with the remainder.

heavy loss, at Inyezani, on the 23rd January, and, on receipt of the disaster of the 22nd, entrenched himself at Etshowe. It was reported that Colonel Pearson had only sufficient provisions for two months, but though the General and Sir Bartle Frere exerted themselves to bring up all the available imperial and colonial troops, they could only muster a small column, consisting of five companies of the 99th, and two of the Buffs, with a detachment of sailors and mounted infantry. Fortunately the arrival of the 57th Regiment from Ceylon, and of H.M.S. *Shah*, whose men were landed, and of a portion of the reinforcements from England, consisting of the 91st Regiment, and 3rd battalion 60th Rifles, placed the General in a position to ensure the success of the relief operations. Accordingly, at daybreak on the 29th April, the column, of which Lord Chelmsford assumed command, marched from the Tugela, in two brigades,* having a strength of 3,340 Europeans and 2,280 natives.

The troops, having crossed the Tugela river, bivouacked on the open ground amid a drenching downpour of rain, and, at daybreak on the 29th March, Lord Chelmsford started from Fort Tenedos, on the left bank of the Tugela river, on his adventurous march. The advance column was preceded by Mr. John Dunn's scouts and Captain Barrow's mounted infantry, who had done such good service under Colonel Pearson at Inyezani on the 23rd January. The road, owing to the rain, was in a very bad condition, and the oxen, sixteen to a span, struggled and floundered through the mud, which in places came up to the axletrees of the waggons. At one o'clock, the advance column, under Colonel Law, R.A., halted near the river, having marched a distance of eleven miles—considered a good day's work in such a country. The troops at once threw up entrenchments, inside which, at a distance of about twenty feet, the waggons were laagered, the oxen and mules being turned out to feed. This course was adopted daily, the cattle being driven in at dusk within the laager, outside which the troops bivouacked. Lord Chelmsford, with unflagging energy, personally superintended every detail in the arrangements, even

* The 1st brigade, under Colonel Law, R.A., comprised the naval brigade of the *Shah* and *Tenedos*, 350 men; 57th Regiment, 640; 2 companies of Buffs, 140; 5 companies 99th Regiment, 430; Native Contingent, 1,200; mounted infantry, 70; mounted volunteers, 30; mounted natives, 130; native scouts, 150; Artillery—2 9-pounders, 2 24-pounder rocket-tubes, and 1 Gatling gun. This brigade escorted the train of supplies for a month's provisions for Etshowe and for the column. The 2nd brigade, commanded by Colonel Pemberton, of the 60th Rifles, consisted of the naval brigade of H.M.S. *Boadicea*, 190; 60th Rifles, 550; Royal Marines, *Shah* and *Boadicea*, 100; 91st Highlanders, 850; Native Contingent, 800; Artillery—2 24-pounder rocket-tubes and 1 Gatling gun.

to an extent not required of a commander-in-chief. "The General," wrote the *Times* correspondent, "does not spare himself, he shares the living and hardship of the common soldier, faring exactly the same in all respects. Any disadvantage between them is on his side."

At daybreak on the 30th March, the scouts and mounted infantry took a wide circuit to reconnoitre, and, at 7.30, the waggons of the advance guard started, the first difficulty being the passage of a "spruit," or water-course, which required the services of extra spans to each waggon before it was passed by the column. Lord Chelmsford superintended in person this operation, and, in the anxiety to get on, was not above "bearing a hand." The spruit passed, the whole column halted a mile beyond and reformed, when a fresh start was made, and with a couple of rests, the advance, about 2 p.m., reached the next camping-ground, within a mile of Amatakulu river. It was fortunate that Lord Chelmsford, after an inspection of the crossing, or drift, over this river, decided to encamp on the right bank, for the whole of the following day was occupied in crossing it, in some instances twenty and twenty-five couple of oxen being attached to one waggon, besides a swarm of natives on either side, before it could be dragged across.

During the day Captain Barrow went on an expedition to burn the kraal of Maguendo, the king's brother, and, this accomplished, proceeded about fifteen miles to the right among the Ingoya Hills, destroying some kraals on the road. Laager was formed that night on the left bank of the Amatakulu river, and, on the 1st April, the march was resumed to Gingilhova, fifteen miles from Etshowe, Captain Barrow and Dunn's scouts, as usual, reconnoitring in advance in order to discover the best road. During the night, intelligence was received that large bodies of Zulus were approaching from all sides, so every preparation was made to give them a fitting reception. The entrenchments were strengthened, and the pickets and outposts doubled, and, at daybreak, all was ready to receive the Zulu army, which, to the number of about 11,000 warriors, was seen advancing in skirmishing order from the north-east. Great admiration was expressed at the admirable manner in which they skirmished, the men taking advantage of every bush and inequality of ground.

The attack was first made on the north-east angle of the works, where the 60th Rifles and *Boadicea's* men were stationed; but, as it developed, they surrounded the whole camp, and the most desperate attacks were made on the north-

west side, which was defended by the 99th Regiment and the *Tenedos* naval brigade. The attacks commenced at 6 a.m., and, within one hour and a half from the time the first shot was fired, the Zulu army was repulsed at all points and in full retreat, chased by the mounted corps, their estimated loss being 1,000, and that of the British, one officer (Lieutenant Johnston, of the 99th Regiment), and four men killed, and three officers and thirty-four men wounded.

At eight o'clock, on the following day, the 3rd April, Lord Chelmsford started from the camp at Gingilhova for Etshowe, a distance of fifteen miles, with a strong column, consisting of six companies of the 91st, the 57th Regiment, 60th Rifles, and some marines of the *Shoh* and *Boadicea*, with two 9-pounders, two rocket-tubes, and one Gatling gun, the whole accompanied by fifty mounted infantry, sixty mounted volunteers, some native horse under Maclean, and a hundred of Dunn's scouts, who thoroughly searched the bush ahead and on both flanks to guard against a surprise. The column passed the battlefield of Inyezani, and, further on, eight waggons abandoned by Colonel Pearson on his march; pushing on by the track which wound up the ridge on which Etshowe is situated, Lord Chelmsford was joined, about five o'clock, by Colonel Pearson and his staff, at the head of some companies of the 99th and one company of sailors, and, about nine, the column arrived at Etshowe, where they found the troops in good heart, and in no want of provisions, though they were beginning to suffer in health, over 100 men being in hospital.

Soon after eight on the following morning, Lord Chelmsford started on a raid with the cavalry on the kraal of Dabulemanzi, the chief who commanded at the action of Gingilhova, distant about four miles from Etshowe, which was burnt, the chief having just time to make his escape with his family. Etshowe was dismantled and abandoned on the 5th April, and the whole column commenced its return march, Colonel Pearson by the direct track on the lower Tugela, and Lord Chelmsford by the route to Gingilhova, within four and a-half miles of which he camped that night. In thus evacuating a post almost within striking distance of Ulundi, Lord Chelmsford showed a want of vigour and judgment; and not improbably the war might have been brought to a conclusion some weeks earlier had he left a column in a position which was impregnable to any Zulu attack and the retention of which would have had an important moral effect. On the 6th, the relief column halted about one and a-half mile on the other side of Gingilhova, where Colonel Northey,

60th Rifles, who had been wounded in the action of the 2nd, died and was buried. At this point Lord Chelmsford constructed a new camp, where he left a strong garrison, and, on the 7th, rode to Fort Tenedos, where on the same day Colonel Pearson also arrived. Thus the relief of Etshowe was accomplished, and the first phase of the war, with its disasters, redeemed by the heroism of our troops and the victories of Gingilhova and Kambula, was brought to an end. Lord Chelmsford was now enabled to turn his attention exclusively to the organisation of his columns and completion of his arrangements for the second invasion of Zululand.

The task before him was an arduous one, but he set about it with zeal and thoroughness, and soon had the assistance of some of the best and most experienced officers of the army. By the end of May, there were under Lord Chelmsford's orders, as appears from a statement made by Colonel Stanley in the House of Commons on the 23rd of that month, "16,959 British troops, in addition to 1,064 more on passage, and 1,615 under orders to embark. The colonial troops were something like 4,453 of all arms." This was in addition to the naval brigade, which numbered, said the First Lord of the Admiralty on the same occasion, "850 blue jackets and marines." These numbers, making a total of 25,000, equal the force with which we fought the battle of the Alma, and exceed, in the number of British soldiers, any army collected under our standards in India. And yet they were so much scattered, that in the decisive battle of the war, there were only 4,000 Europeans assembled under Lord Chelmsford's command, about the number that Lord Napier, out of 13,000 men, had with him at Magdala, 400 miles from his base at Zoolla.

The chief difficulties with which Lord Chelmsford had to contend were those which generally militate against the mobility and efficiency of a British army in the field—those of transport. He had a large force, amply sufficient for all his needs, but the only means of transport sent out from England were a score or two of waggons, and some few hundred mules collected from South America, while it was well known that Natal and the neighbouring districts were almost clean swept of pack-animals and oxen, the hire of a span of which, with waggon, from a colonist, amounted to a fabulous sum. On the completion of the organisation of the invading army, it advanced into Zululand in three columns,* the first division, under Major-General

* The following were the troops operating in Zululand and in the Transvaal:—1st division, General Crealock, Brigadiers Bray and Rowlands.—Two batteries of

Crealock, C.B., along the sea-coast; the second division, under Major-General E. Newdigate, moving from Koppie Allein, and the Flying Column, under Brigadier-General Evelyn Wood, acting as the advance of the 2nd division, which was accompanied by Lord Chelmsford.

But before his lordship entered on the campaign, an event occurred which, though of no importance as regarded the war, must be considered of the first magnitude as concerns the destinies of a mighty race, and a neighbouring friendly nation. Prince Louis Napoleon, impelled by an honourable desire to see active service, proceeded to South Africa, and joined the staff of Lord Chelmsford. But his career was cut short by Zulu assegais, and one of the saddest episodes of the war was that enacted on the 1st June, almost within hail of a British camp, in which were a dozen officers who would willingly have sacrificed their lives in defence of the young prince, as they had ventured them in rescuing comrades of humble rank. The Prince Imperial died, as became one of his race, with his face to the foe, and he now rests in England by the side of his father.

In the words of Juno, when addressing the King of Heaven, who shrinks from permitting the death of his son, Sarpedon, predestined to fall beneath "Patroclus' never-erring dart:"—

"And when th' ascending soul has wing'd her flight,
Let Sleep and Death convey, by thy command,
The breathless body to his native land.
His friends and people, to his future praise
A marble tomb and pyramid shall raise,
And lasting honours to his ashes give;
His fame ('tis all the dead can have) shall live."

Lord Chelmsford must have received with bitter regret the news of the death of his royal aide-de-camp, committed specially to his charge, but the preparations for the advance into the enemy's country now engrossed all his faculties. On

artillery and an ammunition column; Engineers, 30th company and O troop; the Buffs, the 57th, 60th, 88th, 91st, and the 99th Regiments; 2 squadrons of mounted infantry, the Natal horse, and native scouts. 2nd division.—General Newdigate, Brigadiers Glyn and Collingwood; General Marshall commanding cavalry.—2 batteries of artillery, and an ammunition column; Engineers, 2nd company; the 17th Lancers, and the 1st Dragoon Guards; the 21st Regiment, 1st battalion 24th, 58th, and 94th Regiments; No. 3 troop of Shepstone's horse, and the mounted natives. Flying Column.—Brigadier-General Wood. Gatling guns, the Engineers, the 13th and 90th Regiments, detachments of the 80th Regiment, Mounted Infantry, Frontier Light Horse, Transvaal Rangers, Wood's Irregulars, Transvaal.—Commandant, Colonel Lanyon; Staff officer, Major Carrington; 1,081 infantry, including the 80th Regiment, 541 cavalry, Lydenberg Rifles, and various volunteer corps.

the 4th June, while Lord Chelmsford was at Brigadier-General Wood's camp at Nondwini, a scout reported the advance of an "impi," whereupon the camp was put in a state of defence, and Colonel Buller was sent to reconnoitre. The Zulus were in force, and, on the following day, General Marshall went out with a column of cavalry, General Newdigate's division moving from the Ilyotozi to the Nondwini, and General Wood making one march in advance. During the skirmishing, in which the cavalry were engaged with the Zulus, Lieutenant Frith, Adjutant of the 17th Lancers, was killed by a shot from a mealie field, while in the act of leaning forward to take an order from Colonel Drury-Lowe of that regiment. On the following day, Lord Chelmsford moved the 2nd division to the Erzungayan hill, the scene of the skirmish, and the succeeding days were employed in reconnoitring and burning about 30 kraals. General Crealock meanwhile advanced on the coast-line to the Umlalazi plain, and opened communications with Port Durnford, but his cattle died in such numbers from the sickness that is prevalent in this part, that he was unable to co-operate with effect with the main army.

Lord Chelmsford, pushing on slowly and cautiously and making secure his communications by posts as he proceeded, on 21st June arrived, with Newdigate's division, on the right bank of the Umlatoosi, General Wood camping on the opposite bank. On the following day the Flying Column advanced four miles, and halted to build a fort, and, on the 23rd, Lord Chelmsford crossed the Umlatoosi, and next day both columns advanced, Lord Chelmsford pitching his camp eleven miles beyond the river. On the 26th, a cluster of five military kraals was burned, and, on the following day, the columns advanced with 200 rounds of ammunition and ten days' provisions, but without tents; the same day messengers arrived from Cetewayo, bringing two elephant tusks as a sign of peace, and 114 oxen captured at Isandlana. The messenger also brought a letter, in English, written by a captive trader, in which the king said the two guns taken on the 22nd January should be sent, but that he had no arms, none having been brought him. Lord Chelmsford returned the tusks, with a message that before he retired, all his conditions—which included the surrender of the muskets of 1,000 Zulu warriors in his camp, as well as the guns, cattle and rifles captured at Isandlana—must be complied with. The same day the Flying Column advanced nine miles, and the 2nd division eleven miles, camping within a mile of each other. On the 28th both columns halted, formed a laager of the waggons that were

to be left behind, with a garrison of about 500 men, and, on the following day, Lord Chelmsford moved, with 200 waggons, to the Umvalosi, within fifteen miles of Ulundi, where he bivouacked. The enemy gave way in all directions, but every precaution was taken to guard against a sudden surprise. Several kraals were destroyed belonging to the king, from whom messengers arrived, expressing his anxiety for peace. By these messengers Lord Chelmsford sent word that if Cetewayo was sincerely desirous of a cessation of hostilities, he must send the two guns and one of his chief "Indunas" (chiefs) to treat, and, to fulfil these conditions, he gave the king till noon of the 3rd July, when he expressed his intention to advance. This was undoubtedly a wise step, as, besides exhibiting a politic moderation, it gave him time to reconnoitre the country between his camp at Mageni and the White Umvalosi, a tract of nine miles of bush unwatered by a single stream.

By noon of the 3rd July, the two days' grace had expired, and Lord Chelmsford, mindful of Lord Napier and King Theodore's bullocks, returned the cattle Cetewayo had sent in, and marched to the river bank, the Zulus retiring without firing a shot. As the large bodies of the enemy in the neighbourhood of the camp had disappeared, Lord Chelmsford sent Colonel Buller, with 500 cavalry, across the river to reconnoitre. This experienced officer performed this duty with his wonted dash, but, pushing too far, his retreat was nearly cut off, and his horsemen had to ride furiously to recross the drift before the enemy, who had lain concealed in the grass to the number of 4,000 men, closed in upon them. In this affair three men were killed and three wounded, and Lord William Beresford,* who was doing duty as aide-de-camp to Colonel Buller, gained the V.C. by his devoted gallantry in turning back, at the imminent risk of his life, and rescuing from the advancing Zulus the Serjeant-Major of the Frontier Light Horse. The object of the reconnaissance—to ascertain whether the enemy were in force across the river,—was fully attained, and the British army knew that night that a heavy day's work was before them. The 2nd Division and Flying Column formed laager 1,000 yards from the bank, and, at daybreak on the 4th of July, Lord Chelmsford, leaving in garrison 950 Europeans, including the 1st battalion 24th Regiment, 250 natives, and one Gatling gun, under Colonel Bellairs, the Deputy Adjutant-General, crossed the river with the

* Captain Lord W. Beresford, 9th Lancers, was Aide-de-Camp to Lord Lytton, and arrived from India as a volunteer to take part in the Zulu War.

remainder of his army,* taking with him no carriage except the ammunition and water carts. On arriving at the first clear ground, he formed his force into a hollow square,† with the Flying Column in front, and the 2nd division in rear, and moved on in search of the enemy.

Only a small body at first appeared, but by the time they had halted and set fire to the first kraal, more were seen at different points. The square continued its onward march, and passed Unodwengo, the chief kraal of the late King Panda, which was also fired. The enemy now began to show in great force along the sky line to the left, and began descending to the plain, heavy columns also issuing from Ulundi. Lord Chelmsford, accordingly, wheeled the square to the right, and took up an excellent position, pointed out by Colonel Buller, who had noticed it when reconnoitring. The action was opened by the cavalry, but soon they had to fall back, and took shelter within the square, which opened to receive them, as the Zulus swarmed over the ridge in dense masses, and closed around the British position. The artillery now took up the battle, but, the enemy, continuing to advance with audacity, soon came within range of the infantry, whose turn had now come.

The scene at this time was very picturesque, as the Zulus, in full war panoply of feathers and skins, with shields and sheaves of assegais, rapidly encircled those serried ranks, steel-tipped, and belching fire and smoke. The regiments of fierce young braves, who, confident of success, insisted on attacking the invading force, in spite of the warnings of Cetewayo and the older

* The strength of the force engaged at Ulundi was as follows:—2nd division, 1,870 Europeans, 530 natives, and 8 guns. Flying Column, 2,192 Europeans, 573 natives, 4 guns, and 2 Gatlings.

† The disposition of the troops and guns was as follows:—On the first face 5 companies of the 80th Regiment, under Major Tucker, with 2 Gatling guns under Major Owen, in their centre. On the right flank, 2 7-pounders of Major Tremlett's battery, under Lieutenant Davidson; and 7 companies of the 13th Regiment, under Major England; divided by 2 more of Major Tremlett's guns, under Captain Brown and Lieutenant Slade; and 1 9-pounder of Major Le Grice's battery, under Lieutenant Crookenden; dividing 4 companies of the 58th Regiment, under Colonel Whitehead. On the rear face 1 gun of Major Le Grice's battery; 2 companies of the 21st Regiment, under Major Hazlerig; and 3 companies of the 94th Regiment, under Colonel Malthus. On the west flank the remaining 3 companies of the 94th Regiment; 2 7-pounders of Major Harness's battery, under Lieutenant Parsons; 8 companies of the 90th Regiment, under Major Rogers; and 2 guns of Major Le Grice's temporarily attached to Major Harness's battery, under Lieutenant Elliot. Inside the square were 2 companies of Engineers, with some native pioneers attached, under Major Ohard, V.C., and Captain Annealey; reserves of the different regiments, the ammunition carts, watercarts, stretchers and ambulance waggons, bearers, and the Native Contingent, under Major Bengough. Colonel Buller's cavalry were scattered in front and on the flanks; and 2 squadrons of lancers, under Colonel Drury Lowe, with Captain Shepstone's Basutos, formed the rear guard.

leaders, who doubted the chances of success, hurried with ardour to the battle. As when the soldiers of the "great son of Peleus" were mustered beneath the walls of Troy:—

"So helm to helm, and crest to crest they throng,
Shield urged on shield, and man drove man along;
Thick undistinguish'd plumes, together join'd,
Float in one sea, and wave before the wind."

The Zulus, whose numbers were variously estimated from 15,000 to 23,000, were led by Dabulemanzi, who commanded at Rorke's Drift, Serayo, and other principal chiefs, the king watching the engagement from a neighbouring kraal. The attack was commenced at about 8.30, and, by 9, it was fully developed. The *Times* correspondent says:—"The principal effort was evidently to be made from our rear, over the rising ground from which Captain Shepstone's Basutos had been driven. The Zulus, swarming in continuous streams, crossed the left flank, partially under cover of Unodwengo kraal, and, passing the open ground between, which appeared black with them, formed a hollow square, and with a magnificent rush came in dense masses straight for the right rear corner of the square. The Royal Engineers, with the adjoining companies of the 58th and 94th, were as steady as rocks. The attack was directed particularly against the point covered by the two companies of the 21st. Neither volleys, shells, nor guns stopped them for a moment. It looked as if we were going to have a hand-to-hand fight; but at 60 or 70 yards they wavered before our fire, and in a moment halted dead. Through the smoke we could see from horseback the black rank hesitating, pausing as if for a spring. Eventually they turned and fled. The 80th had the most difficult point in the position to defend. A short distance beyond their lines the ground suddenly dipped, and the enemy were thus enabled to close up without being seen. The men continued firing with great coolness, waiting time after time until they saw the Zulus rise. Shortly before this a Gatling had been taken from the front face and placed on the left flank, where the Zulus were at one time in great strength. The onslaught on this face was not nearly so heavy as on the others."

But the enemy could not long face the terrible fire poured into them at a range of 60 yards, and, after a display of heroism that would not have discredited veteran disciplined infantry, about 9.30 they wavered. Now the cavalry was let slip at them.

Emerging from the square, the 17th Lancers, led by Colonel Drury-Lowe, who, a few minutes previously, had been knocked off his horse by a spent bullet, charged the enemy, who, though broken, were not demoralised, and occasionally faced about while retreating up the hill, and fired into their pursuers. Meanwhile the troop of the 1st Dragoon Guards, under Captain Brewster, and the Irregular Cavalry, led by Colonel Buller, had left the square, and pursued the enemy, who suffered severely as they crossed the plain before gaining the crest of the hills; here they collected in small groups, but were dispersed by shrapnel fire.

The action was now over, and Lord Chelmsford was rewarded for all his mishaps and patient labours by a decisive victory, achieved, too, with the loss of only 1 officer * (Captain Wyatt-Edgell, 17th Lancers) and 10 men killed, and 5 officers † and about 80 men wounded. The Zulu loss was very heavy, and was variously estimated between 800 ‡ and 1,500 killed alone.

Lord Chelmsford advanced to support the cavalry, and, by noon, the royal kraal of Ulundi, situated on the spur of a range of hills, was in flames, and, during the day, all the military kraals in the valley of the Umvalosi were burned. The two 7-pounders lost at Isandlana were found abandoned, but everything of value had been removed to Amanzekanza, (which signifies "Come if you dare") a new kraal built by Cetewayo when the war broke out, situated about fifteen miles north of Ulundi, in the fork made by the junction of the White and Black Umvalosi rivers. In the afternoon the troops marched back to the laager on the right bank of the Umvalosi, burning Unodwengo kraal on the way. Thence Lord Chelmsford, owing to want of forage, and being anxious to get his men under canvas, fell back to the valley of the Upoko river, with the object of effecting a junction with General Crealock's division, a step which was near endangering the good results arising from his victory, but which was quickly remedied by his successor

* Lieutenant Scott-Douglas, of the 21st Regiment, was also killed a few days later, and the Hon. W. Drummond, head of the Intelligence Department, on the morning of the battle.

† The officers wounded were:—17th Lancers, Colonel Drury-Lowe and Lieutenant Jenkins. 2nd Dragoons, Lieutenant James. Scots Guards, Captain Hon. R. Stapleton-Cotton. 13th Regiment, Lieutenant Pardoe, who died of his wounds. 1st battalion, 24th Regiment, Lieutenant Phipps. 58th Regiment, Major Bond, and Lieutenant Liebenrood. 21st Regiment, Major Winsloe. Lieutenant Milne, R.N. Captain Hurber and Lieutenant Cowdell, Wood's Irregulars.

‡ This was the estimate of Mr. Archibald Forbes, special correspondent of the *Daily News*, as given in Sir Bartle Frere's telegram to the Colonial Office, dated 8th July. Mr. Forbes rode from the field of battle to Landmann's Drift, over 100 miles, in 15 hours.

reoccupying Ulundi with a flying column, and giving the fugitive king no rest until he was run down and captured by Major Marter and Lord Gifford.

In thus sacrificing the fruits of a victory won by the expenditure of so much time and money, Lord Chelmsford, we think, has forfeited all claim to the title of a great soldier, and it is hard to see how his panegyrists can defend an act displaying such timidity and want of judgment by any reference to the orders of Sir Garnet Wolseley, who had left him in command of the two divisions with which the campaign had been practically concluded.

Lord Chelmsford, whether he knew of his supercession or not at an earlier date, only received on the day following the action of Ulundi, a telegram from the Secretary of State for War, informing him that the supreme military and civil command had been vested in Sir Garnet Wolseley, and, on the 6th July, instructions arrived from Sir Garnet, limiting his authority to the 2nd division and Flying Column. By the outgoing post of the same day his lordship sent a despatch describing the battle of the 4th instant, and tendering his resignation. Sir Garnet Wolseley, on his arrival at Durban and Maritzburg, where he was sworn in as Governor, proceeded, on the 1st July, to Port Durnford, in H.M.S. *Shah*, but being unable to effect a landing, owing to the heavy surf, returned to Durban on the 4th, and proceeded by land to Port Durnford, where he joined General Crealock's division on the 7th July, and sent messages to the principal chiefs to meet him at Emangwene kraal on the 9th to lay down their arms.

Lord Chelmsford held a review of the 2nd division and Flying Column on the 8th July, when he thanked them for their gallantry and steady conduct. On the following day General Newdigate's division marched to Kwamagwasa, and Lord Chelmsford accompanied the Flying Column to St. Paul's, where he met Sir Garnet Wolseley on the 15th July. Thence he proceeded to Maritzburg, the capital of Natal, where his lordship received an ovation, the people carrying him on their shoulders, out of his post-chaise to his hotel, where the mayor read to him an address of congratulation, to which Lord Chelmsford replied, expressing his thanks to the colonists for their sympathy and confidence throughout the trying time through which he had passed. Accompanied by Sir Evelyn Wood, Colonel Buller, and other officers, Lord Chelmsford now embarked for England, where he landed on the 26th August. Her Majesty summoned him to Balmoral, and on 2nd September,

conferred on his lordship the insignia of the Grand Cross of the Bath.

Though public opinion in the press, in society, and in the army, was much divided as to the generalship displayed by Lord Chelmsford, every one was agreed that he was actuated by a determination to do his best without regard to personal convenience, and that he never spared himself in the public service. The cardinal defects of his conduct of the campaign would appear to have been :—his share in the Isandlana disaster, already referred to ; a dilatoriness in the final advance after his preparations had been completed ; his retreat after the battle of Ulundi, thus endangering the fruits of his victory ; and his retirement from Etshowe. Political, if not military considerations, apparently, demanded his retention of this post, as the situation bore a remarkable analogy to that after the relief of Lucknow, in November, 1857, when Sir James Outram held his ground at Alumbagh, after Sir Colin Campbell had withdrawn the garrison, with the sick and non-combatants, from the Residency. Equally with that memorable defence of an open position, a great moral effect would have accrued, had a garrison remained in the heart of Zululand, almost within striking distance of the capital, while the military advantage is apparent. But Lord Chelmsford was not an Outram.

A strict disciplinarian and total abstainer, Lord Chelmsford personally has always been popular in the army, while his upright character and blameless life have acquired for him the respect and affection of his numerous friends.

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR JAMES OUTRAM, BART., G.C.B., K.C.S.I.

PART I.

Outram joins the Bombay Army—Is employed on service in Candeish—His daring as a sportsman—Proceeds on service to Kittoor—Is appointed Commissioner of Candeish—Raises the Bheel corps—His exploits against robber clans—Proceeds to the Mahee Kanta in a political capacity—The Afghan War—Joins the staff of Sir John Keane—His services during the Afghan War—The return march to India and storming of Khelat—Proceeds to Soonmeanee and thence to Bombay—On political employ in Lower Scinde—The Scinde War—Defence of Hyderabad—Outram and Sir Charles Napier—Is employed in the Southern Mahratta Country—As Political Resident at Baroda—Proceeds to England.

OUR occupation of India has produced, throughout its long and brilliant annals, no brighter or nobler name than that of the subject of this memoir. There may have been more successful soldiers, and diplomatists who have earned a more imperial reputation in the long and brilliant roll of England's sons who have served their country in that distant and death-dealing clime; yet, in whatever capacity our hero was employed, whether military or civil, his character ever shone forth as that of an able, high-minded gentleman and chivalrous soldier.

Sir James Outram was emphatically what Sir Richard Steele called "a Christian soldier." Not only was he the "bravest of the brave," when risking his life on the battle-field for his Queen and country, but when his sword was laid aside, he was the most unpretentious and kindest-hearted of men; with the courage of the lion he had the gentleness of the lamb, presenting a singular resemblance to his old friend and comrade in many a hard-fought field—Lord Napier of Magdala. No nobler tribute was ever paid by his most enthusiastic admirers—and he had many such—than that conferred on him, with rare felicity of expression, by Sir Charles Napier, who spoke of

him as "the Bayard of India." As Dryden wrote of another great man:—

" His grandeur he derived from Heaven alone,
For he was great ere fortune made him so ;
And wars, like mists that rise against the sun,
Made him but greater seem, not greater grow."

James Outram was born January 29, 1803, at Butterley Hall, in Derbyshire. He was the son of Benjamin Outram, Esq.—a civil engineer of considerable eminence, and belonging to a good family, long settled in the county—by Margaret, daughter of Dr. Anderson, of Mounie, in Aberdeenshire, great-granddaughter of Sir W. Seton, a Scottish judge known as Lord Pitmedden; Lance Outram, mentioned in Scott's *Peveril of the Peak*, it may be parenthetically stated, was, probably, an offshoot of this old Derbyshire family. James Outram was left an orphan at the age of two years, and was educated in Scotland under the care of his maternal relatives, first at Udney, a small town of Aberdeenshire, and afterwards at Marischal College, Aberdeen, whence, after gaining some scholarly distinction, he went out to India, in 1819, in the Honourable East India Company's service, as a cadet of the season of the previous year. On his arrival at Bombay, in August, he was appointed to the 23rd Regiment Bombay Native Infantry, which corps have always remembered the fact of his connection with them, extending over thirty-six years, with a just feeling of pride. Lieutenant Outram soon displayed great soldierly aptitude, and was appointed Adjutant. He was employed with his regiment in suppressing the disturbances which continually cropped up, and was highly complimented by the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Charles Colville, on the admirable discipline of the regiment. His subsequent career amply justified the anticipations of those who befriended the young officer, and he quickly rose to distinction. His courage was of that order which enables a man with calmness to confront any danger; few men are cowards on the battlefield, but not many would care to track a wounded tiger to its lair, and follow it up alone to the death. In this dangerous recreation Outram, who was a keen sportsman, gained great celebrity among his brother officers, and many stories have been related by his contemporaries of his daring on such occasions.

Outram had gained so high a reputation in his regiment as a first-rate adjutant, that he was employed to raise and train corps of irregular troops, and in this arduous duty rendered good service to the State.

He served many years in Candeish, and led there a stirring life of adventure. This province, which has an extreme length from east to west of 175 miles, with a breadth from north to south of 128 miles, may be described as a valley or basin, traversed by the river Taptee, which flows from east to west. Candeish was governed in the beginning of the fifteenth century by independent sovereigns (claiming descent from Omar, Caliph of Bagdad) who resided at Aseerghur; towards the close of the sixteenth century, the province was subdued by Akbar, and annexed to the Mogul Empire. In 1634, Shah Jehan made a new arrangement, adding some districts, and constituting the whole a province of his empire. During the contests for power between the families of the Mahratta chiefs, Holkar and Scindia, in the early part of the present century, Candeish was reduced to the state of a desert. It was first ravaged by Holkar in 1802; next year it was depopulated by famine, and afterwards more slowly, but equally effectually, ruined by the rapacity of the Peishwa's servants, as also by the predatory incursions of the Bheels and various bodies of Arabs, who had established themselves in the strongholds which were situated on the rocky sides and summits of its detached hills. On the final overthrow of the Peishwa in 1818, Candeish was annexed to the British dominions. The Bheel chiefs, trusting to their mountainous recesses and jungles, however, continued to resist our authority. It was during the latter part of this warfare that Outram was employed.

To show his appreciation of the young subaltern's zeal and ability, Sir Charles Colville nominated him to the command of one of the wings of his regiment, but Lieutenant Outram was soon afterwards compelled to proceed to Bombay on sick certificate. Unable, however, to resist the temptation of an opportunity for action, instead of remaining quietly at the presidency until his health was restored, he accompanied, as a volunteer, an expedition directed against the fort of Kittoor, in the southern Mahratta country. When the force appeared before the fortress, he obtained permission to accompany the assault, but the surrender of the garrison snatched the expected laurels from his grasp.*

Outram returned to his own regiment in Candeish, and, in April, 1825, was despatched with 200 men of the 11th and 23rd Native Infantry, to defend Zye Keira, the principal town in the Moolair district, against a rebel chieftain who was vainly

* An account of this expedition has been already given in the memoir of Sir Thomas Willshire.

endeavouring to restore the Mahratta power. By a forced march of thirty-five miles in one night, Lieutenant Outram arrived at the place entrusted to his defence, before the enemy were aware of his approach. They were strongly posted, about twelve miles distant; but Outram ascertained that the further side of their fortress might be escaladed. His instructions were to hold himself on the defensive, but he at once resolved to incur the responsibility of offensive measures. Soon after sunset his handful of men again set out, and, as they approached the stronghold, Outram took a circuitous route to the rear with fifty men, while the main body made a feint attack to the front. While the enemy's attention was thus engaged, they were suddenly and furiously assailed from the rear, and fled in wild confusion. A few horsemen, who had meanwhile been collected by Mr. Graham, the Deputy-Commissioner, completed their discomfiture, and cut down the leader and many of his followers. On the following night Outram again surprised the rallying foe, killed some, captured many more, and dispersed the rest. Thus, in little more than forty-eight hours, a dangerous rebellion was crushed in the bud, and tranquillity restored to the province. For this gallant exploit Lieutenant Outram was honourably noticed by the Government and the Commander-in-Chief.

The Governor of Bombay, the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, considering that the time had now arrived for adopting a more conciliatory policy, appointed him Commissioner of the province, which, in a short time, was restored to a condition of peace under his wise and beneficent, but firm, rule. Outram it was who became first the conqueror and then the pacificator of the wild Bheels, who inhabited the "terra incognita" adjacent to Candeish; and, ultimately, as their trusted and successful commander, he led them to victory against the Daung tribes, exhibiting the most reckless gallantry and self-dependence, combined with rare aptitude for the duties of a leader in the field, while, as a political officer, he conciliated and inspired with confidence the fierce predatory clansmen with whom he was placed in contact. A brother "political" and friend, who is no mean poet, has written of him:—

"Twas certain fame, bold Outram's stride to span,
And doubt took flight when Outram led the van.

So 'mid the robber tribes his spirit fell,
O'erawed, inspired them with resistless spell,
Till from the flood of murders, rapines, woes,
Round one bright type a host of virtues rose."

On the first occupation of Candeish, nearly one-half of the villages in its area of 9,311 square miles was abandoned to the tigers with which the province swarmed, while an impenetrable jungle occupied the fertile lands once covered with luxuriant crops. It was only when coercive measures had failed to extirpate the Bheels and Pindarees, that Outram was authorised to form a local corps, composed of the Bheels themselves. The plan had been tried before and had failed, but, after some difficulty, it succeeded under the hands of our hero. From the time the Bheel corps became effective, order was maintained, and the Bheels were gradually reclaimed from their predatory habits,

Captain Graham, in his *Historical Sketch of the Bheel Tribes of Khandeish*, published at Bombay in 1843, does justice to Outram in writing of their pacification. "This success," he says, "was mainly owing to the influence obtained over the Bheels by the personal activity and intrepidity of Lieutenant Outram, who ventured among them without attendance, and won their confidence and respect by his participation in their habits of living, and the dexterity and intrepidity which he displayed in the chase of the wild animals of the forest."

At the end of the second season of the drilling of the newly-raised Bheel corps, the first opportunity was afforded for testing their discipline and courage. The village of Boorwarree had been attacked and plundered; and emissaries from the gang engaged in the work of destruction were going about among the hills to collect the disaffected, when a small detachment of the Bheel corps reached, at sunset, the scene of their depredations. Lieutenant Outram, who commanded the force, arrived, after a tedious night's march, on the eminence to which the gang had retired, when he was immediately assailed by showers of arrows and stones. A jemadar (or native officer) and many of the men were wounded, but fought on steadily, and the enemy were eventually driven from their commanding position. Fatigued, however, with the night's march, and indisposed to subject his followers to the severe exertion of pursuing the gang from hill to hill, a retreat was feigned by Outram, and the enemy, by this ruse, were drawn into the open plain. Here they were charged and dispersed at the point of the bayonet; the plunder of the village was recovered, the marauding chief, with many of his followers, killed, and the gang entirely dispersed. On their return to camp, the Bheel corps, which was received with acclamation by the 23rd Native Infantry, was

complimented by the Brigadier who reviewed them, and by the Government. Thus was achieved the first of their successes under their gallant leader, ending in the pacification of their countrymen.

In 1829, Candeish * was pronounced by the collector to be in a state of profound peace. The Court of Directors hailed with delight this happy conversion of a predatory tribe into useful and obedient subjects of the State, and a prosperous agricultural community. "This signal instance," they wrote, "of what we have so often impressed upon you—the superior efficacy of conciliatory measures in reducing uncivilised and predatory tribes to order and obedience—is one of the most gratifying events in the recent history of British India."

To this day the name of Outram is held in affectionate remembrance in Candeish, as that of the benefactor who reclaimed their country from savagery, and taught them to respect law and order.

Golden opinions were showered upon Outram from all quarters. The supreme authority in India, the Governor-General in Council, drew attention to the fact that the native force had been collected in the very teeth of the "prejudices, mistrust, and uncivilised habits of the Bheels, which opposed no ordinary obstacles to its formation and organisation;" adding, that "it could only have been brought to its present successful result by a peculiar combination of firmness, perseverance, and kindness of temper on the part of Lieutenant Outram."

In 1833, Outram and his Bheel corps crushed a formidable movement that broke out among some lawless tribes inhabiting the Vindhya range, and reduced them to submission. From that time the tranquillity of Candeish has remained undisturbed, and in 1835 he gave over the command of the corps, then 900 strong, to his coadjutor, Captain Graham—for a not less difficult mission than the pacification of Candeish was confided to him by the Bombay Government.

Owing to mismanagement, the Mahee Kanta, a province of Guzerat, had for the last fifteen years been in a state of anarchy and insurrection. The crisis had now become so urgent that Outram was instructed to proceed instantly to the scene of disturbance, and report upon the measures to be adopted for the pacification of the country. It was then the beginning of

* Prosperity was ultimately restored to this distracted country, under the effective administration of General Briggs, who, besides other remedial measures, put a price on the head of the tigers, which quickly reduced their numbers. As a proof of their voracity and fierceness, it may be stated that, in four years prior to the General's arrival, they had carried off 350 men and 24,000 head of cattle.

October, the most sickly period of the year, but this consideration was not for a moment taken into account. Traversing a jungle, through which no European had ever passed at that season without sacrificing his life, he hastened to obey orders, and, after making the necessary inquiries on the spot, proceeded to Bombay and made his report to the Government. Though Outram allowed, in this document, that the insurgents had some good grounds for complaint, he insisted that they should be required to lay down their arms, as a preliminary to the redress of their grievances. But the Government thought otherwise, and appointed him Political Agent, with strict instructions to use none but conciliatory measures, and the military force at his disposal was reduced. Attributing this act to fear, Sooruj Mull, one of the rebel chieftains, proceeded to such extremities that Outram proclaimed him an outlaw, and chased him with such vigour and perseverance that, despairing of escape, he threw himself on British clemency. Our hero was ever a generous foe, and the vanquished rebel did not sue in vain.

Early in 1837, a Guzerat chieftain, having taken up arms against his sovereign, had established himself at a fortified village adjacent to the British frontier. The Guicowar's general, finding himself unable to dislodge the rebels from their strong position, applied for aid to Outram. That officer, rightly judging that the presence of these men would be prejudicial to the tranquillity of his own district, complied with his request, and the united forces stormed the village and dispersed the insurgents. So successful were his exertions that, in little more than two years after his appointment, he was enabled to dispense with the services of his auxiliaries.

But he had a more formidable enemy than a fleshly foe to contend against. The giant "corruption" reared his horrid front in the Mahee Kanta, and straightway the brave Outram attacked him in his stronghold and slew him. This was a mysterious system, known as "Khutput," by which the Nagur Brahmins, who monopolised all the lower grades of government offices, took bribes—thus throwing discredit on the British name. Having now accomplished the objects for which he had been originally sent into the Mahee Kanta, Outram requested permission to throw up his political appointment, and, at a pecuniary sacrifice of £700 a year, to be allowed to return to his regiment.

In 1838 commenced an era of war and bloodshed in India, and, for more than twenty years, the events which took place in that dependency of Britain, engrossed the attention

of civilised nations. First Afghanistan, then Scinde, then the Punjaub, and, lastly, the great Mutiny, occupied the nation; and, as we shall see, Outram played no inconsiderable part in the exciting game in which kingdoms and the fate of warlike nations were the stakes. In November of this year a division of the Bombay army was organised under command of Sir John Keane, to form part of the force despatched to invade Afghanistan, and to this column, Outram, who volunteered for service, was attached as aide-de-camp on the staff of the commanding General. On November 21st, he embarked at Bombay on board the Honourable East India Company's steamship *Semiramis*, with Sir John Keane and suite, and on the 27th arrived off the mouth of the Indus. Two days later he was sent by Sir John Keane, in the Hon. Co.'s schooner *Constance*, to Cutch to procure assistance in land and water transport. Outram landed at Mandavee on the 2nd December, and having arranged for the despatch of huts, forage, and sheep, left the same evening for Bhoorj. Travelling on camels and horseback he arrived at Bhoorj on the following day, and arranged with Captain Melville, assistant Resident, for the supply of 500 camels, in addition to 500 already sent off, and 400 pack bullocks to be shipped at Mandavee, whither he returned the same evening. On the 5th Outram sailed in the *Constance* for Kurrachee, the capabilities of which were then little thought of, though pointed out by experienced officers of the Indian navy as the best port for debarkation. On arriving at Kurrachee, where he landed, in order to ascertain the feelings of the people on the intrusion of the English, he received a visit from the governor, and found that the Ameers of Scinde had given no directions for the promised supply of camels. At his request the principal inhabitants were summoned to arrange for the supply of transport animals, and soon after midnight on the 9th December Outram departed for the British camp, about ninety-five miles distant, on the way stopping at Gharry-Koti, where he induced the Beloochee camel-drivers to despatch 300 camels to headquarters that night, his agent promising to bring 200 more next day. On the 19th the long-expected camels from Cutch, which had been delayed by the Ameer of Meerpore, arrived in camp at Vikhur, and, on the 24th December, Sir John Keane commenced his march with the first division and headquarters.

On the 17th January, 1839, Outram, in company with Lieutenant Eastwick, assistant to Colonel Henry Pottinger, Political Agent in Scinde, proceeded in the steamer *Indus*, to Hyderabad, in advance of the army, to induce the Ameers to conclude the

treaty offered for their acceptance. The steamer anchored abreast of Hyderabad, which is three miles from the river's bank, on the 20th, and a deputation arrived from the Ameers to welcome the British officers. While waiting to be received by the Scinde princes, Outram reconnoitred the fort and defences with an ulterior view to military operations, should the Ameers prove recalcitrant. On the afternoon of the 24th the British officers were received in Durbar by three out of the four Ameers, while the treaty was considered, but no definite arrangement was arrived at. They waited for a reply until the following day, when they then departed, fortunate in having escaped with their lives, which were in imminent danger from the fanatical Beloochees. On arriving at Jerruk the army commenced its march on Hyderabad, but the Ameers, at the last moment, gave way, and signed the treaty, thus saving the city from sack, and their power from the annihilation which was their fate fourteen years later.

Nothing noteworthy occurred to Outram during the early part of the march towards Afghanistan. On the 28th February he was directed by Sir John Keane to proceed in advance to Shikarpore, to communicate with Mr. Macnaghten, the Envoy and Minister with Shah Soojah. He left in the evening on a camel; reached Larkhana, about twenty-six miles distant, at 8 p.m. on the following day; started at 9 a.m. on the 30th; rode without stopping until he reached Shikarpore at 10 p.m.; (52 miles from Larkhana), and communicated with Macnaghten, who was accompanied by his assistants, Captains D'Arcy Todd and G. H. Macgregor, of the Bengal Artillery.

After obtaining certain information from the Commissariat officers of the Bengal Division, Captain Outram was presented to Shah Soojah; and, at midnight of the 3rd March, left on his return to Sir John Keane's army, which he found encamped at Larkhana. The Bombay Division continued its march on the 12th; and on the 15th, Outram departed from Chikul on a mission to the Envoy. Travelling *dadk* all night with an escort of six Poona horsemen, he arrived at Jull, nineteen miles distant; dispensing here with the services of his escort, he proceeded on a camel, and reached Gundava, twenty-two miles distant, at 10 p.m. on the 17th, whence he rode on to Baugh. Outram passed the 18th with the Envoy, and on the following day returned to Gundava, and met Sir John Keane at Punjuk, ten miles in the rear. The Commander-in-Chief now determined upon pushing on with a small escort to Dadur, there to meet the Shah, and accompany him and the Envoy through the Bolan Pass; so

Outram was directed to return the same evening to Gundava, thence to despatch an express messenger to Mr. Macnaghten. He did so accordingly, but on riding out of Gundava, on the morning of the 21st March, to greet the Commander-in-Chief, he met with a serious accident. His horse, when going at speed, suddenly fell on its side upon Outram, when the hilt of his sword fractured the bone of the pelvis above the hip joint. For some weeks he was unable to move out of a palanquin, a sad trial to one of his eager active nature. On the 18th April he was first permitted to move from a recumbent position, and sit in a chair, and on the 29th he was enabled to resume his duties on Sir John Keane's staff. Nothing of moment occurred to Outram during the march from Candahar to Ghuznee, and at the storm of that fortress, on 23rd July, when he was present on the Commander-in-Chief's staff throughout the operations. During the reconnaissance of the previous day he took a portion of the Shah's cavalry, who were engaged with the enemy, round the hills into the enemy's rear, where he stationed them so as to cut off their retreat. He then proceeded with some of the Shah's infantry, and stormed some heights on which a body of Ghazees had taken post, capturing a sacred Moslem banner of green and white, with the loss of only nine or ten men wounded, the enemy losing thirty or forty, in addition to about fifty taken prisoners by the cavalry he had so judiciously posted. Unhappily, this first success against the enemy was stained by an act of gross cruelty repugnant to our ideas of the usages of civilised warfare. The prisoners captured by the cavalry were taken into the presence of the Shah, when one of the number stabbed one of his officers; upon this the monarch ordered their execution, and the whole party of fifty prisoners were hacked to pieces in rear of his tents.

Sir John Keane resumed the march towards Cabul with the Bengal division on the 30th July, and on arriving at Hyderzye, on the 2nd August, received intimation that Dost Mahomed Khan had abandoned his artillery at Urghundeh, and fled towards Bamian with the remnant of his army. Outram, with his usual chivalrous determination, offered to go in pursuit, and a party of officers and some native troopers having volunteered to accompany him, he set out at 4 p.m. on the 3rd August. The following account of the expedition is from the diary of one of the officers :—

“The party consisted of twenty-five men from the 4th Irregular Horse, twenty-five from the Poona Horse, and fifty from the 2nd Bengal Cavalry. There were also to accompany this

force a body of some 600 Afghan Horse, under Hadji Khan Kâker.* The officers, besides Outram, who was in command, were: Captains Wheler (Brigade Major) and Lawrence, 2nd Cavalry; Captain Colin Troup, 48th N. I. (Shah's Service); Captain Backhouse, Bengal Artillery (Shah's Service); Captain Keith-Erskine, 1st Bombay Cavalry (Poona Horse); Lieut. Broadfoot, Bengal European Regiment (Shah's Service); Lieut. Ryves, 61st Bengal N. I. (4th Irregular Horse); Lieut. Hogg, 2nd Bombay Grenadiers (Bombay Staff); Dr. Worral, 4th Irregular Horse. We marched in the lightest possible order, none of the troopers and few of the officers having more than the clothes upon their backs, and many times had we to sit upon the bank while our clothes were being washed in the river below. 3rd August.—We were ready to start, and at the Envoy's tent by noon; at 4 p.m. we moved to the mission camp, waited till dark, when about 500 Afghans joined us, 300 well mounted and armed, and the rest on yaboos (ponies); 125 of Christie's Horse, under that officer, joined us to make up in some degree for the deficiency of Afghans. Hadji Khan, at starting, advised us to take the high road by Mydan, which was overruled by Outram; and into the mountains we dived, marched all night, crossing several ranges of hills, and wending our way along the dry beds of rivers and perfect goat paths in many places. Halted occasionally to let stragglers close up. 4th.—At 7 a.m. reached Goda, a small village in a confined but lovely valley; computed distance, 32 miles; about 100 Afghans up with us, the remainder dropped in by sixes and sevens, loaded with plunder of all sorts. Marched at 5 p.m.; the Hadji unwilling to move, talked of bad roads and dangerous precipices, and we at once perceived he had no heart in the cause. Road very bad along the channels of mountain streams, and over high hills. After ten miles, lay down by our horses till the moon rose. 5th.—At 2 a.m. started and marched on till 7 o'clock; crossed the Pughman range, a lofty and stony pass; encamped at Kalee Suffied, a petty village. Nothing for the men to eat but parched grain. Not fifty Afghans reached the ground with us, but they tumbled in during the day. Heard of Dost Mahomed being at Yout, one march ahead of us. The Kâker begged that we would halt and send for reinforcements, stating that the Dost had 2,000 select horsemen with him. Outram ordered the march at 4 p.m., mustered the Afghans, now amounting to 750, but

* Hadji Khan, or as he was officially styled, Nusseer-ood-deen-dowlah (Defender of the State) was a chief of the tribe of Kâkers, whose country lies between Ghumee and Quetta.

most of them badly mounted, and got off, after much difficulty and altercation, full of the idea of overtaking the Ameer by gun-fire next morning. Our Hindustanees were plucky and in high spirits. We had not, however, got many miles, when after crawling down a precipitous mountain we descended into a sort of punch-bowl, and a cry rose from the front that the guides were *goomshud* (lost). The night was pitch dark, and so there was no help for it but each to lie down on the spot where he stood, first planting vedettes to keep a look out; and a most comfortless bed we had, with large stones for our pillows; there we remained till day broke. 6th.—At daybreak started for Yout, and only reached it at 7 a.m. Nothing would induce Hadji Kâker to advance on to Hurza, sixteen miles, where, we were told, the Ameer was halting. He, however, solemnly promised to go on in the evening, if we would wait till then. To this we were obliged to agree. At four the cavalry mounted, but not an Afghan in the saddle; and after all nothing would induce the Hadji to budge that night, so we dismounted angry enough, as the delay would prevent all chance of our coming up with the Dost. Outram remonstrated strongly with the Hadji, who at last promised to make a double march the next morning, but talked of the folly of the pursuit, that we would be unequally matched, Dost Mahomed having treble our number of men, with fresh horses. The reply was, that we had to perform our duty, and that everything possible must be done. 7th.—Marched at daybreak, and on arriving at Hurza, found the traces of the Ameer's yesterday's encampment. The Hadji halted, declaring that his men were famished and done up, and tried to persuade us to do the same; but we pushed on. A mile further met some deserters from the Dost's party, who told us they had left him at Keloo early in the morning, and that he had no idea of moving. Captain Outram rode back to inform the Hadji, and urge him to come on, but in vain. He declared we were mad in thus running into destruction; that if we encountered him not a man would survive, and that disgrace would fall upon the Shah. Outram told him that on we would go, and if the Ameer was at Keloo, he would attack at all hazards, and if he did not succeed, he, the Hadji, might look to his head. We arrived at Keloo, 3 p.m., found the Dost had left some hours before, and by that time must have surmounted the pass, the highest of the Hindoo Koosh. It was useless, therefore, following him; the men and horses required rest, night was at hand, and no signs of our Afghan allies, all of whom remained with Hadji Kâker. We had been nine hours

in our saddles. 8th.—This morning we were joined by Captain Taylor, Bengal European regiment, and Trevor, 3rd Cavalry, with fifteen troopers of the Bombay 1st Cavalry, and fifteen of the Bengal 3rd, and about 300 Afghans. This accession of force induced the Kâker to come on, but no sooner had he arrived than he resumed the old story of halting for more troops, and the danger of pursuing desperate men. He said that not one Afghan would fight against Dost Mahomed, but probably against us. Outram's reply was that he had come to intercept the Ameer, and do it he must if possible, and that if the Afghans did not fight they must answer for their conduct to the King. The Hadji, finding words of no avail, imploringly took off his turban and laid hold of the skirt of Outram's coat, begging that he would not advance; but off went Outram and all our party. We had not got half way up the pass before we saw the Hadji slowly following, as if ashamed of his conduct. The ascent of this pass was so steep that we dismounted and led our horses for a mile or more; the descent less abrupt; a deserted village at the foot. Halted to allow stragglers to join, and rest the wearied cattle. Outram here informed the Kâker that he would mount at 2 p.m. and push on to Bamian; and again the Kâker implored him to be cautious, saying, besides, that his Afghans would not march at night, and begged to remain till daybreak as our horses were pretty well done up. This was, at length, acceded to, but the officers proceeded, at 3 p.m. to reconnoitre Bamian. 9th.—Just as we were mounting, information came that Dost Mahomed, instead of stopping at Bamian, had passed on the forenoon of yesterday (having sent his family in advance), and that to-day he would be at Syghan, on the limit of the Shah's country, and to-morrow under the protection of the Waly. Outram then told the Hadji if this proved true he should be answerable to the Shah with his head for the Dost's escape. On our arrival at Bamian, twelve miles, found seventy horsemen who had been dismissed by the Dost, and who confirmed the report, as well as two of the mission spies, who were here; they said he had 2,000 men of all sorts with him; and that his sick son, Akbar, was so much recovered as to mount an elephant. We were thus reluctantly compelled to give up the chase, and halted three days." The treachery of the Hadji was doubtless a fortunate circumstance, so far as the lives of the British officers were concerned, for he who had first deserted Dost Mahomed for the Candahar rulers, and then deserted them for Shah Soojah on the receipt of a large bribe, would not have scrupled to have joined the Dost in attacking

the jaded party of officers and men, in which event not one would have, in all likelihood, escaped to tell the tale. The old traitor was sent to India, and passed many years a prisoner at Chunar.

The return march to Cabul was commenced on the 12th August, and covering an average of sixteen miles a day, Outram and his party joined the main army on the 17th, to the delight of their comrades, as a horseman had brought a report that he had witnessed their destruction.

On the 21st August Outram's services were temporarily placed at the disposal of Sir William Macnaghten for the purpose of conducting an expedition into the disturbed districts between Cabul and Candahar, inhabited by the Eastern Ghilzyes, who had not yet recognised the authority of Shah Soojah. On the 24th the murder of Colonel Herring C.B., while on escort duty near Ghuznee, was reported, and Outram was directed to take the opportunity while engaged in bringing to subjection the refractory Ghilzye chiefs, to punish the murderers, belonging to the Kanjuck tribe. Outram was received on the 5th September by the king, who introduced to him the Afghan chiefs who were placed under his orders with their contingents, and on the 7th, marched from Cabul (to which he did not return) with 300 of the Shah's 1st Regiment of Hindustanee horse, under Captain Peter Nicolson, 100 of Skinner's horse, and two guns of Captain Augustus Abbott's battery of Bengal artillery, under Lieutenant Michael Dawes. None of the Afghan chiefs put in an appearance with their contingents, but he refused to wait for them. On the 12th September Outram marched over the Khurvar Pass, which he describes as "extremely steep and difficult, and infinitely worse than the Kojuck;" and pushed on with the greater portion of his force to the forts of Buxee Khan, in the Khurvar district, a march of nineteen and a quarter miles. The chief, who was concerned in Colonel Herring's murder, had, however, decamped, but Outram arrested some of his male relatives, and took possession of his five forts. On the 14th the Afghan cavalry, under Mahomed Oosman Khan, joined, and Outram, having made over the forts to adherents of Shah Soojah, marched, on the 17th September, for the Zoomut Valley, with 250 Shah's and Skinner's horse and 400 Afghan cavalry, leaving the remainder to preserve the tranquillity of the district. On the following day Outram was joined by a wing of the 16th Regiment Bengal Native Infantry, under Major McLaren, from Ghuznee. On entering the valley of Zoomut several of the chiefs tendered their submission to the

Shah, and he also learned the capture of Buxee Khan by the detachment he had left behind at Khurvar.

On the 21st Outram made a forced night march to surprise the Kanjuck banditti in the Indian mountains, eighteen miles to the eastward. At daybreak he arrived before their position, and despatching the cavalry, in two bodies, to cut off their retreat from flank and rear, he advanced from the front, and after a desperate resistance in which sixteen of the robbers were killed and several wounded, he compelled the remainder of the gang, numbering 112, to surrender. Not a soul escaped, and their arms, ammunition, and 112 camels were captured. On the 23rd Outram despatched forty-six of the worst of his prisoners to Cabul for punishment, and two days later marched against the refractory Ghilzye chiefs.

So energetic were his movements, that the horses of the detachment Shah's 1st Cavalry, were quite knocked up, and he directed their return to Cabul on the 1st October, and on the following day was joined by the Poona Auxiliary Horse, under Captain Keith-Erskine, which had been detached by General Willshire, who was three marches on the right, on his return to India with the Bombay column of the Army of the Indus. Outram pushed on to Feroze, making forty-two and a half miles in twenty-four hours, and on the 6th October reached Killa-i-Murgha, the fort of Abdool Rehman Khan, the principal Ghilzye chief, whose father, when disputing the sovereignty of Afghanistan with Shah Soojah, had laid siege to Cabul, it was said, with 50,000 men. The fort was of great strength, possessing a high citadel and wide ditch, and had twice been unsuccessfully besieged by Shah Soojah during his former temporary reign; the chief, however, did not await an assault, but having previously sent away his family and property, about 11 p.m. made a sudden sally with the party of eighty horsemen he had retained, and, dashing past the pickets and vedettes of cavalry, succeeded in escaping. Outram followed in pursuit with a party of horsemen, but the fugitives succeeded in making good their escape. During the two following days Outram was engaged destroying the fort by mines carried under the citadel and towers; and on the evening of the 8th, rode to General Willshire's camp, a distance of twenty miles. So cowed were the people by his vigorous proceedings, that though he rode through several villages, escorted by only two Ghilzyes, not a hand was raised against him. As it was desirable to subdue one of the powerful Ghilzye chiefs, called the Mama (from his being the uncle of the Candahar sirdars), General Willshire,

who marched on the 9th, left behind, under Outram's orders, a portion of his force, consisting of a wing of H. M.'s 17th Regiment, Captain Lloyd's battery of artillery, the Poona Auxiliary Horse, and a squadron of the 1st Cavalry. But two days later Outram received intelligence of the flight of the Mama, when he sent back to Ghuznee the wing of the 16th B.N.I., and the Shah's Afghans to Cabul, and rejoined General Willshire's camp ten miles in advance. The Bombay division continued its march on Quetta, and at 1 a.m., on the 17th, General Willshire detached him with a strong force, under Colonel Stalker to Maroof, against a Barukzye tribe who had plundered a Hindustanee *kafila* from Candahar on the preceding day. The column marched all night, and at day-break Outram, galloping on with the cavalry, surrounded the village and secured Aboo Khan and Jubbur Khan, the two chiefs, together with their followers. Placing the prisoners in charge of the infantry, he then crossed the valley to the fort of Maroof, but found that it had been evacuated. This fort Outram describes as "the strongest yet seen in the country, having double gates, a ditch, *fausse braie*, and towers of solid masonry which might have held out successfully against all the *matériel* with which the Bombay division is provided." Sending back the artillery and detachment 4th Dragoons, Outram remained behind with the sappers and infantry in order to destroy the fort. This completed, he sent back the detachment of Shah's 2nd Cavalry with nine prisoners, to Candahar, and making a march of twenty miles across a range of mountains, rejoined General Willshire at Sir-i-Soorkab. On the 25th, while crossing the Toba Mountains, a fort belonging to Hadji Khan Kâker having fired upon the foragers of the Bombay column, General Willshire despatched Outram with two companies of European infantry and two guns to punish the garrison, but on arrival the place was found to be deserted. On the 28th he was again sent with a small column of the three arms against a large fort belonging to the Kâker chief, which he completely demolished "by blowing up every bastion, gateway, and out-work;" and he adds, "by the inhabitants of this extensive valley the destruction of this fortress is hailed with the greatest joy." Making a forced march of twenty-five miles to rejoin the Bombay division, Outram entered Quetta with them on the 31st October.

Our hero's political functions ceased on his entering the valley of Shawl, of which Captain Bean was in political charge, but he accompanied General Willshire as aide-de-camp, in his

march on Khelat, and, indeed, it was owing to his advice, founded on information he had obtained as to the determination of Mehraub Khan to resist the entry of a British force into his capital, that General Willshire changed his plans and determined to proceed in person in command of the column. On the 12th November, on approaching Khelat, Outram was sent to reconnoitre the enemy's position, with an escort of twenty men, but as he advanced, the small parties of hostile cavalry fell back, and on the following day the division arrived before Khelat, in which Mehraub Khan had concentrated his army of Brahoes * and Beloochees.

At the assault of the Belooch fortress, Outram displayed all his wonted zeal, and as the General's aide-de-camp was wherever the fighting was closest. Referring to his having guided under a heavy fire, first the Grenadiers of the 2nd Royals, under Captain Raitt, and then the light companies under Major Pennycuik, he says, "On these two occasions, I was the only mounted officer present, but although both the nature of my occupation, and the singularity of my rifle uniform must have attracted the enemy's observation, I escaped with my usual good fortune." Again, on the advance of the storming parties, he galloped down and accompanied the Grenadiers of the 2nd Royals to the gate, and returning to the General, was despatched by him with a company of H.M.'s 17th Regiment, with instructions to take the 31st Bengal N.I., and storm the heights on the south side of the town, and secure the gate on the opposite side of the fort. Passing quickly round the western face, under a smart fire, Outram posted the Europeans under cover of a spur of the hill, and bringing up the 31st Regiment, carried the heights, and then a gate at the base leading into the town. Sending the main portion of the infantry to assist in the assault of the citadel, Outram, in company with Lieutenant Creed of the Bombay Artillery, placed the guns in position and opened fire on the citadel. He then returned to General

* The Brahoe tribes, the dominant race in Beloochistan, are conjectured by some to have landed in the Mekran from Abyssinia, but are said by others to be Mongols. The Cutchees, or aboriginal inhabitants of the plain of Cutchee, are Goths, and of the same stock as the Hindoo Jats, but are Mohammedans and not Hindoos like their tribe fellows in India. According to Professor Rawlinson, the term Belooch, written by Persian authors—for the Beloochees have no written language of their own—Bilush, is derived from Belus, King of Babylonia, the Nimrod of Scripture, the son of Cush. The Persians name the Beloochees Kūch wa Bīlūsh; and adjoining the country of the Beloochees to the east is Cutchee. The Belooch and Brahoe tribes are far inferior to the Afghans in appearance, but as fighting men they are quite their equals, and, unfortunately, also in their characteristic vices. The government of each tribe is a complete democracy, which is split up into as many factions as there are families and almost individuals.

Willshire to report his proceedings, and a few minutes later the fortress was captured.

All fighting being now at an end, Outram volunteered to take a duplicate copy of General Willshire's despatches to the Bombay Government, by the more direct route to the seaport of Soonmeanee, and thence by boat to Kurrachee and Bombay. The dangers of the route, great at all times, was much increased by the fact that Mehraub Khan's brother had fled by this route; but this knowledge only acted as an incentive to our hero, who, disguising himself in Afghan costume, and accompanied by two Syuds (descendants of the Prophet) of Shawl, besides two armed attendants and his own servant, the whole party, mounted on fourteen ponies and two camels, departed from the British camp at midnight of the 15th November. The first day they were nineteen hours in the saddle, and passed many groups of fugitives from Khelat, with whom the Syuds entered freely into conversation, introducing their companion as a "peer" (or devotee), a character he maintained throughout the journey "by assuming an air of deep gravity and attention, although in reality I did not understand a single word that was uttered." One party they accompanied a portion of the journey, proved to be the family of Mahomed Hussein Khan, prime minister of Khelat, and Outram was in some trepidation that some of the women might recognise his garments, which were selected from that worthy's own warbrobe, and the danger of detection was much increased by his complexion, which was only partially concealed by a large turban bound over the chin. At one time, near Nal, Outram's position was extremely critical, but he escaped detection by his presence of mind, adopting the counsel of Hastings, who said to Lord Stanley's warning messenger:—

"To fly the boar before the boar pursues
Were to incense the boar to follow us,
And make pursuit where he did mean no chase."

Soonmeanee was reached at 10 in the morning of the 23rd, the party having experienced some adventures; and in the evening, Outram embarked in a native boat for Kurrachee with his native servant and his Afghan pony, "which," he says, "although not more than thirteen hands in height, had carried myself and my saddle bags, weighing altogether upwards of sixteen stone, the whole distance from Khelat, 355 miles, in seven and a half days, during which time I had passed 111 hours on his back!" Outram had a narrow escape from capture after surmounting all the perils of the road, for he afterwards learned that at

midnight of the day on which he sailed from Soonmeanee, the son of Wullee Mahomed Khan, chief of Wudd, who was killed at Khelat, arrived with a party in pursuit of him, and was greatly enraged on learning that his anticipated prey was beyond the reach of capture.

For his services in Afghanistan, Outram was gazetted Brevet-Major on the 13th November 1839, the date of the capture of Khelat, and Shah Soojah conferred on him the second class of his order of the Dooranee Empire,* a decoration held by no other officer of his rank in the army of the Indus.

In January, 1840, Major Outram was appointed Sir Henry Pottinger's successor as Political Agent for Lower Scinde, and so ably did he discharge the duties of this post, that, on the death of Mr. Ross Bell, in August, 1841, he was vested with the political agency of both Upper and Lower Scinde, as well as Beloochistan. As affairs in the latter province were in much confusion, Major Outram was directed to proceed to Quetta as soon as he could do so without personal risk. This was quite enough to induce him to repeat his former feat of travel. At the hot season of the year even the natives dread the journey from Sukkur and Dadur, and an unprotected Englishman, at that period, had little mercy to expect from the fierce mountaineers on either side of the Bolan Pass. Regardless of these perils, Outram set off on a dromedary, and, attended only by one servant, accomplished in five days a journey which would have occupied him three weeks with an escort. His first step was to conciliate and restore to his capital Meer Nusseer Khan, the son of the late Khan of Khelat, at that time a disaffected fugitive.† In this he succeeded so well that, during the

* Sir William Macnaghten, in his letter, written at Jellalabad, on the 7th January 1840, conferring this distinction, says that Shah Soojah desires "to convey to you his acknowledgment of the zeal, gallantry, and judgment displayed by you in several instances during the past year whilst employed in his Majesty's immediate service." The Envoy specifies three occasions, his gallantry on the 22nd July before Ghuznee, his pursuit of Dost Mahomed, and his conduct of the "series of able and successful operations, which ended in the subjection or dispersion of certain rebel Ghilzyes and other tribes, and which have had the effect of tranquillising the whole line of country between Cabul and Candahar where plunder and anarchy had before prevailed."

† Outram writes as follows from Khelat on 7th October, 1841, to Mr. Colvin, private secretary to Lord Auckland, giving an account of his proceedings on this mission, from which we make extracts:—"Having waited till the last moment, in the hope of receiving his Lordship's instructions for my guidance, in framing the treaty with Meer Nusseer Khan, which as there has been ample time, I conclude must have miscarried in one of the packets plundered in the Bolan Pass, and in the expectation that ere this I would have been favoured with his Lordship's sentiments, I had consented to yesterday being fixed for the investiture of the young chief, which was selected by the Moollahs as a fortunate day; consequently, it would have had a bad appearance to delay the ceremony, neither would it have been advisable to delay the execution of the treaty till after the ceremony, for it is politic that Nusseer Khan's accession to the Khanate should clearly appear to be the consequence of his

disasters which subsequently befell the British arms, the young Khan remained a true and staunch ally. Outram's next care

acceptance of the terms which we consider it just to impose. I was desirous also that the act of the young chief should be most public, which this occasion gives—that instead of the treaty appearing to be smuggled from a mere boy, as it were under thralldom, it should be openly enacted in the presence of his assembled chiefs, and entirely unawed by British troops (with which object I sent away the 25th Regiment of Native Infantry, and guns, formerly stationed here, some days ago). Under these circumstances, I decided on executing such a treaty, as I am pretty confident will be approved by his Lordship, while at the same time, it leaves the right of adding thereto, whatever his Lordship pleases. As it may be a day or two before my official report can be despatched, I herewith forward a transcript of the treaty, which you will observe embraces everything proposed by Sir William Macnaghten, in the draft of the treaty he sent to Colonel Stacy, with slight verbal alterations only, and an addition which you will find at the termination of the 5th article, the object of which is to obtain an equitable arrangement of tolls; the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th articles are added by me for the following reasons. The 6th, more to give us the right to prevent any foreign power interfering with the Brahoe nation, than from any idea that the foreign intrigues of this petty state could affect us seriously. The 7th, I consider necessary to our good name and in justice to Shah Newaz Khan. The 8th, I deem indispensable to our honour; and the 9th requires no comment. The Khan, on his having been previously made fully acquainted with the nature of the treaty, was invited to a public Durbar I held yesterday forenoon, for the purpose of concluding the compact, and came accordingly, attended by the whole of his Sirdars and principal people, excepting one or two individuals absent, sick. The treaties were produced in public Durbar, and read over to the Khan by his minister, Moolah Mahomed Hussein, the words being repeated by the Khan, who when finished said “I agree” (Kubool), and taking his signet from his bosom (which he always wears attached to a string round his neck, and never entrusts it to any one), put on the ink, and applied the seal with his own hand. On the previous evening the Khan visited me, and made the following request—after premising that he was the faithful servant of the English, and ready to subscribe to whatever conditions we chose to impose—that he was aware of the articles of the intended treaty, which he heartily agreed to; he wished for two additions, which if I could make to the terms, he would feel very grateful for; first, that our troops should not be withdrawn from his country for two or three years until his government had become sufficiently strong to put down the factious spirit of the chiefs, which late years of anarchy had fostered to an extent which he, a weak boy, could not overcome without the aid of the English. Secondly, that it should be stipulated that the British Government would protect him from enemies, domestic and foreign, and guarantee his possessions, as were those of the Ameers of Scinde. To this I replied, ‘You can write a representation of your wishes on this subject, which I will forward to the Governor-General with my recommendation that one regiment may continue for the present at Dadur, which, with that of Quetta, will aid you in preserving the Bolan Pass, which is a reasonable object not calculated to excite jealousy; but, for your own sake, I shall not advise any troops being stationed in the heart of your country, or that they should ever be intervened between you and your people.’ With regard to guarantee against foreign enemies, in the same manner as the Ameers of Scinde enjoy, I advised the Khan also, to intimate his wishes to me in writing which I would submit to his Lordship, with whom it rested to add an article to the treaty to that effect, or not, as he pleases. On the latter point, I beg to observe, that I should have had no scruple to include an article of guarantee against foreign enemies, as such is stipulated in the treaty proposed by his Lordship with Shah Newaz Khan, or promise of support in case of invasion, had not such pledge been omitted in Sir William Macnaghten's draft, which leads me to infer that his Lordship may have since deemed it better to avoid the guarantee. I would, however, myself recommend that the Khelat state should be admitted within the protection of the British Government, which it seeks, as the best check to the intrigues of foreign powers with it, and to complete our advanced political frontier, which might otherwise be turned through Beloochistan. Should his Lordship be pleased to add an article pledging assistance against the open attack of foreign powers, or good offices in the event of differences arising, it will be received as a

was to reduce the expenses of his Residency establishment to the extent of £10,000 a year, at the same time that he increased its efficiency.

But a critical period was at hand, and at no time did this truly great man render more important services to the State than in those days of trial and anxiety that succeeded the annihilation of the British army in January, 1842. To his personal influence it is mainly attributable that the Scindians and Beloochees declined to join the Afghans in the religious war proclaimed by the latter against the Cross; and during the darkest hour of England's humiliation, when Jellalabad and Candahar alone held out in Afghanistan, Outram exerted all his influence and the powers of his pen in inducing the Indian Government to save British prestige from utter shipwreck. His letters breathe a spirit of patriotism, and jealousy for the good name of England, that, with similar provocatives from Mr. George Clerk and Captain Henry Lawrence, at Ferozepore, and Captain Mackeson at Peshawur, at length stung the Governor-General to assay the task of lifting out of the mud the honour of their country. Outram opened a correspondence with General Nott at Candahar, announcing the details of the arrangements he had entered into for sending reinforcements, and expressing a noble resolution to support the General to the uttermost in the maintenance of Candahar. In a private letter to Outram, dated

gratifying evidence of our desire to uphold the nation, and thankfully acknowledged by the Khan as a gracious boon. At 4 p.m. yesterday evening, I proceeded to the Khan's Durbar, accompanied by Brigadier England, and all the gentlemen of the Agency, and escort. We were received by the Khan and Colonel Stacy, who had preceded us to prepare what was required for the ceremony, and a large assembly of his Sirdars and principal people. After the usual inquiries, the ceremony of investiture was gone through (much the same as that of Mohammedan courts in India). On its completion, every British officer heartily congratulated and shook hands with the Prince, followed by every individual in the room, while a royal salute was fired from the Khan's own guns in very good style. The young chief was visibly affected (almost to tears) by the good feeling displayed towards him by the English gentlemen, and general and sincere were the thanks, loudly expressed by the principal natives, to Colonel Stacy, for his friendly exertions, in bringing about so happy a consummation. We then accompanied the Khan on horseback to an open space without the walls, where the Brahoes exhibited their horsemanship; after witnessing which for a short time, we escorted the Khan to the town gate, where he took leave. The feeling displayed by the people to the young chief was peculiarly gratifying, especially their hearty prayers and blessings as he passed through the streets invested with the garb of royalty for the first time. Their demeanour towards ourselves is always particularly civil and friendly (an amazing contrast to our cut-throat reception in the neighbouring valley of Shawl) especially when it is remembered how we were occupied here two years ago. That, however, has left no impression in our disfavour. It is well known we were driven to hostilities, and our mercy to those who submitted, and forbearance to the women and prisoners, are remembered to our credit." This treaty with the Khan of Khelat, and Outram's letter detailing the circumstances of its negotiation, are of historic importance since our occupation of Quetta and war with Shere Ali.

20th February, 1842, Lord Auckland writes:—"This is probably the last letter that I shall have to write to you, and I would take my leave of you with an assurance to you that you have, from day to day, since your late appointment, added to that high estimate with which I have long regarded your character, and which led me to place confidence in you. It is mortifying and galling to me to feel that plans which you had nearly brought to successful maturity, for great improvements, for the consolidation of security and influence, for the happiness of the population of immense tracts, and for your own and our honour, should be endangered by events of which our military history has happily no parallel. You will, I know, do well in the storm, and I trust, that as far as the interests confided to you are concerned, you will enable us to weather it."

Anticipating the possibility of Nott's being obliged to withdraw from Candahar, *via* Shawl and Scinde, the Government of India despatched orders to Major Outram to arrange for having the disposable part of the reinforcements, under Brigadier England's orders, moved above the Bolan Pass as early as practicable, in order that the troops might be marched forward to the foot of the Kojuck Pass on the Quetta side, so as to support and facilitate General Nott's movements. It was added that the troops thus falling back were to remain at Quetta and Moostung until the season should arrive for their descending the plains. Outram was feverishly anxious that Nott should remain in Afghanistan until the honour of the British flag had been avenged, for he anticipated peril to our Indian Empire if the prestige of our arms were damaged. At length his wish was fulfilled, and he wrote as follows to Major Rawlinson, Political Agent at Candahar, under date Dadur, 16th February, 1842; on forwarding to General Nott, Government instructions directing him to receive no further orders from General Elphinstone at Cabul:—"I wrote a long letter to Hammersley this morning for the purpose of being conveyed to you if possible, urging everything I could against General Nott obeying any orders he might receive from General Elphinstone, enjoining evacuation, &c. I am delighted now to have to forward a direct order from Government to that effect to the Commander-in-Chief, and the Commander-in-Chief's to General Nott in consequence, and so anxious I am that this should reach, that I am sending a duplicate *via* Khelat. If it reaches, you may safely entrust your answer to the same channel. I trust you will receive my letter through Hammersley, which contains my ideas on our position, and what I have advised being done, but I have no time to

enter fully on the subject here. P.S.—What a noble opportunity General Nott has of earning distinction! The eyes of the world are on him. Attack the enemy on every occasion, and disabuse the opinion which now gains ground—that the Afghans are a match for us in fair field. I do declare to you that I consider withdrawing from Jellalabad, and shrinking from forcing the Khyber and supporting that post, tantamount to digracefully throwing up the game in Afghanistan, not in any way to be counterbalanced by the most extensive operations in this quarter.”

It was also through Outram's exertions that General Nott obtained the means to enable him to move from Candahar upon Cabul when co-operating with Pollock. Again, when Nott ordered General England to return to India, before himself proceeding on his adventurous march to Ghuznee and Cabul, Outram saved General England's division from discomfiture by following the tactics of Pollock, and crowning the heights of the Bolan Pass with the men of Khelat, and dispersing the enemy, for which he was personally thanked by General England, as well as for his exertions in collecting the means of transport and supply.

For these meritorious services he was not only left without reward by Lord Ellenborough, but was superseded—that nobleman having been grievously offended at Outram's vehement and outspoken opposition to his retirement policy. He had been appointed by his lordship Envoy to the states on the Lower Indus, but, on learning the news of the extrication of General England's army from the defiles, his lordship remanded him to his regiment. Great dissatisfaction was created by this ingratitude, and Outram received from all quarters letters expressive of sympathy. Previously to giving over charge of the political department of Scinde to his successor, Sir Charles Napier, Outram was fêted by the officers of the army at a grand banquet, at which Sir Charles, who presided, paid him the well-earned tribute already mentioned. However, he was not destined to enjoy repose for long, as, at Sir Charles Napier's request, he was directed by Lord Ellenborough, in November, 1842, to return to Scinde, and arrange the details of the proposed treaty with the Ameers.

Into the much-vexed question of the annexation of Scinde, and the treatment of the Ameers, we have neither space nor relish to enter. So strongly did Outram feel on the subject, that he refused to accept his salary as Commissioner (£150 a month), and drew only his pay as Captain, thus giving a practical

proof of his noble disinterestedness. Subsequently an embittered and protracted controversy arose between Sir Charles Napier and Major Outram, who published a work in 2 vols., entitled *The Conquest of Scinde—a Commentary*. In the second volume of this vindication, he says:—"My position, while the events under consideration were in progress, was in the last degree painful and anomalous. I was constrained to take an active and somewhat prominent part in an invasion which I had strongly deprecated, even when it was merely hinted at as a possible contingency. This invasion led to the infliction of still further injustice on the unhappy princes of Scinde; and emphatically as I denounced that injustice to Sir Charles Napier, I was bound to vindicate his conduct in my communications with his victims. On the Ameers I had to urge the necessity of a speedy settlement of affairs, and at the same time to demonstrate to the General that, consistently with the course which he pursued, no satisfactory adjustment of them could ever be arrived at." The failure of his attempts to save the Ameers he attributes, in a great measure, to "the continuance on the part of Sir Charles Napier of the same violence and indiscretion which had characterised his every act until its final consummation on the field of Meanee."

We may observe, that Outram, in the policy he had proposed for adoption, gave proof of those principles on which, through good and evil report, he uniformly dealt with the inhabitants of India, a country he considered it the duty of England to govern solely for the benefit of the people. He was emphatically the man who justified the British rule in India, who struck hard for it when need there was, but who never forgot that the natives were fellow-creatures, and acted on the belief that our mission was to civilise and train for self-governance the inhabitants of that magnificent province of the empire. In that spirit he acted in Candeish and Guzerat, in Sattara and Baroda, in Scinde and Oude.

Early in February, 1843, during the conference at Hyderabad, between the Chief Commissioner, Major Outram, and the Ameers, a body of 7,800 Belooch infantry and cavalry suddenly assailed the Residency building in that city; but the gallant officer, at the head of a small body of native troops, and a company of the 22nd Foot, which happened to be present, repelled their attacks, and, after a spirited defence of three hours, against overwhelming numbers, retired, with the loss of seventeen killed, wounded, and missing, to the armed steamer anchored in the river, about 500 yards distant. It is only just

to the Ameers to state, that, though the treaty had been signed on February 12th, two days before the treacherous attack on the Residency by the infuriated Beloochees, these princes importuned Outram, during that interval, to retire from the city; but, with his natural high chivalric feeling, he disdained to beat a retreat from his post. The Governor of Bombay described this defence as "fearless, extraordinary, and admirable," and Sir C. Napier passed a high encomium on him.

Then followed, on February 17th, the signal defeat of Meanee, that wonderful fight in which Sir Charles Napier, for three hours, withstood, with but 2,700 men, the charge of 20,000 fierce warriors, leaving 5,000 of the enemy on the field, for they neither asked nor gave quarter. There ensued upon this defeat the submission of the Ameers, and the surrender, on February 20th, of the fortress of Hyderabad, and the distribution, as prize, of the accumulated treasures and jewels found in it by the captors. Major Outram, with a noble consistency and disinterestedness, refused the sum of 30,000 rupees, his share of the plunder, acquired in what he considered an unjust war, and distributed it among the charitable institutions of India. His honourable nature revolted against what he considered an act of moral turpitude, and he had the courage to be outspoken in the cause of truth and justice, even against so bitter an antagonist as Sir Charles Napier, who, a few years before, had hailed him at a public dinner given in his honour, as "the Bayard of India." The words may be applied to him spoken by Milton of Cromwell,

" Who, through a cloud,
Not of war only, but of detractions rude,
Guided by faith and matchless fortitude,
To peace and truth thy glorious way hast plough'd."

The battle of Dubba, on March 22nd, completed the conquest of Scinde, which was formally annexed by Lord Ellenborough. Outram, who had received from his countrymen in Bombay a sword valued at 300 guineas, and a piece of plate, proceeded to England in April, 1843. The Government rewarded him, on the 4th July in the same year, with a brevet Lieutenant-Colonelcy,* and the Companionship of the Bath.

On his return to India in January of the following year, Outram was appointed by Lord Ellenborough, with whom he was no favourite, on account of his independence of character, to the somewhat subordinate post of Political Agent

* He did not attain his majority in the 23rd Regiment until February 21st, 1848.

at Nimar, where he succeeded Captain (now Major-General) James Abbott, of the Bengal Artillery. Six months afterwards, on the 10th September, 1844, he resigned his appointment, and prepared to return to Europe, but learning that an insurrection had broken out in the Southern Mahratta country, he at once tendered his services to the Government, and was deputed on special service to induce the insurgents to submit to the authority of their ruler, the Rajah of Kolapore. Order was speedily restored by the capture of the principal fortress. The fort of Samanghur was stormed on the 13th October, when the insurgents suffered a heavy defeat. On this occasion the commanding officer, in his despatch, commented, with feelings "of pride and satisfaction," on Colonel Outram's high character, well known gallantry, and established reputation. In the December following we find him taking part in the storming of the strong fortress of Punalla, occupied by a large body of insurgent Ghudkurries and Sebundies belonging to the Kolapore state; here, too, in the words of his superior officer, Colonel Brough, "the heroic Lieutenant-Colonel Outram was in his accustomed place, in the first rank," and he had the satisfaction of receiving the thanks of the Governor-General in Council.

Outram resumed his intention of returning to England, but the flames of rebellion burst forth with redoubled violence in the Sawunt Warree state, below the Western Ghauts. The difficult nature of the country favoured the insurgents, and, owing to a want of energy displayed by the British officers on the spot, the insurrection received a dangerous development. On his arrival, however, all was changed, and, in a few days, "the skilful movements of his small detachments terminated an organised opposition which had for six weeks kept at bay three brigades differently handled." To use the words of Sir Henry Lawrence, as expressed in the *Calcutta Review*, "The soul of all active measures, his very advanced guard drove before them the half-armed rabble that had kept three brigades at bay. Never was the magic power of one man's presence more striking than on Outram's return to the seat of war!" As a reward for these great services, he was appointed to the post of British Resident at Baroda, the highest diplomatic appointment in the gift of the Bombay Government.

In 1850, Colonel Outram proceeded to Egypt for his health's sake, and while there was employed on secret service, compiling a memoir on the resources, defences, and military capabilities of that country, which doubtless is "pigeon-holed" somewhere, though the changes in the condition and resources of that

interesting state have been so great during the past thirty years, that the report in question would have only an antiquarian interest. On his return to Baroda, Colonel Outram became involved in a protracted controversy with the Bombay Government, then presided over by Lord Falkland, regarding his report on official corruption in the Presidency. Outram was at all times outspoken, and, notwithstanding his political training, could not restrain himself from using strong language whenever he detected venality. His famous "Khutput Report," and his despatch of 31st October, 1851, were considered so disrespectful, that, in the following February, Lord Falkland removed him from the post of Resident at Baroda.

Outram sailed from Bombay for England on 17th February, 1852, taking with him the sympathy of all honest men. The ground of his removal, as stated by Lord Falkland to the Court of Directors, was Outram's letter of 31st October, 1851, which accompanied his "Khutput Report," the language of which was described as insubordinate and disrespectful. The Court coincided in this view, in their letter to Lord Falkland, of 26th June, 1852, and also agreed with the Governor, that Outram,—in expressing his intentions, under other circumstances, of "pointing out to the Guicowar the necessity, for the honour of his own raj, of selecting another adviser,"—took an exaggerated view of his power as British representative at a native court; but they credited him with "zeal, energy, ability, and success, in prosecuting inquiries attended with great difficulty." The chairman of the Court, Sir James Weir Hogg, and Mr. R. Ellice, who signed the letter of the 26th June, 1852, concluded with the "expression of a hope that when Colonel Outram shall return to India, you will find a suitable opportunity of employing him where his talents and experience may prove useful to the public service."

In the correspondence and references arising from this affair, Outram had a staunch friend and advocate in the late Colonel Sykes, M.P. for Aberdeen, and the last chairman of the Court of Directors. Colonel Sykes was an officer of the Bombay army, like Outram, and, with all his peculiarities, was a man of integrity, and had the wisdom to respect the motives which dictated the outspokenness of this valuable servant of the great Company. He threatened to bring the whole question before Parliament unless Colonel Outram was reinstated or appointed to a post of equal emolument and trust to that of Resident at Baroda. Colonel Sykes carried the day, and the Court addressed the above despatch to Lord Falkland, in which, while censuring

Outram for his intemperance of language, they directed that, on his return to India, he should be employed in an office not less honourable and pecuniarily valuable than that he had lost. In adopting this course the Directors displayed worldly wisdom, for, in Colonel Outram, they had an able and unflinching champion, who, strong in what he regarded as the cause of justice, battled to the last for their rights, as the ruling power in India, against the encroachments of the Crown. His uncompromising honesty of purpose and well known disinterestedness lent to his advocacy a potency denied to the pleadings of others whose motives might have been called into question; and it was acknowledged, that when Colonel Outram, the Bayard of India, the opponent of venality, and the champion of the rights of the subject races of India, took up the cause of the Court of Directors, it was not the corrupt corporation Sir Charles Napier and other enemies in and out of the House of Commons would have the world believe. Such is the advantage to the State of commanding the services of men of whom it might be said as of Coriolanus:—

“ His nature is too noble for the world ;
He would not flatter Neptune for his trident,
Or Jove for his power to thunder. His heart 's his mouth ;
What his breast forges, that his tongue must vent.”

PART II.

Colonel Outram returns to India—Is appointed Resident in Oude—Review of the position of affairs at the Court of Lucknow—The annexation of Oude—Outram proceeds to England on sick leave—Is appointed to the command of the Persian Expedition—Battle of Kooshaub and bombardment of Mohamrah—Conclusion of peace with Persia—The Indian Mutiny—Sir James Outram is appointed to a command—Outram and Havelock—The advance on Lucknow—Relief of Lucknow—Defence of the Alumbagh position—Siege of Lucknow—Outram as Chief Commissioner of Oude—Return to England—Death and character of Sir James Outram.

In September 1853, Outram returned to India, and some time after, on a vacancy occurring at Aden, was appointed Political Agent at the "Gibraltar of the East;" but important as were his duties at that post, his energies were required on a wider sphere of action. Lord Dalhousie, who knew Outram's value, and had made him one of his honorary aides-de-camp, nominated him, in January 1856, to succeed Colonel Sir William Sleeman (on a salary of 5,000 rupees a month), as Resident at the court of Lucknow, a position of great trust and responsibility.

Outram found the kingdom in a condition of anarchy and misrule so deplorable and irremediable that annexation appeared the only palliative, having regard to the paramount consideration—the welfare of the people. Personally, he was averse to annexation, and regarded the existence of the native states as necessary to our rule; but here was an exception to the rule. The idea of annexing Oude was held by Lord Wellealey in 1799, and by every succeeding Governor-General of India down to the time of Lord Dalhousie, and this not on account of its richness and importance as a recruiting ground for our army, but because its proximity to our dominions rendered the chronic condition of misgovernment from which it suffered a standing menace to our power, and a discredit to us as the paramount authority in India and the protector of the liberties of the people. The misgovernment of Oude at the end of the

last century was so extreme and notorious, that Lord Wellesley thought it necessary to interfere, and this he did by annexing one-half of the territory of the ruler, or Wuzeer as he was called, and entering into a treaty, in 1801, with Saadut Ali Khan, by which a subsidiary force of British troops guaranteed the province against all dangers external and internal, receiving in return a promise from the Wuzeer that he would act in conformity with the advice of the Company's agents accredited to his court. That treaty was constantly violated by every successor of Saadut Ali Khan, who died on the 12th July, 1814. A corrupt and profligate court spent enormous sums of money in administering to their own pleasures, while the native army amounted, according to a memorandum given by the prime minister to Colonel Low in 1837, to 67,954 men. The people, on whom the taxation fell, were reduced to the last degree of poverty, and, when any resistance was made to the payment of taxes, British troops, under the command of British officers, were sent to enforce their collection, thus causing great oppression of the people, and anarchy throughout the kingdom. The advice of the Company's agents was perhaps followed for some few months, only to give place to the same course of misgovernment.

In 1819, the Wuzeer, or Soubahdar as was his correct title, threw off his nominal allegiance to the Emperor of Delhi and assumed the designation of King of Oude, an act of usurpation the East India Company recognised in consideration of the numerous loans and advances they had received from the coffers of that state. On the 20th October, 1827, Ghazee-ood-Deen Hyder, successor to Saadut Ali Khan, died, and was succeeded by Nusseer-ood-Deen Hyder. On the 20th January 1831, Lord William Bentinck held a conference with this prince, and warned him of the consequences of a persistence in such conduct, and, in 1835, the same Governor-General recorded a minute that it was disgraceful to the British Government, and to the East India Company, that the system which had so long existed in Oude should be allowed to continue; and proposed that there should be one of two courses taken, either that the British troops should be entirely withdrawn, and the treaty declared at an end, or that Oude should be annexed and administered by our own officers. The result of his lordship's correspondence with the Court of Directors was a delay for the purpose of giving time to the Oude ministers to reform the Government, and avoid so extreme a step as abrogating the treaty.

On the 8th July 1837, Nusseer-ood-Deen Hyder died, and,

acting under instructions from Lord William Bentinck given on 15th December 1832, the Resident, Colonel Low, hailed as his successor, Nusseer-ood-Dowlah, brother of the late king. This step was resisted by the Padshah Begum, widow of the deceased prince, on behalf of her adopted child, Moonna Jan, whom Nusseer-ood-Deen Hyder had assured the Resident was not his son; and, after a scene of bloodshed in the palace, which was stormed by the British troops, including the 35th Regiment, who had been summoned by the Resident to enforce the Governor-General's decision, Nusseer-ood-Dowlah was installed king. From that time to the beginning of 1842 some improvement took place in the general management of affairs, but the reform was shortlived. On the 13th February 1847, the last of the line succeeded his father, and, in the same year, Lord Hardinge, being impressed with the anarchical state of affairs, went himself to Lucknow, and warned the king that his system of government could not be allowed to continue; he reminded him of the annexation of Nagpore, and told him that the British Government would be forced by necessity—unless within a limited period a marked improvement was effected—to proceed to measures of a similar kind. The government of India was long-suffering, and it was not until several years later that Lord Dalhousie once more took into serious consideration the affairs of Oude. The conclusion at which Lord Dalhousie arrived was similar to that which Lord William Bentinck had drawn in 1835: that the British Government should declare the treaty at an end, and, without assuming the administration of the country, withdraw the whole of the British troops, leaving the confusion and misgovernment of Oude to produce their natural results, and reserving to itself the full right to interfere if the British frontiers were molested or British interests injured by the ruling powers or people of that kingdom. On remitting home these representations, Lord Dalhousie stated that it was necessary to arrive at some decision upon the question; whereupon the Board of Control and the Court of Directors decided to declare the treaty of 1801 at an end, but expressed their resolution—herein departing from the advice of Lord Dalhousie—to maintain the British troops in Oude, and assume the administration of that kingdom.

Since the time the state of misrule in Oude assumed intolerable proportions, some of the ablest soldier-diplomatists India has produced, held the reins of office as Resident at Lucknow.*

* The following was the succession of Residents between the years 1831, when Lord William Bentinck warned the reigning prince of the fate that would overtake him

Between 1831-42, Colonel John Low, an officer who had been trained under the eye of Sir John Malcolm, and had stood by his side on the field of Mahidpore, was the British adviser of the King of Oude. He was succeeded by the late Colonel Sir William Sleeman, the suppressor of Thuggism, who published an account of his dealings with the Oude princes. Of the last of the line, who was, if possible, worse than any of his predecessors, though possessed of sufficient natural capacity, Sir William Sleeman reported, in 1850, that he was "the only one who has systematically declined to devote any of that capacity, or any of his time, to the conduct of public affairs." Writing to Lord Dalhousie in September, 1852, Sir William described the king as "a crazy imbecile;" but, notwithstanding, did not advise annexation, but a "well-selected regency," and the following, among other reasons, he gave for this advice are remarkable as predicting the mutiny of the native army:—"While we have a large portion of the country under native rulers, their administration will contrast with ours greatly to our advantage in the estimation of the people; and we may be sure that, though some may be against us, many will be for us. If we succeed in sweeping them all away or absorbing them, we shall be at the mercy of our native army, and they will see it; and accidents may possibly occur to unite them, or a great portion of them in some desperate act. The thing is possible, though improbable, and the best provision against it seems to me to be the maintenance of native rulers, whose confidence and affection can be engaged, and administrations improved under judicious management."

Such was the condition of affairs at the time of the arrival of Outram at the court of Lucknow. He was directed by Lord Dalhousie to institute a searching inquiry into the condition of the people, and the administration. He was required to report whether the country was still in the same state which Sir William Sleeman had described, and whether any progress had been made in the correction of abuses, which Lord William

did he not reform, and the year 1856. Colonel John Low, Resident at Nagpore, succeeded Colonel Caulfield at Lucknow, where he remained for twelve years, and in 1842 was succeeded by Major-General Sir William Nott. On resigning the appointment and proceeding, on account of his health, to England (where he died), Sir William was succeeded by Major-General Sir George Pollock, who was Resident from December, 1843, to the end of 1844, when, on his appointment to the post of Military Member of Council, he was succeeded by Colonel Sir William Sleeman, who gave place, in January, 1856, to Sir James Outram, the last Resident and first Chief Commissioner of Oude.

Bentinck had peremptorily demanded, and for which Lord Hardinge had given two years' grace.

Outram reported that not only was there no improvement whatever, but no prospect of any. The vices of the Government were inherent in its constitution, and absolutely incurable. He had no hesitation, therefore, in affirming that the duty imposed on the British Government by treaty, would no longer admit of its abstaining from having recourse to the decisive measure of assuming the government. "In pronouncing," he said, "an opinion so unfavourable to the reigning family of Oude, I have performed a painful duty. I have ever advocated the maintenance of the few remaining states in India, so long as we can, consistently with our duty as the paramount power, and the pledges of our treaties. It is distressing to me to find that in upholding the sovereign power of this effete and incapable dynasty, we do it at the cost of 5,000,000 of people, for whom we are bound to secure good government."

In thus "advocating the maintenance of the few remaining states in India," Outram was only in accord with many of our most eminent Indian statesmen. Any undue interference with the treaty rights of the native princes is to be deprecated, as it tends to create distrust among the princes, and disaffection among their dependents and the people, who are easily worked upon by interested parties. Outram's predecessor, Colonel Low, entertained no less strong views on the impolicy of such a course, and wrote as follows on the questions in a minute dated 10th February, 1854:—"It seems highly probable that, owing to the infringement of their treaties on the part of native princes, and other causes, the whole of India will, in course of time, become one British province; but many eminent statesmen have been of opinion that we ought most carefully to avoid unnecessarily accelerating the arrival of that great change; and it is within my own knowledge that the five following great men were of that number, namely, Lord Hastings, Sir Thomas Munro, Sir John Malcolm, the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, and Lord Metcalfe."

Outram's report was transmitted to Lord Dalhousie, who drew up one of his great and statesman-like minutes upon it, advocating the measure of allowing the king to retain the nominal sovereignty, but vesting the administration of the affairs of Oude in English officials. The members of his Council, including Sir John Peter Grant and Colonel Low, approved of this course, and the recommendation was forwarded to England, but after

an anxious deliberation of two months, was rejected by the Court of Directors, who ordered immediate annexation.*

On receipt of the orders in India, a body of troops was moved up to the frontier of Oude, and Outram was instructed to endeavour to persuade the king to sign the treaty, which transferred the government of his kingdom to the Company. The sovereign received the communication with an undignified burst

* In the discussions to which the Mutiny gave rise, Lord Dalhousie, for causing the annexation of Oude, was not less severely handled by the Conservative party in the Houses of Parliament and the Opposition press, than Lord Canning himself, and how far the bitterness of party politics may go, was proved by Mr. Disraeli's opposition in the House of Commons to including the Governor-General's name in the vote of thanks on the conclusion of the Mutiny—a course adopted by the Liberal party more recently on the vote of thanks proposed by Lord Beaconsfield on what was supposed to be the conclusion of the Afghan war. While Lord Canning was blamed for his policy during and after the Mutiny, his predecessor was accused of having initiated the movement by the annexation of Oude. On this point the opinion of the late Lord Lawrence is entitled to great weight. Speaking on the 31st September, 1860, at Glasgow, on the occasion of his receiving the freedom of the city, Lord (then Sir John) Lawrence observed:—"The annexation of Oude had nothing whatever to do with the Mutiny in the first instance, though that measure certainly did add to the number of our enemies after the Mutiny commenced. The old government of Oude was extremely obnoxious to the mass of our native soldiers of the regular army who came from Oude, and the adjacent province of Behar, and with whom the Mutiny originated. These men were the sons and kinsmen of the Hindoo yeomen of the country, all of whom benefited more or less by annexation; while Oude was ruled by a Mohammedan family, which had never identified itself with the people, and whose government was extremely oppressive to all classes, except its immediate creatures and followers, and to no class so much as to the great body of the agriculturists. But when the introduction of the greased cartridge had excited the native army to revolt; when the mutineers saw nothing before them short of success on the one hand or destruction on the other, they, and all who sympathised with them, were driven to the most desperate measures. All that could be influenced by love or fear rallied round them. All that had little or nothing to lose joined their ranks. All that dangerous class of religious fanatics and devotees who abound in India; all the political intriguers, who in peaceful times can do us mischief, swelled the numbers of the enemy, and gave spirit and direction to their measures. India is full of races of men who from time immemorial have lived by service or by plunder, and who are ready to join in any disturbance which may promise them employment. Oude was full of disbanded soldiers who had not had time to settle down. Our gaols furnished thousands of desperate men who were let loose on society. The cry throughout the country, as cantonment after cantonment became the scene of triumphant Mutiny, was, 'the English rule is at an end; let us plunder and enjoy ourselves.' The industrious classes throughout India were in our favour, but for a long time feared to act. On the one side they saw the few English in the country shot down or flying for their lives, or, at the best, standing on the defensive, sorely pressed. On the other side, they saw summary punishment in the shape of the plunder and destruction of their homes, and even of death itself, dealt out to those who aided us. Was it then so wonderful that they refused to sacrifice all that was dear to them for our sakes? But when we evinced signs of vigour, when we began to assume the offensive, and vindicate our authority, many of these people came forward and identified themselves with our cause. Surely it is mere folly to suppose that we could ever have weathered the storm which beset us, had the mass of the people of the country risen heartily against us. One of the great evils of those sad times was the large numbers who were gradually drawn or forced into the struggle against us, who, when once committed, saw no hope of safety except in continuing the struggle. Then it was that sound policy dictated the advantage of giving such men a way to escape, and of dealing tenderly with them."

of tears, said he was a miserable wretch, and threw his turban into Outram's lap. He positively refused to affix his signature to the treaty, and a proclamation was accordingly issued, declaring the kingdom to be an integral part of the British dominions. Thus was consummated the annexation of Oude.

Outram was appointed the first Chief Commissioner of Oude, and, on the 5th February, 1856, was created a K.C.B., having attained the rank of Major-General in the preceding year. Failing health prevented him from doing more than direct the first efforts of British administration, and, in the following June, he returned home on sick leave. Those who saw him in England in 1856, believed the work of the grand old soldier-diplomatist was done; but his most brilliant achievements were yet to come.

On the 1st November, 1856, Lord Dalhousie issued a manifesto declaring war against the Shah of Persia, who had despatched an army against Herat, (which was captured on the 25th October,) on the pretext that Dost Mahomed, the Ameer of Afghanistan, had been instigated by his "neighbours" to possess himself of Candahar. On the 14th November, Lord Palmerston nominated Sir James Outram to the political and military command of the expedition, the first division of which, numbering 5,670 men, including 2,270 European troops, under the command of Major-General Stalker, sailed in November from Bombay, from which Presidency the expedition was exclusively drawn. A powerful squadron of the Indian navy, under Rear-Admiral Sir Henry Leeke, Commander-in-Chief of that service, acted in co-operation. On the 9th December, a landing was effected at Hallilah Bay, about 12 miles distant from Bushire, under cover of the fire of the squadron, and the fort of Reshire was captured. On the following day Bushire surrendered, after a bombardment, of four hours' duration, by the ships-of-war of the Indian navy.

Sir James Outram left England on the 20th November, and on his arrival at Bombay on the 22nd December, received the local rank of Lieutenant-General. After having made the necessary arrangements, he sailed in the Hon. Co's. steam frigate *Semiramis* on the 17th January, 1857, and, on the 27th landed at Bushire. Here he learned that Shooja-ool-Moolk, the Persian commander, had made extensive preparations to recapture Bushire, and resolved to anticipate him by taking the offensive. Between the 1st and 2nd February, the 1st brigade of the 2nd division of the expeditionary army was landed at Bushire, and, on the evening of the 3rd February,

Sir James marched with a strong column* to encounter the enemy who were entrenched at Borazjoon. After a march of 46 miles in 41 hours, during which the troops, being without tents (each man carrying his great coat, blanket, and two days' cooked provisions), were exposed to cold nights and storms of rain, the British force arrived before the enemy's position on the afternoon of the 5th February, and found it abandoned. The enemy, on hearing of their approach, had evacuated the entrenchments on the previous night, with such precipitation that he had left behind his tents, camp equipage, and ordnance magazines. Satisfied with the moral effect of his bloodless victory, and prudently abstaining from following up the enemy to the strong passes which bar the road to Shiraz, Sir James Outram commenced the return march to Bushire, on the 7th, after destroying the magazines, containing 40,000lbs of powder, besides small arm ammunition, shot and shell, and taking with him large stores of flour, rice, and grain, accumulated by the Persian Government.

At midnight the enemy's horse made an attack upon the rear-guard, and parties threatened the line of march on every side, and later 4 guns opened fire on the column, upon which Sir James halted his troops and formed them so as to protect the baggage. At daybreak, the Persian army, between 6,000 and 7,000 men, with some guns, was observed on the left rear in order of battle. Outram at once moved to the attack with the artillery and cavalry, supported by two lines of infantry, a third protecting the baggage. The British guns quickly came into action, and the cavalry brigade charged twice with signal gallantry. The Poona Horse, under Lieutenant-Colonel Tapp, captured a standard of a regiment of regulars, while the 3rd Light Cavalry, led by Captain Forbes, charged a square, and, says the General in his despatch, "killed nearly the whole regiment."* The cavalry and artillery were alone engaged, as

* The following was the strength of the force:—3rd Cavalry, 243; Poona Horse, 176; H.M.'s 64th Regiment, 780; 2nd Europeans, 693; 78th Highlanders, 739; 20th Native Infantry, 443; 4th Native Infantry (Rifles), 523; 26th Native Infantry, 479; 2nd Beloochees, 460; 3rd troop Horse Artillery, and No. 3 and 6 Field Batteries, Sappers, 18. Total strength, 419 sabres, 2,212 Europeans, 2,022 Sepoys, and 18 guns.

* The devoted gallantry on this occasion of two young officers of the 3rd Cavalry, Lieutenant and Adjutant A. T. Moore, and Lieutenant J. G. Malcolmson, gained them the V.C.; and never was it more worthily conferred. Lieutenant Moore was first in the charge when the Persian square was broken. The official order conferring the Cross says:—"His horse leaped into the square, and instantly fell dead, crushing down its rider, and breaking his sword as he fell amid the broken ranks of the enemy. Lieutenant Moore speedily extricated himself, and attempted with his broken sword to force his way through the press, but he would assuredly have lost his life, had not the gallant young Lieutenant Malcolmson, observing his peril, fought his way to his dismounted comrade through a crowd of enemies to his rescue, and, giving him his

the enemy moved off too rapidly for the infantry to overtake them, and, by 10 o'clock the Persian army was routed, with the loss of two guns and much ammunition, leaving 700 dead on the ground. The troops bivouacked for the day close to the battle-field, which was strewn with arms, and at night resumed the march by another route, covering 20 miles over a country rendered almost impassable by the heavy rain which fell without cessation. After a rest of six hours the greater portion of the infantry continued their march, and reached Bushire before midnight, "thus performing," as the General says in his despatch, "another most arduous march of 44 miles, under incessant rain, besides defeating the enemy during its progress, within the short period of fifty hours." Great praise was certainly due to the troops for their endurance and steadiness in an ordeal that must have tried veteran European soldiers, and proved the metal of which the Bombay sepoys were composed.

The British loss in this affair was one officer (Lieutenant Frankland), 3 Europeans, and 10 natives killed and died of wounds; and five officers (including Captain Forbes and Lieutenant Greentree, seriously), 26 Europeans, and 31 natives wounded. Early in the action Sir James Outram was stunned by his horse falling on him, and only recovered consciousness shortly before the flight of the Persian army.

Outram now decided to strike the Persian Government in a more vulnerable part of the Shah's dominions, and only awaited the arrival of the remainder of the 2nd division to undertake operations. By the 24th the troops were gradually concentrated at the mouth of the Shatt-ul-Arab ("river of the Arabs") under General Havelock, and, on the 18th March, Sir James Outram—who had been detained at Bushire by the unfortunate deaths of General Stalker and Commodore Ethersey—left that port in the Honourable Company's steam frigate *Ferooz*, Captain Rennie, placing Brigadier-General John Jacob in command of the garrison.

Sir James arrived at the rendezvous on the 22nd, and, two days later, the entire force, numbering 4,886 men, of whom 1,623 were European infantry, being assembled, moved up the river to Mohamra, where the Persians were concentrated behind entrenchments of so formidable a character that the captain and officers of the French 50-gun frigate *Syville*, who had just

stirrup, safely carried him through everything out of the throng. The thoughtfulness for others, cool determination, devoted courage, and ready activity shown in extreme danger by this young officer, Lieutenant Malcolmson, appear to have been most admirable, and to be worthy of the highest honour."

returned from inspecting them, warned the British military and naval officers that the squadron was inadequate to attack them. And when indeed the relative strength of the squadron and of the earthworks, mounting 30 guns and manned by 600 regular artillerymen, is considered, the positions taken up by the ships to bombard the works, at a range of between 60 and 300 yards, showed a gallantry bordering on temerity.

Sir James Outram, after the capture, thus described the strength of the works at Mohamra:—"For some months past the Persians had been strengthening their position at Mohamra. Batteries had been erected of great strength, of solid earth twenty feet thick, eighteen feet high, with case-mmented embrasures, on the northern and southern points of the banks of the Karoon and Shatt-ul-Arab, where the two rivers join. These, with other earthworks armed with heavy ordnance, commanded the entire passage of the latter river, and were so skilfully and judiciously placed, and so scientifically formed, as to sweep the whole stream to the extent of the range of the guns, up and down the river and across the opposite shore; indeed everything that science could suggest and labour accomplish in the time appeared to have been done by the enemy to effectually prevent any vessel passing up the river above their position; the banks for many miles were covered by dense date-groves, affording the most perfect cover for riflemen; and the opposite shore being neutral territory (Turkish), was not available for the erection of counter-batteries. The accompanying rough sketch will, I fear, give your Excellency but a faint idea of the great strength of the Persian position and the difficulty of successfully attacking them in it without very considerable loss. I could have landed my troops on the island of Abadan, which was strongly occupied by the Persians; and there is no doubt that, after defeating them, the southern battery would eventually have fallen to us. But the several batteries on the northern bank of the Karoon commanded the entire southern bank, as well as the stream of the Shatt-ul-Arab, and it would have been a serious and an extremely difficult operation to have crossed the rapid current of the Karoon in the face of the enemy, had the means existed for doing so. But until our small steamers and boats could round the southern point and join us, we should have been helpless. After mature deliberation I resolved to attack the enemy's batteries with the armed steamers and sloops-of-war, and so soon as the fire was nearly silenced to pass up rapidly with the troops in small steamers towing boats, land the force two miles above the

northern point, and immediately advance upon and attack the entrenched camp."

The ships of the Indian naval squadron,* under the command of the late Commodore John Young, I. N., proceeded at daylight on the 26th March to the attack of the formidable earthworks. A mortar-raft, armed with two 8-inch and two 5½-inch mortars, first opened fire at 1,000 yards, and at 6 a.m. five of the ships, having taken up their respective positions, engaged the batteries at 800 yards, and the *Ferooz* and *Assaye* passing the south fort, took up good positions within 300 yards of the great north fort;† an hour and a half later these two ships gallantly closed to within 60 yards of the earthworks, the remainder of the squadron being anchored in line astern. About 10 o'clock the magazine in the north fort blew up, when the seamen cheered throughout the fleet, and worked the heavy 8-inch guns with redoubled energy; other explosions followed, and by one o'clock the batteries were silenced, when the transports, carrying the troops, headed by the Honourable Company's ship *Berenice*, steered by her commander, Lieutenant Chitty, within 100 yards of the batteries, and having on board General Havelock and the 78th Highlanders, passed the forts, and the troops were landed. But as Havelock said in a letter to his wife:—"The victory was won by the Indian navy; the troops of my division, which landed in the best order, had not a shot to fire. The Persians were commanded by the Shahzada, and their works were formidable; but in 3¼ hours they were so battered by our war-ships that the enemy abandoned them in haste, suffering great loss."

The loss of the fleet was 10 killed and 30 wounded, including one officer, Lieutenant Harries, of the *Semiramis*. The Persians confessed to a loss of 300 killed, including Agha Jan Khan, General of Division, and their army, amounting, says Sir James Outram, to "13,000 men of all arms, with 30 guns," were so thoroughly demoralised that they made no further stand during the war, the last episode of which was the expedition to Ahwaz on the Karoon, conducted by Commander Rennie, I. N.,

* The following were the ships:—"The Honourable Company's steam frigates, *Ferooz*, 10 guns, Commander J. Rennie (bearing Commodore Young's broad pennant); *Assaye*, 10 guns, Acting-Commander Adams; *Semiramis*, 8 guns, Commander Selby; *Ajdaha*, 8 guns, Lieutenant Worsley; the sailing sloops-of-war, *Clive*, 18 guns, Commander Grieve; *Falkland*, 18 guns, Lieutenant Tronson; and the steam-sloop *Victoria*, 6 guns, Lieutenant Manners.

† The north fort mounted 18 guns; the south fort, on the opposite bank of the Karoon, 11; a third fort between the north battery and the ridge of Mohamra, mounted 10 guns. Besides these works there were, says Captain Hunt, "several minor batteries of from two to four guns on either bank."

with 3 steamers, 3 gunboats, and some armed ships' boats, and 300 men of the 78th Highlanders, under Captain Hunt, when was witnessed the extraordinary spectacle of 7,000 Persian soldiers retreating before a handful of British soldiers and seamen. Early in April news was received of the conclusion of peace with Persia, at Paris, on the 4th March,* and on the 9th May, Sir James Outram issued orders breaking up the expeditionary army; leaving Brigadier-General John Jacob in command of the troops temporarily stationed at Bushire and the island of Kharrack, he returned to Bombay. For his services Sir James Outram was created a G.C.B.

Scarcely had Outram arrived at Bombay than news was received of the outbreak of that Indian Mutiny, to overcome which the country was deluged in a sea of blood, and our resources were strained to the utmost; but though British authority was in places submerged, the ark of British valour rode triumphant through the storm. This convulsion of our Indian Empire, which came as a surprise on our soldiers and statesmen, would seem to have been predicted by Byron in his *Curse of Minerva* wherein Pallas Athenæ pours her wrath on Britain for removing the Elgin marbles:—

“Look to the East, where Ganges' swarthy race
Shall shake your tyrant empire to its base;
Lo! there Rebellion rears her ghastly head,
And glares the Nemesis of native dead;
Till Indus rolls a deep purpureal flood,
And claims his long arrear of northern blood.”

Outram proceeded to Calcutta, and, on August the 5th, was gazetted to the “military command of the United Dinapore and Cawnpore divisions,” thus superseding his former friend and comrade, Brigadier-General Havelock, who had just then retraced his steps across the Ganges to Bithoor, after his second unsuccessful attempt to relieve the Lucknow garrison. It was not intended by the Governor-General or Sir Patrick Grant, Acting Commander-in-Chief, that Havelock, after gaining nine victories, should be actually superseded, and Sir Patrick wrote to the latter, three days after Outram had been appointed: “I leave you to the unfettered exercise of your own judgment, assured that you will do whatever is best for the public service.”

* On the 27th July following the conclusion of peace, the Persian army evacuated Herat, which was handed over to Sultan Jan on behalf of the Ameer, Dost Mahomed Khan, and Colonel Taylor was sent from Bagdad to acknowledge the new governing authority. It was fortunate for us, having regard to the Indian Mutiny then on the point of breaking out, that we had thus practically displayed our interest in maintaining the authority of our old enemy, Dost Mahomed, as the ruler of Afghanistan.

Sir James Outram arrived at Dinapore on August 17th, the day on which Sir Colin Campbell assumed the duties of Commander-in-Chief, and reached Allahabad on September the 1st with some reinforcements, having previously written to inform Havelock that to him he would leave the glory of relieving Lucknow, "for which," he added, "you have already struggled so much. I shall accompany you only in my civil capacity as Commissioner" (he having also been reappointed Chief Commissioner of Oude on the death of Sir Henry Lawrence), "placing my military services at your disposal, should you please, serving under you as a volunteer." Sir James marched out of Allahabad for Cawnpore on September 5th, with 1,449 soldiers, consisting of the 5th Fusiliers, 90th Regiment, and details of other regiments, and artillery. On the 15th September Outram arrived at Cawnpore, when a cordial greeting was exchanged between the two generals, who had parted only a few months before on the banks of the Shatt-ul-Arab. Like Automedon and Patroclus in the *Iliad*, these brave warriors were—

" Brothers in arms, with equal fury fired,
Two friends, two bodies with one soul inspired."

On the following day Sir James Outram issued his memorable order, in which, after detailing the arrangements for the organisation of the force, he continued:—"The important duty of first relieving the garrison of Lucknow has been intrusted to Brigadier-General Havelock, C.B., and Major-General Outram feels that it is due to this distinguished officer and the strenuous and noble exertions which he has already made to effect that object, that to him should accrue the honour of the achievement. Major-General Outram is confident that the great end for which General Havelock and his brave troops have so long and so gloriously fought will now, under the blessing of Providence, be accomplished. The Major-General, therefore, in gratitude for and admiration of the brilliant deeds in arms achieved by General Havelock and his gallant troops, will cheerfully waive his rank on the occasion; and will accompany the force to Lucknow in his civil capacity as Chief Commissioner of Oude, tendering his military services to General Havelock as a volunteer. On the relief of Lucknow the Major-General will resume his position at the head of the force."* Havelock,

* An American writer, Mr. Headley, has the following eloquent panegyric on Sir James Outram for this noble and disinterested act:—"Never before was so remarkable an order issued to an army by its commander—the days of chivalry can furnish

in another order, made his grateful acknowledgments, and Sir Colin Campbell, in confirming the appointment, expressed his admiration of the noble disinterestedness of the subject of this memoir thus:—"Seldom, perhaps never, has it occurred to a Commander-in-Chief to publish and confirm such an order as the following one, proceeding from Major-General Sir James Outram. With such a reputation as Major-General Sir James Outram has won for himself, he can afford to share the honour and glory with others. But that does not lessen the value of the sacrifice he has made, with such disinterested generosity, in favour of Major-General Havelock, C.B., commanding the field-force in Oude."

On the 19th September the combined force, taking 15 days' provisions with them, crossed over the Ganges, Captain Crommelin, of the Bengal Engineers, having completed the bridging of the river by boats in three days. The column destined to effect the relief of Lucknow was organised into two brigades, under Neill and Hamilton, and only numbered 2,500 men,* with 18 guns; the remainder of the division, 400 soldiers, being left to guard the entrenchments. On the morning of the 21st followed the action of Mungulwar. Havelock, according to his usual tactics, determined to turn the flank of the enemy. The heavy guns, under Major Eyre, were deployed on and across the road, to engage them in front, supported by the 5th Fusiliers as skirmishers, while the main force diverged to their left. Under this double attack the rebels soon lost heart and took to flight. Sir James Outram then placed himself at the head of the little troop of volunteer

no parallel to it. There is a grandeur in the very simplicity and frankness with which this self-sacrifice is made, while the act itself reveals a nobleness of character, a true greatness of soul, that wins our unbounded admiration. To waive his rank and move on with the column as a spectator would have shown great self-denial and elicited the applause of the world; but, not satisfied with this, he joined the volunteer cavalry, and though covered with well-earned laurels, stood ready to win his epaulettes over again. All his illustrious deeds in the field, which have rendered his name immortal, grow dim before this one act. When they shall be forgotten, it shall remain the best eulogium that could be pronounced on his name. Kings may confer patents of nobility, but the loftiest titles can add nothing to the grandeur of such a character. Men by their illustrious deeds often excite the admiration of the world, but few ever win its affections. Decorations and external honours may dazzle and attract the eye, but they do not gain the heart. Outram has won the love of all true men in both hemispheres, and sits enthroned where outward signs of greatness pass but for little."

* The troops included the 64th regiment and 78th Highlanders, forming part of the force employed in Persia; the 1st Madras Fusiliers, 5th Fusiliers, and a portion of the 90th Regiment, also the Ferozepore Regiment, under Major Brasyer. The artillery consisted of the light field-batteries of Captain Maude, Royal Artillery, and Captain Olpherts, Bengal Artillery, and some heavy guns, under Major Vincent Eyre, drawn by elephants and bullocks.

horse, and with his old ardour when chasing Dost Mahomed, started in pursuit. Marshman thus describes the charge:—"The mist which had obscured the morning now resolved itself into a merciless torrent of rain, but nothing could check the impetuosity of this gallant little band. Raised now for the first time to a strength which gave them the hope, so long desired, of being able to close with their slippery foe, they rapidly overtook a large mass of the fugitives, and, dashing in among them, completed their discomfiture. After some pause they resumed and continued the pursuit up to Bussurutgunge, a distance of eight miles, and came on two of their field-pieces. The defenders were cut down and the guns captured, 120 of the enemy perished under their sabres, and the regimental colours of the 1st Bengal Native Infantry were recovered." The column bivouacked for the night, and, on the 22nd, marched, through a torrent of rain, to the Sye.

No opposition was encountered next day until the force approached Alumbagh, a pleasure-garden of one of the princes of Oude, about four miles from Lucknow. It contained a large palace and park, the whole being inclosed by a high wall, with turrets at each angle. The enemy numbered 10,000 infantry, with 1,500 cavalry massed on their right, but were defeated and driven off the field with heavy loss in men, and 5 guns captured. As the rebels hurried across the country the gallant Outram again placed himself at the head of the handful of volunteer cavalry (which consisted mostly of officers of the mutinied regiments), and, armed with a thick cudgel, pursued them to the Charbagh bridge, which spans the canal on the margin of the city. The troops rested on the 24th, and preparations were made for the relief of the Lucknow garrison.

There were three modes of advancing to the Residency. One was the route adopted by Sir Colin Campbell in March, 1858, by which, making a *détour* from the right of the Alumbagh to the Dilkhoosha palace and park, and crossing the Goomtee, the force would then gain the Fyzabad and Lucknow road at the bridge over the Kookrail nullah, or rivulet, and following the route to the iron bridge, establish itself on the northern bank of the Goomtee, within 500 yards of the Residency, when the Padsbah-bagh palace and garden would form an admirable defensive position. Havelock had determined, in the first instance, to adopt this route, but the three days' incessant rain, which had soaked the ground to such an extent as to make it impassable even for the light field-guns, decided the generals to give it up; and this determination was indeed necessitated

by the condition of the Lucknow garrison, who, it was said, were in such imminent danger from the enemy's mines and the probable desertion of the few faithful Sepoys, that the delay of 24 hours might prove fatal.* The second route was by the Cawnpore, or direct road from the Charbagh bridge, through the heart of the city, a distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the Bailey Guard Gate, but this way was lined with loopholed houses swarming with men, and deep trenches had been cut across the road. The third route, which was the one adopted, was by the Charbagh bridge, and by a circuitous lane along the left bank of the canal to the group of fortified palaces and buildings to the east of the Residency—a desperate alternative, as it was known that the bridge and line of route was strongly fortified and held in force; but there appeared no choice.

Early in the morning of the 25th September all was ready for the advance, and, at 8, as General Havelock and Sir James Outram, with their staffs, were bending over some maps spread on a table in the open, taking a final survey of the route, a round shot struck the ground within five yards of them, and ricocheted over their heads. This was an earnest of what was to follow. Soon after Sir James Outram advanced with the first and leading brigade, General Havelock following in support with the second. Scarcely had he moved beyond the pickets than he was assailed by a heavy fire in front and on either flank, and more especially by two guns planted near a house, called, from its colour, the Yellow House. "The enemy," says Sir James Outram, "had on that occasion flanked his road under cover of long high grass, and a murderous fire was poured on the column from a double-storied house full of musqueteers, and from the loopholed walls of the large surrounding gardens, from two guns that raked the road from the right flank, and another that commanded his front. But steadily and cheerily Captain Maude pushed on with his brave men, and in the face of this desperate opposition did he bring them through, though not without the loss of one-third of his artillery force. . . . But for his nerve and coolness on this trying occasion the army could not have advanced."

The enemy were prepared to dispute the entrance to the city at the Charbagh bridge, which was defended by 6 guns on the Lucknow end, which from behind breastworks completely swept

* On the point of the mines Sir James Outram reported:—"We attained the Residency just in time apparently, for, now that we have examined the outside of the defences, we find that two mines had been run far under the garrison's chief work—ready for loading—which, if sprung, must have placed the garrison at their mercy."

the approach as well as the passage across it, while all the houses in the neighbourhood were loopholed for musketry. As soon as Sir James came under this fire he directed his men to lie under cover, while two of Captain Maude's field-guns, planted in the open, engaged in a duel with the enemy's pieces, under cover, within a range of 150 yards, and he himself, taking a regiment, entered the Charbagh inclosure to the right for the purpose of clearing it of the enemy and bringing a flanking fire from the margin of the canal on the defenders of the bridge. While thus engaged he received a flesh wound in the arm. For some time Maude kept up the unequal combat with his two guns, when Brigadier-General Neill, commanding the 1st Brigade in Outram's absence, charged, and, crossing the bridge, carried the guns with his noble 1st Madras Fusiliers, Sir James emerging from the Charbagh garden at the same time. Thus the entrance to the city was won. The 78th Highlanders were now pushed on the Cawnpore road leading to the Residency, to cover the passage of the troops and baggage, which the regiment did for three hours against overwhelming numbers, capturing two guns, while the main body, crossing the bridge, turned to the right, and, striking the canal, advanced towards the Residency. After reaching a point between the Motee Mahal and the 32nd Mess-house, a distance of three-quarters of a mile, the opposition became deadly, and the troops moved on, receiving from the Kaiserbagh a fire, "under which," says Havelock, "nothing could live." Major Eyre's guns twice silenced the fire of the battery at the Kaiserbagh, and the troops were now halted near the Fureed Bux palace, under shelter of a wall, to allow the advance of the long column of supplies; here the 78th Highlanders, which had taken a more direct road to the left, past the gate of the Kaiserbagh, joined the main body.

Nothing now remained but to advance to the Residency, distant only some 500 yards. As darkness was coming on Sir James Outram proposed that they should remain where they were until the morning, but Havelock considered it of the first importance to effect the relief of the Residency that night, and ultimately Sir James acceded to the proposal. Accordingly the two generals placed themselves at the head of the advance, consisting of the 78th Highlanders and Brasyer's Sikhs, and pushed on through a storm of bullets from the roofs and walls of the loopholed houses on either side. The last act of this inspiring drama was played out with success, and the Residency was reached at dark amidst the enthusiastic acclamations of the garrison, who had been watching the desperate fight throughout

the day with feelings that cannot be described.* But the triumph was dimmed by the death of the heroic Neill. Just as his Fusiliers in the rear were moving through the arch into the Khas bazaar, the Brigadier-General was shot through the head. In this gallant soldier fell one of "the bravest of the brave," a man made for troublous times, fierce, resolute, and averse from all half measures in dealing with sedition. His death was a glorious one, such as warriors have sighed to attain and poets sung from before the days of Troy. Major Cooper, commanding the Artillery, was also killed. Of Outram, who continued to fight, though wounded, Havelock says:—"Nothing could subdue his spirit, and, though faint from loss of blood, he continued to the end of the action to sit on his horse, which he only dismounted at the gate of the Residency."†

* An eye-witness says:—"All our doubts and fears regarding them were ended, and then the garrison's long pent-up feelings of anxiety and suspense burst forth in a succession of deafening cheers. From every pit, trench, and battery—from behind the sandbags piled on shattered houses—from every post still held by a few gallant spirits, rose cheer on cheer—even from the hospital many of the wounded crawled forth to join in that glad shout of welcome to those who had so bravely come to our assistance. It was a moment never to be forgotten. The delight of the ever-gallant Highlanders, who had fought twelve battles to enjoy that moment of ecstasy, and in the last four days had lost a third of their number, seemed to know no bounds. The General and Sir James Outram had entered Dr. Fayer's house, and the ladies in the garrison and their children crowded with intense excitement into the porch to see their deliverers. The Highlanders rushed forward, the rough-bearded warriors, and shook the ladies by the hand with loud and repeated gratulations. They took the children up in their arms, and fondly caressing them, passed them from one to another in turn. Then, when the first burst of enthusiasm was over, they mournfully turned to speak among themselves of the heavy losses they had sustained, and to inquire the names of the numerous comrades who had fallen in the way."

† The following passages from the journal of an officer of Outram's staff give interesting details of the advance on Lucknow:—"In two days the bridge of boats was constructed (what do you think of bridging the Ganges in two days?) and on the 19th September we crossed over. The Oude mutineers tried to prevent the bridge being made, but our 24-pounders kept them at a respectful distance. We had to go about two miles before we got good camping-ground, and here we halted for two days to allow of everything being brought up and put in proper order. Each 24-pounder gun was drawn by three elephants, and the 8-inch howitzers by thirty bullocks each, and we had at least 100 elephants with us. It rained hard all the night of the 20th, and at daylight of the 21st was cold and soaking wet. We advanced and took the village of Mungulwar, the rain coming down as it can only in India. After fighting about twenty minutes, during which our 24-pounders and field-batteries did their work beautifully, our men advanced with a cheer, and away went the enemy, when General Outram went after them with the volunteer cavalry, and following them at a gallop for seven miles, cut up at least 150. We marched fifteen miles in a heavy storm, and then halted for the night in a village called Bussurutunge. It rained hard all night, and after a hasty breakfast with General Outram we started again and marched fifteen miles without seeing anything of the enemy. We took a few carts laden with grain, which had not been able to get along the road quick enough, and stayed all night at a village called Begumtunge. We were within twelve miles of Lucknow, and fired a royal salute to let them know we were advancing. Next morning we started about eight o'clock, and about 2 p.m. got to Alumbagh. After a short action the enemy's guns were taken, and then came the rush of our guns after them. We followed the enemy for half a mile beyond Alumbagh, and took 4 or 6 guns, and as night was coming on we proposed to encamp. Here we got

Much remained yet to be done, and the main portion of the relieving force, with the heavy guns, only succeeded in

the news of the breach being made into Delhi; General Outram read the news to the troops, and they cheered immensely. Soon after this we were astonished at having round shot sent in among us, which we found came from a battery in front, now called the Yellow House battery. We fired some round shot at them, but their guns were so well masked that they did not produce any effect, so we retired to the Alumbagh for the night. Towards the latter part of the day, indeed for some time before firing ceased, the rain came down in torrents, and in about an hour the place was a perfect swamp, at least two feet of water everywhere. I got into a hut, and was making a fire, expecting the General every minute, when the intelligencer came a few minutes after and said we were going into a large native house, where we took the guns, and then I heard General Outram shouting for me to go with him; so off I started, above knees in mud, to the house. Arrived there we soon made a fire of windows and doors, and the General's servants brought some cold meat and wine. The next day we gave the men a rest, and they wanted it. The enemy still sent us round shot in pretty fair numbers, and we replied with our 24-pounders; they attacked our baggage, and the men of the 90th, mistaking them for some native cavalry we had with us, allowed them to come close up before they found their mistake. On the morning of the 25th we breakfasted about 7 o'clock, and at 8 the troops were all ready. A few minutes after all the baggage had been got inside the garden, which was a good large one, we started, but not a servant was allowed to go with us. As soon as the order was given to advance on the Yellow House, away went the men with a cheer. I have heard of hot and heavy firing, but that bridge beat everything I had previously heard. The road to the bridge was through a long narrow village, and every house and wall was loopholed. The men of the 90th said the Redan at Sebastopol was nothing to it. Just imagine our infantry and about 50,000 or 60,000 natives, and some 20 heavy guns all firing as hard as they could in a space of a quarter of a mile. At this place General Outram was shot through the arm. After taking the guns at the bridge we turned to the right, the reason for so doing being that the houses all the way through the city were loopholed and deep trenches dug across the road every fifty yards. We went round about a mile, and then came upon the European barracks, but the enemy were soon driven out, and next came a large native house, with a court-yard and strong gate. A couple of guns sufficed to blow down the gate, and the soldiers rushing in, soon made natives scarce, and the 5th Fusiliers took the colours of the 5th Oude Irregular Infantry. Many of the natives were shot on the roofs of the houses. About this time the enemy's cavalry began to bother our rear, and a cartload of 24-pound shot had to be turned into a ditch, because the bullocks could not get it out of a rut it had got into. The natives too began to fire at us from the tops of their houses, and although our Enfields kept them down, yet under cover they potted a good many men. We were now in Lucknow, and a full mile and a half from the Residency, with narrow streets and houses crowded with Sepoys; however we pushed on to the Secunderbagh, and from this to the Mootee Mahal. The road being wide and open, we proceeded with but little interruption. From the Palace of Pearls, however, they opened upon us a most terrific fire of round shot, shell, and grape. Our 24-pounders were brought to bear on it, but still we suffered from shell and musketry. After a time, the firing having decreased, the advance sounded, and we pushed on through the garden of a house where the fire was extremely hot. On turning out of this garden a 24-pounder got stuck in the gate, and remained so for a long time; and after passing through this we again became exposed to their fire from the Mootee Mahal. We had to pass a large square in front of the palace, then a dry drain, and get over a wall into the road, and then run through their fire for 500 yards, when we got into a little narrow street where about 500 men only were sheltered from the fire. From this we had to cross a wide road into the yard of the Chutter Munzil, which we took without much difficulty; but crossing the road was the worst, as they had guns firing grape down the road, and gave us volleys of musketry. Here General Havelock's horse was shot under him, and Colonel Tyler wounded. We remained in the yard of the Chutter Munzil about half an hour; when the advance sounded, the men dashed at the gun that was firing grape down the road and spiked it. Volleys of musketry followed from the houses, but on we went through the streets for half a mile, until we reached the

reaching the Residency on the following night by another road, but the rear-guard, convoying the wounded, were not so fortunate. Colonel Campbell, of the 90th Regiment, commanding the rear-guard, with two heavy guns, had been left during the day at the Mootee Mahal to aid the advance of the Highlanders, who, however, unknown to him, had joined the main body by another road. On the morning of the 26th Mr. Thornhill, of the Civil Service, proceeded from the Residency to guide thither the wounded by a road near the river, screened from the enemy's fire, but lost his way on his return, when about forty of the wounded were led into a square, where they were all massacred. Colonel (now Lord) Napier, chief of the staff to Sir James Outram, proceeded during the day with a small column to effect the relief of the rear-guard, which, guided by Lieutenant Moorsom, arrived at the Residency in safety during the night of the 26th. Thus the first relief of Lucknow was effected, the only mischance being occasioned by the heavy guns having been brought from Alumbagh contrary to the advice of Sir James Outram. But it was a glorious success, and every one must echo Havelock's remark in his despatch of the 30th September:—"I am filled with surprise at the success of the operation, which demanded the efforts of 10,000 good troops." It was dearly purchased, however, for the killed, wounded, and missing (the latter being the slaughtered wounded) amounted to 464 officers and men, and the total loss since leaving Cawnpore was 535.

On the morning of the 26th September Sir James Outram assumed the chief civil and military command. The troops were formed into two divisions, under General Havelock and Colonel Inglis; to the latter was assigned the charge of the Residency, to the former the defence of the long line of palaces and other edifices to the east of it through which the relieving army had advanced. Sir James wisely came to the resolution to remain in the Residency, and not attempt to cut his way through the city with his *impedimenta* of 700 women and children, besides 500 sick and wounded. The force was locked up in its enlarged position until its relief by Sir Colin Campbell

garden of the Furreed Buksh Palace, built by General Martin. Here great trenches were dug in the road, over which infantry and horse leaped, but the guns had to wait until they were filled up. It was here General Neill fell. Just as we had filled up one trench and broken open some strong gates, the enemy fired three rounds of shot and grape at us straight down the road. We were then within 200 yards of the Bailey Guard, and the road being pretty open, we advanced and entered. The people inside, who had held out so long and so gallantly, shook hands and wept tears of joy."

in November; the situation was at no time critical, though the troops had to be placed on reduced rations. The mining operations conducted by the besieged force had, according to Outram's report, "no parallel in modern war." The enemy advanced 20 mines against the palaces and outposts, and the garrison replied by sinking 21 counter-mines, aggregating 200 feet in depth, and 3,921 feet of gallery. Outram's great anxiety was for the small garrison at the Alumbagh, and he attempted to open a communication with them by the Cawnpore road, but on the 6th October he was constrained to give up the attempt.

On the 9th November Sir Colin Campbell arrived at Alumbagh, and commenced his operations for the final relief of Lucknow. Mr. Kavanagh, of the Uncovenanted Service, volunteered to proceed to Alumbagh with plans of the city and Sir James Outram's suggestions to the Commander-in-Chief, and he accomplished his mission with a gallantry and success that is historical. Communication by semaphore was also established with Sir Colin's head-quarters. Sir James Outram acted in conjunction with the relieving force, on the 16th November, when Sir Colin Campbell was operating against the Hureen-Khana (Deer-house) and "the steam-engine house." At 3.30 on that day, a mine having been exploded with good effect, a storming party under Colonel Purnell, of the 90th Regiment, advanced from the Chutter Munzil palace and carried those two positions. Immediately after the two Generals, with their respective staffs, ran the gauntlet on foot to greet the Commander-in-Chief; passing through a heavy fire from the Kaiserbagh they reached the Mootee Mahal in safety, and thence rushing singly across the open road, about 20 yards in breadth, which was swept by the enemy's fire, arrived at the spot where Sir Colin Campbell had taken post. Though Lucknow was now relieved, the Kaiserbagh was not yet captured, and for three days it was cannonaded by the heavy guns under Captain Peel, R.N., from the Commander-in-Chief's side, and by those under Brigadier Eyre from the Residency position. Three breaches were made, and Sir James Outram and Havelock, who were desirous that the palace should be stormed and the city permanently held, waited on the Commander-in-Chief to enforce their views. But Sir Colin Campbell decided otherwise, as he had no intention of remaining in the city, to garrison which he was of opinion that, "four strong brigades would be required, unless it was wished that the garrison should be again besieged." He considered that "a strong movable division

outside the town, with field and heavy artillery in a good military position, was the real manner of holding the city of Lucknow in check." In addition to these general reasons, Sir Colin was swayed more particularly by "the fact that his force was deficient in infantry, and was in want of sufficient field and musket ammunition for prolonged operations." This difference of opinion between Sir James Outram and Sir Colin Campbell was referred by telegraph to the Governor-General, Lord Canning, who replied that "the one step to be avoided was the total withdrawal of the British force from Oude, and that Sir Colin's proposal to leave a strong movable division, with heavy artillery, outside the city, and so to hold the city in check, would answer every purpose of policy." Whatever military critics may say in favour of the opposing views advocated by these distinguished generals, it was certainly fortunate that the Commander-in-Chief retired with the main portion of his army, for he was only just in time to save General Windham at Cawnpore from a great disaster.

The evacuation of the Residency was planned and executed by Sir James Outram, who displayed considerable skill in the operation, and received the thanks of the Commander-in-Chief. Sir Colin says in his general order of the 23rd November, 1857:—"The movement of retreat of last night, by which the final rescue of the garrison was effected, was a model of discipline and exactness. The consequence was, that the enemy were completely deceived, and the force retired by a narrow, tortuous lane, the only line of retreat open, in the face of 50,000 enemies, without molestation. The Commander-in-Chief offers his sincere thanks to Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., for the happy manner in which he planned and carried out his arrangements for the evacuation of the Residency of Lucknow."

Sir James Outram then took up his position at Alumbagh with a division of 4,000 men. But before this he had to deplore the death of an old friend and comrade in the trying scenes just brought to so glorious a conclusion. Havelock was destined not to leave the scene of so many glorious and hallowed memories, but expired after an illness of four days. In the afternoon of the day preceding his death, when Outram went to visit the dying hero, he said to him:—"I have for 40 years so ruled my life that when death came I might face it without fear." England truly owes a great debt to this noble soldier, who resembled in character one of those uncompromising Covenanters who opposed to the death the attempts of the Stuarts to force them to conform. With the Bible in one hand and the

sword in the other, he had held his religious meetings at Jellalabad, and was a consistent Christian, if somewhat stern and ascetic. To him might be applied the words of Dryden on a British general who fell at Tangiers:—

“ His youth and age, his life and death combine,
As in some great and regular design,
All of a piece throughout, and all divine.
Still nearer heaven his virtue shone more bright,
Like rising flames expanding in their height.”

Havelock was followed to his grave at Alumbagh, within sight of the Residency he had striven so hard to relieve, by Sir Colin Campbell and Sir James Outram, and many were the regrets that he did not live to receive from his sovereign's hands the insignia of that knighthood he had so nobly won.

While Sir Colin Campbell proceeded towards Cawnpore on the 27th November, Outram took up a position about 1,500 yards from Alumbagh, on the vast plain which, smooth as a billiard table, extends without a break to the Bunnee bridge. The Alumbagh inclosure was one of his outposts, as were also the neighbouring villages, which were all fortified; and at these posts, strongly occupied by our troops, desultory fighting took place almost daily. The Division—which numbered only 4,400 of all arms, inclusive of those at Bunnee—consisted of H.M.'s 5th, 78th, 84th, and 90th Regiments and Captain Brasyer's Ferozepore Regiment of Sikhs, the whole being organised into two brigades, under Colonels Hamilton (78th), and Stisted, (64th); the artillery, under command of Major Vincent Eyre, included the batteries of Captain Maude (Royal Artillery), and Captain Olpherts (Bengal Artillery), and many guns of position, forming a total of about forty pieces. The cavalry consisted of Major Robertson's Military train, which now acted as light horse, and some of the 12th Native Irregulars, the whole numbering not more than 250 sabres. But any deficiency of numbers was made up by the gallantry of the soldiers, the capacity of the staff and other officers, and, more than aught else, by the *prestige* attaching to the name of the commander.

On the 20th December Outram received intelligence from his spies that the enemy were preparing to attack him, upon which he resolved to take the offensive. Favoured by a heavy mist, he moved out at 2.30 a.m. on the 22nd December, with 1,000 men, divided into two columns, under Colonels Guy and Purnell, and two guns under Captain Olpherts, and approached, unperceived, quite close to the enemy, when he charged and

drove them from their position. The rebels now took post in a village from which they were quickly dislodged and fled towards the city. On the 12th January, 1858, the rebels made a most determined attack on the position at Alumbagh, but, warned by his spies, Outram had made the necessary dispositions to give them a warm reception. About sunrise large masses of the enemy, calculated by Outram to amount "at the lowest estimate to 30,000 men," were seen on the left front, and they gradually surrounded the whole front and flanks of the position, a distance of at least six miles. As soon as their movements were sufficiently developed, Outram marshalled his small array—which was decreased by the absence, on convoy duty, of 530 men and 4 guns—in two brigades, the right mustering 713 Europeans, and the left, 733 bayonets, with 100 of Brasser's Sikhs. Fighting commenced all along the line about 8.30 a.m., and it was not until 4 p.m. that the enemy, who suffered very considerably from the fire of the guns, finally withdrew, and returned to Lucknow or to their original positions in the gardens and villages in front of the British camp.

Only four days after this defeat the rebels made a determined attempt on a village on the left front, but were driven back by discharges of grape from a battery of 3 guns, and of musketry from the infantry in support. On the 21st February an attack was made in great force, the rival parties of the Fyzabad Moulvie, Mansoob Ali, and of the Begum, wife of the ex-king of Oude, setting aside their differences for the day to act in concert. The plan was to surround the position on all sides and make simultaneous heavy attacks from several points; but Outram again took the offensive, and moving out with cavalry and guns, attacked them with spirit. Some sharp fighting took place at Alumbagh, but the enemy were deficient in spirit, and retired with a total loss, according to their confession, of 400 or 500. Sir James Outram went out with some cavalry and guns on the 24th February, and again on the following day, when he encountered and defeated the enemy. During the night the rebels attacked along the British left and front, but were repulsed, and after this no further annoyance was experienced from them.

It was Outram's practice to go round the posts of his extended position and enter into conversation with the officers, giving them the latest news from England, and listening to any observations they had to make with as much courtesy as if they were his military equals; talking in a loud tone, so that the soldiers on duty might hear what equally interested them

as countrymen, and gave them something to talk about and relieve the *ennui* which was the most dreaded enemy the division had to contend with. Like an English warrior-king:—

“Upon his face there is no note
How dread an army hath enrouned him;
Nor doth he dedicate one jot of colour
Unto the weary and all-watched night;
But freshly looks, and overbears attaint
With cheerful semblance.”

Sir Garnet Wolseley, then a young captain in the 90th Regiment, at the Alumbagh, speaking to the author of this habit of this truly great man, says it greatly endeared him to the officers and men, who regarded their chief in the light of a personal friend, while his dashing gallantry earned him their respect and admiration. On the 1st March, Sir James Outram received a visit from Sir Colin Campbell, and, on the following day, the Commander-in-Chief moved up from Buntara to Dilkhoosha, with the 2nd division of his army, under General Lugard (Outram's old chief of the staff during the Persian war), and his cavalry, under Brigadier-General Hope Grant. Outram now left Alumbagh, of which Brigadier Franklyn was placed in charge, with two regiments and some guns, under Vincent Eyre, and took command of a strong division* which the Commander-in-Chief had determined to send across the Goomtee, to co-operate with him in the capture of Lucknow from that side. According to the plan of attack, “Sir James Outram was directed,” says the Commander-in-Chief in his despatch, “to push his advance up the left bank of the Goomtee, while the troops in the position of Dilkhoosha remained at rest till it should have become apparent that the first line of the enemy's works on the rampart running along the canal and abutting on the Goomtee, had been turned.

On the morning of the 6th March, Sir James crossed the Goomtee, here about 40 yards wide, which had been bridged by the engineers under Major Hassard, R.E., and, followed by an enormous baggage and ammunition train, encamped in the evening at Chinhut (the scene of Sir Henry Lawrence's disaster), distant about 7 miles from Lucknow, on the Fyzabad road. On the following day the enemy made an attack, which, however, was easily repulsed, and General Grant effected a

* Outram's troops consisted of Brigadier-General Walpole's 3rd Division, three troops of horse, and two batteries of foot artillery, under Brigadier D. Wood, and fourteen squadrons of cavalry, under Brigadier-General Hope Grant.

reconnaissance. Early on the morning of the 9th March Outram opened fire from a battery he had constructed on the previous night, for eight 24-pounders and three 8-inch howitzers, with such effect, that the right column of attack, under Brigadier-General Walpole, were enabled to advance and drive the enemy through the jungles, walls, and villages which afforded them cover, and occupy the Fyzabad road. Meanwhile the left column of attack advanced, and, in concert with the other column, Outram, soon after seven, seized the Chuckerwallah Kothie, (Yellow House) a circular building covering the advance on the Padshah-bagh, a strong walled inclosure, which he captured a few hours later. This success had an important bearing on the operations in progress under Sir Colin Campbell, as Outram was enabled to enfilade the line of the canal in rear of the Martinière, on the opposite side, forcing the enemy to abandon the works for its defence, which they had constructed with such labour. On the previous day a siege train had been sent across the Goomtee to him, and Outram, having constructed a battery for 5 mortars, commenced to play on the Kaiser-bagh across the river on the morning of the 9th, and also armed a work thrown up by the enemy at the east entrance of the Padshah-bagh, with 4 heavy guns. The 10th was occupied in strengthening his position, and, during the night, another battery for four 24-pounders, two 8-inch howitzers, and five 8-inch mortars, opened fire on the defences in the interior of the Kaiser-bagh, and two additional 24-pounders were brought to bear on the mess-house.

Outram resumed active operations on the 11th, and, shortly after daylight, sent the right column under General Walpole by the Fyzabad road towards the iron bridge, the left column proceeding in the same direction by the lower road. Much opposition was met with in the advance, from 3 guns posted on the opposite bank, and from the rebel infantry who were in strength in front, but the troops displayed great dash and occupied the houses down to the river's bank. During this advance Lieutenant Moorsom, Deputy-Assistant-Quartermaster-General, a most promising officer, was killed. Leaving the Bengal Fusiliers in the mosque on the Cantonment road, Outram proceeded with the remainder of the right column in the direction of the iron bridge, and, shortly afterwards, met General Grant's cavalry and horse artillery, which had been operating on the extreme right. He now turned towards the stone bridge, surprising the camp of the 15th Irregular Cavalry, whose standards and 2 guns were captured, and then penetrated to the head of the stone

bridge through the suburbs, but as these were commanded by the enemy's guns, and by musketry fire from the tops of several high and strong stone houses, he withdrew to the mosque, and, on the completion of the arrangements for the occupation of the iron bridge, finally retired to his camp.

During the nights of the 12th and 13th, Outram's engineers were busy constructing 3 batteries for five 10-inch, and ten 8-inch mortars, and four 24-pounders, which were brought to bear on the Kaiser-bagh, and, on its capture on the 14th, the guns and mortars were turned on the Residency and the other buildings to the right. On the fall of the Kaiser-bagh, the chief rebel stronghold, the operations for which Sir James Outram had been detached across the Goomtee were brought to a close, and he joined the Commander-in-Chief's camp; his casualties since the 6th March being 5 officers and 21 men killed, and 9 officers and 104 wounded.

On the 16th March Sir James Outram received instructions to clear the Residency. On arriving at the Kaiser-bagh, he took the 5th brigade, under Brigadier (now General Sir John) Douglas, together with the 20th Regiment and Brasyer's Sikhs, and rapidly advanced through the Chutter Munzil towards the Residency. Here the enemy offered some resistance, but the 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers drove them out, and two companies under Lieutenant-Colonel Bell, V.C. (the late Major-General Bell who had so greatly distinguished himself in capturing a Russian gun at the Alma), pushed on and captured a gun placed in position to sweep the iron bridge, which Outram was now about to take in reverse. Meanwhile Outram opened fire from the Residency on the Muchee Bhawun, and the troops rapidly advancing, it was captured, as well as the Imaumbarra, by the Bengal Fusiliers and the Ferozepore Regiment of Sikhs, the enemy abandoning 6 guns.

Continuing the operations for clearing the city, on the morning of the 17th, Outram moved towards the block of buildings called the Shereef-ood Dowlah's House, which was occupied without loss, though the enemy had planted guns and made every preparation for resistance; but in destroying 9 cart-loads of powder near the Jumma Musjid, a premature explosion took place, and two engineer officers and 30 men were killed. Nothing important was effected on the 18th except to clear some houses in the front, but, on the following morning, Sir James proceeded to attack the Moosabagh, a strong position of which the enemy was reported to be in occupation, with 6,000 men and 13 guns. He first occupied the palace of Ali

Nukkee Khan,* after some sharp skirmishing, and advanced through the suburbs without opposition, until he arrived on the open ground, when two guns opened fire on the head of the column, and the enemy showed in great strength on the road. The skirmishers and guns were at once ordered to the front, and two squadrons of the 9th Lancers made an advance on the flank, upon which the rebels abandoned their guns and took to flight. The Lancers pursued the fugitives, of whom they killed about 100, and captured 6 guns; and the field artillery and infantry following in support, captured 4 more, making 12 during the day. The Moosabagh was occupied by the 2nd Punjaub Infantry, and the rest of the troops withdrew to their quarters.

All organised resistance in the city was now at an end, and Lucknow was once more in the possession of the British, the final operation being the capture of a Moolvie's house in the heart of the city by General Lugard. The complete success of the operations for the rout and dispersion of the rebels in Lucknow was marred by two important errors. Sir Colin Campbell had bound the hands of Sir James Outram not to cross the iron bridge, and cut off the enemy as they were retreating from the Kaiser-bagh, if by doing so he incurred the loss of "a single man;" a strange order—bringing to mind the Spanish adage of the impossibility of making omelettes without breaking eggs—to proceed from the veteran of so many sanguinary fields, and yet more singular when given to an officer of the experience of his second in command. As a soldier, Outram had no alternative but to obey, and so he abstained from crossing the iron bridge, and thus almost annihilating the enemy retreating from the Kaiser-bagh. The second *contretemps* was caused by the neglect of Brigadier Campbell, commanding a fine brigade of cavalry, on the 19th March, after the capture of the Moosabagh by Sir James Outram. That officer left the Alumbagh at about 2 a.m. in the morning for the Moosabagh, to prevent the enemy escaping on that side of Lucknow; but this he failed to do, and vast numbers of the rebels escaped, causing the prolongation of the campaign and much trouble and loss of life.

Sir Colin Campbell said of Sir James Outram's services: "It was matter of real gratification to me to entrust the trans-Goomtee operations to this very distinguished officer; and after that had been conducted to my perfect satisfaction, to bring

* Ali Nukkee Khan was minister of the deposed King of Oude, and uncle of the first Begum, and father of the second. He had held office since 1848, and was the chief cause of the maladministration and anarchy in which the country was plunged.

him forward again to put the finishing stroke on the enemy, while the extended position in the town was of necessity held by the troops who had won it. My thanks are eminently due to him, and I trust he will receive them as heartily as they are offered."

The grand army for the siege of Lucknow was now broken up, and Outram reverted to his duties as Chief Commissioner of Oude. But it was only for a few weeks, as on the 4th April he proceeded to Calcutta, on his appointment to the office of military member of the Governor-General's Council, in succession to General Low, and Mr. Montgomery, Sir John Lawrence's chief assistant in the Punjaub, became Chief Commissioner of Oude. When the question of the settlement of Oude came up for consideration by the Indian Government, Outram, his work as a soldier accomplished, turned his attention to a task not less congenial and familiar to him—the amelioration of the condition of the people and talookdars of Oude. Sir James advocated lenient measures towards the Oude landholders, whose proprietary rights had been confiscated by Lord Canning, and he succeeded in securing indulgence towards those who should at once "aid in restoring order."

For his services during the Indian Mutiny Sir James Outram was created a baronet,* with a special pension of £2,000 a year. Almost his last official act, while military member of the Governor-General's Council, was his elaborate minute, dated 2nd January 1860, dissenting from the opinion of his colleagues in respect of the amalgamation of the British and Indian armies. It is a remarkable document, and affords proof, were any necessary, of his extraordinary power of mastering details, and his thorough and almost unequalled knowledge of the question in all its bearings. He declares that he makes this "solemn protest," not because he thinks it will have any effect, but "for the ease of his conscience." Certainly the 75 articles in which this protest is couched, form a most weighty argument against a scheme which he considered would be prejudicial to India, and a breach of faith as regards the army of which he was at once the most doughty champion and most distinguished representative. Sir James Outram was one of those who questioned the policy of the transfer of the Government of India from the East India Company to the Crown, and in this he was supported by many eminent men, including one whose utterances should have commanded unequalled weight both by

* On his death he was succeeded in the title by his son, the present baronet, issued by his marriage in 1835 with his cousin, daughter of Mr. Anderson of Brechin.

reason of his intellectual superiority, and his vast experience of Indian affairs. The late Mr. John Stuart Mill, who passed his life in the home service of the East India Company, drew up their petition to Parliament in 1858, commencing in the following terms:—"Your petitioners, at their own expense, and by the agency of their own civil and military servants, originally acquired for this country its magnificent Empire in the East. The foundations of this Empire were laid by your petitioners, at that time neither aided nor controlled by Parliament, at the same period at which a succession of administrations under the control of Parliament were losing, by their incapacity and rashness, another great empire on the opposite side of the Atlantic." And in his *Representative Government*, Mr. Mill condemned the change that had been made as "a short-sighted policy," for which, he anticipated, both England and India would some day pay a severe penalty.

Sir James Outram finally returned to England in July 1860, much shattered in health, and was received with the honours due to his eminent services and stainless public character. In company with his old comrade in arms and rival only in glory, Lord Clyde, Outram received, on the 20th December in that year, a sword of honour from the Corporation of London, with the freedom of the City. This appropriate gift to these noble veterans might well have had engraved on them the Persian inscription:—

"Draw me not without cause;
Sheathe me not without honour."

Sir James Outram was appointed Member of the Council of India in succession to Colonel Durand, who resigned his seat on the promise of an appointment of equal consideration in India; and on the creation of the "Exalted Order of the Star of India," in 1861, Outram was appointed a Knight Commander. In July, 1862, he received the honorary degree of D.C.L., from the University of Oxford, in company with Lord Palmerston and other distinguished men; and his numerous friends and admirers subscribed for the purchase of a piece of plate, which was presented to him in London, the Duke of Argyll acting as spokesman on the occasion.

Sir James Outram chiefly resided on the Continent, for the benefit of his health, but his constitution was completely shattered by his labours in the service of his country, and he died at Pau, in the south of France, on the 11th March, 1863. He was interred in Westminster Abbey, on the 25th March,

at the public expense, and his body was borne to its resting-place on the shoulders of his old comrades of the relief of Lucknow and defence of Alumbagh, the 78th Highlanders. The funeral was attended by many eminent men, chiefly of the Indian services. Lord Clyde and Sir John Lawrence, Lord Keane and Sir George Pollock, were there to pay the last honours to the deceased soldier; while of English statesmen there were Lord Shaftesbury, the Duke of Argyll, and Sir Charles Wood. As Dryden writes of Cromwell, whose ashes were placed in this sacred edifice only to be reft by the hands that dared not strike the great Protector while living:—

“His ashes in a peaceful urn shall rest;
His name a great example stands to show
How strangely high endeavours may be blessed
Where piety and valour jointly go.”

A monument has been erected to his memory in the Abbey by the Secretary of State for India in Council; it consists of a bust of the deceased General, flanked by two figures of natives of India in attitudes expressive of grief, with a representation of the memorable meeting at Lucknow between the three great soldiers. The following is the inscription on the monument:—
“To the memory of Lieutenant-General Sir James Outram, Bart., G.C.B., K.S.I., &c. A soldier of the East India Company, who, during a service of forty-six years in war and in council, by deeds of bravery and devotion, by an unselfish life, by benevolence, never weary of well-doing, sustained the honour of the British nation, won the love of his comrades, and promoted the happiness of the people of India.” A monument, by Noble, was erected to the memory of this great soldier, on the Thames Embankment, which was unveiled by Lord Halifax in the presence of many of his friends, and another in Calcutta, at which Lord Napier of Magdala officiated.*

* On the occasion of the unveiling of the statue of Sir James Outram at Calcutta Lord Napier of Magdala spoke as follows:—“My lord, ladies and gentlemen, my fellow soldiers and citizens,—Thirteen years ago it was resolved at a public meeting in this city to erect an equestrian statue as a testimonial of admiration and regard for Sir James Outram. We are here this morning to celebrate the complete accomplishment of that resolution. The testimonial of regard is now also a monument to the memory of one for whom we have mourned. India is rich in the memorials of great men; it is a country that has offered a wide field for the glorious deeds of soldiers, and a still wider and loftier one for civil administrators, who have laid the foundations of justice, order, and education, which have raised it to a state of civilisation that has no parallel in its earlier history. If ever we are asked, what has Great Britain done for India, we may point with pride to these monuments, and to hundreds of humbler ones spread over the land, and say that our country has given to India freely of her wisest, bravest, and best. One more memorial is now added to the monumental

The following letter, addressed to the writer by Sir Vincent Eyre, the friend and companion in arms of Sir James Outram, will be of interest:—"His protest against the amalgamation, of which he had been a determined opponent, was published in a blue book, and is the ablest thing he ever penned, although it served at the time only to incense the Court and Horse Guards party against him. Appended to it was an admirable memorandum on our European army in India, full of wise suggestions for its improvement and well-being, many of which have since been carried out, with beneficial effects. This paper might throw valuable light on his character as the 'soldiers' friend,' for that he was pre-eminently. It fell to my lot, at his request, to shape into practical form his idea of a 'Soldiers' Institute' at Dum Dum, for which purpose I was nominated by Lord Canning, president of a special committee, associated therein with Colonel Arthur Broome, and the Rev. Mr. Norman. Our scheme was soon afterwards carried into effect, with signal success, under the appropriate name of the 'Outram Institute,'

wealth of India; and of all whose names are borne in the annals of its history, or enshrined in the hearts of its people, there is none more noble, none more worthy of love, admiration, and gratitude, than Sir James Outram. His whole career was given to India. In his youth the bold huntsman—the reclamer of the wild races of Western India, who, in their admiration for his daring and their gratitude for his kindness, abandoned their lawless life in the wilderness at his bidding; a political officer who maintained an inflexible honesty of purpose and a hatred of injustice or corruption, in utter disregard of his own interests; a civil administrator of the most broad and liberal views, ever a warm friend and champion of all classes of the people of India." After giving a sketch of Sir James Outram's career, Lord Napier continued:—"We may recall his success as a skilful general in the submission of Persia, won in a brief but brilliant campaign, and his share in the events of 1857, in which no achievement surpassed in skill and resolution the maintenance of the position of Alumbagh with a mere handful of troops against overwhelming numbers well supplied with artillery. There were no walls or ramparts, merely an open camp, protected by a few well-selected entrenched outposts, and a scanty line of bayonets, ever ready day and night to repel attack. Every class of the present assemblage has some reason to do honour to Outram's memory. The natives of India will remember his warm sympathy and friendship for them, and his kindly endeavours to promote their social union with the European society of Calcutta. The British soldier will have learnt from those who have fought under Outram, that if he taxed to the uttermost their courage and devotion in the field, he was most tender of their honour, their comfort, and their happiness. The Sepoys may be told how Outram won the hearts of his native troops by his generous confidence. Brasyer's regiment was very proud that he selected it for dangerous and difficult enterprises. Two circumstances may not be unworthy of mention here as illustrative of Outram's character. When proceeding to Cawnpore in 1857, he had resolved not to go beyond that place, lest he should interfere with General Havelock, but to remain there with the garrison, making over to the General all the resources he had brought with him. On being told that the Government had sent him with the express intention that he should go on to Lucknow, he was greatly distressed; at length, after a long consideration, he came with a bright countenance, and said, I 'have it! I will go in my political capacity.' To those who served with General Outram, and were familiar with the heroism of his character, his matchless self-denial, and his generous friendship, which gave unbounded confidence when once he trusted, no monument is necessary—the best memorial is engraven in their hearts."

and gave rise to many others of a similar stamp, which have done wonders in contributing to the material comfort and moral improvement of the British soldier; and for this great result Outram's name should ever be held in honourable remembrance. Long before this, however, he had been in the habit of furnishing, at his own expense, to several English regiments in India, a liberal supply of newspapers and periodicals for the use of the men. Like Henry Lawrence, his bounty was bounded only by his salary, however high or low that might be. Whatever he did in this respect, however, was wholly free from ostentation; and I have myself, on sundry occasions, acted as his almoner, under strict injunctions of secrecy, and that for large amounts, so that many recipients are ignorant to this day of the source whence came their help in need.

"As a commander in the field Outram possessed a rare and most valuable combination of pluck and caution, and he knew exactly the fit time for bringing each quality into play. In this Lord Napier of Magdala (who was many months his chief of the staff) strikingly resembles his former chieftain. The Lucknow campaign brought both of these attributes into play. You have already related his charge at Mungulwar, as a leader of volunteer cavalry, armed only with a club against formidable numbers. His subsequent prolonged occupation of the Alumbagh plain, comprising a frontage of two miles, and a circuit of seven, with a small army of observation never exceeding 3,500 men, within cannon range of Lucknow, to hold in check an enemy mustering 100,000 strong within the walls, was a masterpiece of cautious warfare, to which justice has never yet been done, because his precarious position there, in obedience to Lord Clyde's commands, has never, up to this moment, been properly understood. After the first successful relief of Lucknow, Havelock ordered each regiment to elect the officer or soldier deemed by the majority best entitled to the Victoria Cross. The volunteer cavalry at once, with one consent, sent in the name of Outram; and prouder he would have been (as he often assured me) of that decoration, the award of personal valour, than of even the Grand Cross of the Bath. But although it fell to my own lot, as Brigadier of cavalry and artillery, to forward his name to head-quarters, the result was disappointing to the hopes and just expectations of the officers and men who took a personal pride in their chivalrous chief, and thought that, by all the rules of right and reason, he ought to have had that which he had so fairly won in the presence of all. But red tape prevailed against the spirit of chivalry, not for the first

time; and I fear Outram's gracious and sensitive spirit felt wounded in its tenderest point. I will wind up these memoranda with an interesting fact communicated to me by Mr. Noble, the eminent sculptor, viz; that on comparing a cast of Outram's head with that of Cromwell, he found a remarkable resemblance between the two. This was with reference to a chance remark of my own, that I had often imagined some resemblance between their faces."

There is one point in Sir James Outram's career especially noteworthy as affecting the retention of power by a British ministry, and exhibiting the remarkable reliance placed in his judgment by the House of Commons and the nation. Early in March, 1858, when defending the open position at Alumbagh, he received, in his capacity of Chief Commissioner of Oude, a copy of Lord Canning's famous proclamation in which "the proprietary rights in the soil of Oude was confiscated to the British Government," save in the case of a few chiefs and talookdars, "who had been steadfast in their allegiance." Writing from Alumbagh on the 8th March, acknowledging receipt of the Governor-General's letter of the 3rd instant, inclosing this proclamation, Sir James expressed "his belief that there are not a dozen landowners in the province who have not borne arms against us, or sent a representative to the Durbar, or assisted the rebel Government with men or money. The effect of the proclamation, therefore, will be to confiscate the entire proprietary rights in the soil; and, this being the case, it is of course hopeless to attempt to enlist the landowners on the side of order." He added, that he considered "this matter of such vital importance that, at the risk of being deemed importunate, he ventures to submit his views once more, in the hope that the Governor-General may yet be induced to reconsider the subject. He is of opinion that the landowners were most unjustly treated under our settlement operations, and even had they not been so, that it would have required a degree of fidelity on their part quite foreign to the usual character of an Asiatic to have remained faithful to our Government under the shocks to which it was exposed in Oude. In fact it was not till our rule was virtually at an end, the whole country overrun, and the capital in the hands of the rebel soldiery, that the talookdars, smarting as they were under the loss of their lands, sided against us. The Chief Commissioner thinks, therefore, that they ought hardly to be considered as rebels, but rather as honourable enemies, to whom terms, such as they could without loss of dignity accept, should be offered at the termination of the campaign." In conclusion,

he "earnestly requested that such landholders and chiefs as have not been accomplices in the cold-blooded murder of Europeans may be enlisted on our side by the restoration of their ancient possessions, subject to such restrictions as will protect their dependents from oppression." The Governor-General, while declining to adopt the suggestion contained in the last paragraph quoted above, wrote on 10th March, subjoining the following for insertion in the proclamation:—"To those amongst them who shall promptly come forward and give to the Chief Commissioner their support in the restoration of peace and order, this indulgence will be large, and the Governor-General will be ready to view liberally the claims which they may thus acquire to a restitution of their former rights." "This clause," the Governor-General added, "will add little or nothing to your discretionary power, but it may serve to indicate more clearly to the talookdars the liberal spirit in which the Governor-General is prepared to review and reciprocate any advances on their part."

Lord Canning had sent a copy of his proclamation to the Government at home, with a private letter addressed to Mr. Vernon Smith, whom his lordship supposed to be still President of the Board of Control in Lord Palmerston's Government. But the Ministry was changed, and Lord Ellenborough, who was in Mr. Smith's place, received the copy of the proclamation, while the letter, intimating that on a future occasion Lord Canning would transmit to the Government his reasons for issuing the proclamation, and give some explanation of it, remained in the hands of Lord Ellenborough's predecessor. The letter arrived on the 12th April, when Mr. Smith was in Ireland; its contents were not communicated to Lord Ellenborough, who, acting on the tenor of the proclamation and the letter to Sir James Outram of 3rd March, addressed, on the 26th April, a despatch to Lord Canning, in which he said:—"We desire that you will mitigate, in practice, the stringent severity of the decree of confiscation you have issued against the landholders of Oude." The proclamation found its way into the newspapers, and questions were asked concerning it in both Houses of Parliament, when the despatch in reply was laid before both Peers and Commons. This caused a storm of opprobrium against Lord Ellenborough, who, after vigorously defending his despatch, resigned office in order to save the ministry. Notwithstanding this, the matter afforded too good a handle for unseating the Government to escape the attention of the Opposition in the House of Commons, and the attack was led

by Lord John Russell and Mr. Cardwell, who were supported by the *Times* in very powerful articles.

On their part the Court of Directors, though they avowedly supported Lord Canning, wrote a lengthy despatch, dated 5th May, urging a policy of "wise and discriminating generosity," and in fact advocated Lord Ellenborough's policy. Finally, the current of public opinion was completely turned on the receipt of Sir James Outram's earnest protest of the 8th March, and Lord Canning's rejoinder of the 10th of the same month; the opposition which had been raised to Lord Ellenborough's despatch collapsed, the vote of censure was withdrawn in the House of Commons, and the weak Government of Lord Derby were masters of the situation. What was more, the opinion of the country approved the policy of conciliation and the position taken up by Sir James Outram.

In personal appearance Sir James Outram was not what is called "striking," but there was that in the calm, deep blue eye that distinguished him as a man born to command. His character requires no eulogium; his acts speak for themselves. What nobler deed is recorded in military history than that abnegation of self displayed by him when he—the man appointed to command the army that was to rescue his countrymen and avenge the insulted majesty of England, and confident in his ability to do so—waived his claim to the honourable duty, and left to Havelock the completion of the task, while he rode in advance of the column, and performed deeds of valour at the head of a handful of volunteer horse? And yet this true specimen of nature's nobility was sickening with the "last infirmity of noble minds;" impelled by his fiery valour, Outram was covetous of military honour and distinction, and would have acknowledged with a great English king:—

"If it be a sin to covet honour,
I am the most offending soul alive."

FIELD-MARSHAL LORD STRATHNAIRN, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.

Introduction—Appointment as Consul-General in Syria—Is engaged in the Syrian War—As British Commissioner with the French Head-quarters during the Crimean War—Proceeds to Bombay in command of the Poona Division—The Central India Campaign—Arrival at Indore—Capture of Ratghur and Garrakotta—Relief of Saugor—The forcing of the Narut Pass into Central India—The battle of the Betwa and storm of Jhansi—The battle at Koonch and capture of Calpee—Capture of the Morar Cantonment and Gwalior, and dispersion of the "Army of the Peishwa"—Conclusion of the Campaign—Is appointed Commander-in-Chief at Bombay—Proceeds thence to take command of the army in Bengal—Return to England—Conclusion.

THE name of this noble and gallant lord—to use the Parliamentary phrase—is synonymous through the length and breadth of our Indian Empire with the memories attaching to a career of brilliant generalship and soldierly valour. Almost unknown when he arrived in India during the crisis of the Mutiny, the name of Sir Hugh Rose evoked many inquiries as to the reasons that could have induced the Home Government to nominate to a high command in the Bombay Presidency, an officer whose entire career in the army was confined to some years of uneventful home service in England and Ireland. True, when his claims to the envied post of General of the Poona division of the Bombay army were canvassed, it was found that he had filled the office of Consul-General in Syria, during the time of our operations against Mehemet Ali, and that he was British Commissioner at the head-quarters of the French army throughout the Crimean war, when he rendered great service to his country; but it was argued these were the achievements of a civilian, and with so many good soldiers and true in India, who had borne the heat and burden of the day in the great conflicts with Sikh, Persian, and Pandys, it was scarcely fair to foist upon the Indian service a man who had never seen a shot fired during the time of his service in the army, which closed in the year 1839, when he went on half-pay.

Something like this, if we remember rightly, being in India and Bombay at the time, was the tone of the comments of the press and society at the Western Presidency, upon its becoming known that Sir Hugh Rose had been nominated to the command of the Poona division. But he was soon to falsify the criticisms of his detractors, and, within a twelvemonth all India rang with his name, and people were only divided as to which was most admirable, his strategic skill as a general, or his dashing valour as a *sabreur*, and the recklessness with which he exposed himself to the fiery rays of the tropical sun, from which in the course of a few days, he suffered no less than five *coups de soleil*. Of this remarkable man we will now proceed to give some account.

Lord Strathnairn is the third son of the late Right Hon. Sir George Henry Rose—formerly minister at the courts of Munich and Berlin, and M.P. for Christchurch, who died on June 17th, 1855—and Frances, daughter of Thomas Duncombe, Esq., of Duncombe Park, Yorkshire. The family of Rose is descended from the Roses of Kilravock Castle, county Nairn, of whose antiquity Burke writes as follows in his *Landed Gentry of England and Ireland*:—"The family of Roos or Rose was settled in Nairnshire, temp. Alexander the Third; Hugh Rose of Geddes, by marriage with the heiress of the Bysets, acquired the lands of Kilravock, and had a Crown charter of the barony from King John (Baliol). From that period the estate has descended lineally to the present proprietor; and what is uncommon, every link of the pedigree is proved by documents among the public records, or in the family charter-chest. In 1460, Hugh Rose, then of Kilravock, by a license from the Lord of the Isles, built the present castle, which stands on the banks of the river Nairn."

Hugh Henry Rose, the subject of this memoir, was born in 1803, and educated at Berlin, where his father resided at the time. On June 8th, 1820, he entered the army as an Ensign, and was appointed on July 6th, to the 19th Regiment of Foot, which had just returned to England, after twenty-three years' service in Ceylon, where it had been actively engaged. His early military career was uneventful. On October 24th, 1821, he was gazetted to a Lieutenancy, and in November his regiment embarked from Liverpool for Ireland, where it was quartered till 1826, in the autumn of which year it sailed from Cork for Demerara. Captain Rose, (for he had attained that rank on July 22nd, 1824) did not proceed abroad with his regiment, but went on half-pay, with the rank of Major, on December 30th.

On February 19th, 1829, he was appointed to a Majority in the 92nd (or Gordon) Highlanders, and joined at Fermoy, in Ireland, where that distinguished corps was stationed. In February, 1834, the 92nd sailed for Gibraltar, thence going to Malta in 1836.

On September 17th, 1839, Major Rose was promoted to a Lieutenant-Colonelcy, and, for a second time, went on half-pay, having been appointed Consul-General in Syria. In this capacity he served through the Syrian war of 1840-41, though not as a civilian alone, for a man of his temperament could not look on while blows were freely bandied about. On one occasion, in January, 1841, whilst with a picket of Turkish cavalry, which was patrolling the outskirts of the village of Mejdal, he perceived some Egyptian horse advancing, the main body of which appeared to consist of several hundred men with a picket in advance. Having, therefore, sent to inform the Commander-in-Chief, General Jochmus, of the advance of the enemy, and finding that the Turkish troops were forming, he induced the picket to charge that of the enemy. Whilst Colonel Rose, who was gallantly leading them on, was in the act of cutting down one of the enemy, he received two slight wounds, one in the breast and the other in the back. By this time the whole of the Turkish force was under arms, and an action commenced, in which the Egyptians were beaten, and pursued by the cavalry of our allies. Colonel Anderson, R.E., on subsequently reporting this affair, said that "in all probability the action had been brought on by the dashing conduct of Colonel Rose in charging their advanced picket." This incident is mentioned in Admiral Sir Charles Napier's *History of the War in Syria*. Soon afterwards he went to Constantinople, and, upon his arrival at Therapia, made a report to Lord Ponsonby, the British ambassador, on the state of Ibrahim Pasha's army, which differed a good deal from that of other officers, for his opinion was that "200 determined cavalry might have swept away all that part of the column that he saw, with great ease."

For his services Colonel Rose received the war medal, and the Companionship of the Bath, and, from foreign sovereigns, the cross of St. John of Jerusalem from Prussia, and a sword of honour from the Sultan. Colonel Rose was, subsequently, Secretary of Embassy, and, for a time, *chargé d'affaires* at the Porte. It was while holding this office, at a most critical time, that he requested the English admiral at Malta to come up to Vourla, in order to give the Turkish government the support of the British fleet; for Prince Mentschikoff, who had at his call a large

army and squadron, had assumed so domineering an attitude in Constantinople that the Grand Vizier appealed to Colonel Rose. Kinglake speaks of him as "a firm man, with strength to bear a sudden load of responsibility, and who was not afraid to go beyond the range of common duty." His act was disowned by the Government at home, but, although his appeal to the English admiral was rejected, "it is not the less certain," according to the same historian, "that his mere consent to call up the fleet allayed the panic which was endangering at that moment the very life of the Ottoman Empire."

On the outbreak of the Russian war, Colonel Rose was made Brigadier-General, and appointed Commissioner at the headquarters of the French army in the East, being the organ of communication between the English and French Commanders-in-Chief, in which delicate post he displayed both ability and tact. In January, 1855, he was raised to the rank of Major-General, on account, as stated in the *London Gazette*, of his having "conducted himself to her Majesty's satisfaction, and rendered distinguished service in the great and brilliant victories in the Crimea," such rank being dated December 12th, 1854. He received the war medal and clasps, and was created a K.C.B., a Commander of the Legion of Honour, and received the third class of the Medjidie. Sir Hugh Rose was wounded before Sebastopol, while attached to the headquarters of the French army. But the most brilliant portion of Sir Hugh's career was still before him, that, namely, by which he has earned an undying reputation in Indian history, as one of the greatest and most successful generals our *régime* in that country, fertile though it has been in great commanders, has yet produced.

Shortly after the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny, Sir Hugh was nominated to the command of the Poona division of the Bombay army, and assumed charge on September 18th, 1857. When a column called the Central India Field-force was assembled to re-establish British authority in that part of India, Sir Hugh was appointed to the command. It consisted of about 6,000 men, of whom 2,500 were Europeans, and it may be said with truth that, throughout the terrible years 1857-58, no troops did better service, or were more uniformly successful in the operations undertaken for the suppression of the Mutiny, than this "Central India Field-force." The primary object was to relieve the fort of Saugor, the chief station in the Saugor and Nerbudda districts, in which ever since June in that year, the small band of officers and European artillerymen, 123 in number, had remained shut up, with 190 women and children under

their protection, the surrounding country being in the hands of the insurgents.

To give an account of the ensuing campaign at all adequate to the importance of the results achieved, or the brilliant strategy and professional skill displayed by Sir Hugh Rose, would demand space beyond our limits, besides being outside of the scope of this work. A short account of the events immediately preceding his taking the field, is, however, necessary. Soon after the mutinies in Central India, a column was formed in the Bombay Presidency, and marched into Aurungabad on the 23rd June. Here General Woodburn left the force, and Brigadier (the late General Sir) Charles Stuart, of the Bombay army, an excellent officer, assumed command. On the 12th July, the "Malwa Field-force," as it was called, left Aurungabad, and on the 22nd, when the column was encamped about seven miles from the fort of Asseerghur, Colonel Durand, who had found his way thus far south from Indore, arrived in camp and assumed political charge. Brigadier Stuart crossed the Nerbudda on the 28th July, and, on the 2nd August, accomplished the first object of the campaign, the relief of our countrymen and countrywomen beleaguered in the small fort of Mhow, after the mutiny of the native troops in the neighbouring cantonment. The next operation was the capture of Dhar (described in the memoir of Sir Henry Durand), and thence Brigadier Stuart continued his march through western Malwa, towards Mundisore, in pursuit of the enemy. On the 14th November, news was received at Ooneil that Major W. A. Orr, commanding the Hyderabad contingent, had overtaken and defeated the enemy and the mutinous Mahidpore contingent at Rawal. Crossing the Chumbul on the 20th November, the column arrived on the following day, before Mundisore, and marched to relieve the Europeans besieged by between 10,000 and 12,000 rebels in the fort of Neemuch. Some sharp fighting took place for four days before Neemuch was relieved, and then the column marched to Indore, passing through Seeta-Mhow, Seepura, Mahidpore, Oojein, and other places. Indore was reached on the 15th December, and the same day, the Brigadier, Colonel Durand, and many officers, escorted by British troops, were received in grand durbar by Holkar. The Residency had been gutted, and the little church defiled, and the cantonment close by burnt down. This ended the Malwa campaign. The same afternoon Colonel Durand left for Bombay, and, on the following day, Sir Hugh Rose arrived at Indore, accompanied by Sir Robert Hamilton, the Governor-General's agent, for whom Durand had been

officiating. Henceforth the column was known as the 1st brigade of the Central India Field-force, the 2nd brigade, assembled at Sehore, being under the command of Brigadier Steuart, of the 14th Dragoons, and Sir Hugh Rose assumed command of the combined force.

On the day after his arrival Sir Hugh reviewed the brigade, and then set to work with characteristic energy, arranging for the campaign which was to make his name famous in military history. The plan of campaign included the relief of Saugor, but the objective point was Jhansi, towards which the two brigades, moving on parallel lines, were to converge. Early in December, leaving Brigadier Stuart at Indore with the 1st brigade, with orders to march to Goonah, for the purpose of clearing the Grand Trunk Road from Bombay to Agra, he joined the 2nd brigade * at Sehore, and at 3 a.m., on 16th December, moved off for Ratghur. On the 18th January Sir Hugh Rose encamped before Bhopal, and entering the territory of Scindiah, on the 21st, at a place called Bilsa, famous for its "topes," or ancient monastic buildings, arrived before the rebel fort of Ratghur on the 24th.

This stronghold is situated on the spur of a long, high hill, and commands the surrounding country. The east and south sides were almost perpendicular, being formed of scarped rocks, and strengthened by the deep and rapid river Biena; the north face overlooked a deep ditch twenty feet wide, and the west face, in which was the gateway with its flanking bastions, overlooked the town and Saugor road.

The enemy were found lining the neighbouring river, but retired into the town and fort after a slight skirmish. On the morning of the 25th, Sir Hugh Rose made a reconnaissance round the fort, at one time approaching it so close as to draw upon him the enemy's fire. On the following day, whilst a part of the force made a feint attack, Sir Hugh, with the 3rd Bombay European Regiment, crept up the narrow end, and the guns being drawn up to the plateau, opened fire upon the walls, which were of great strength. On that day and the 27th January, 1858, the siege artillery played upon the defences, consisting of double walls, with ditches between; and, two hours before daylight of the following day, a breach having been effected in the curtain, the rebels evacuated the works they had boasted their intention to defend at all hazards, and escaped

* This brigade consisted of head-quarters of 14th Dragoons, 3rd Bombay Europeans, 3rd Bombay Cavalry, 24th Bombay N.I., a battery of Bombay Horse Artillery, the Hyderabad contingent, some Madras and Bombay sappers, and the siege train.

by lowering themselves down from the rocks by ropes. A portion of the garrison had previously attempted to sally out of the main gate of the fort, but were driven back by the fire of the field-guns.

On the day previous to the capture a large body of rebels attempted to relieve the fort, and, advancing out of the thick jungle, attacked the vedettes guarding the right flank and rear of the camp, but were driven across the river with loss. In this brief siege, our troops,—surrounded by thick jungle and dangerous ground, attacked in their rear, with a band of desperadoes fighting with halters round their necks in front, and performing duties which, according to the rules of war, demanded a force three times their strength—showed what can be effected by a disciplined force ably commanded. The strongest fort in that part of Central India was reduced in three days; and, at sunset of 28th January, the Newaub Mahomed Fazil Khan was hanged over the principal gate.

After making Ratghur over to the loyal Ranees of Bhopal, Sir Hugh Rose, on the 30th January, marched with a portion of his column to attack a rebel force which was concentrating at Barodia, about eight miles distant, with the intention of cutting the communications with Indore. The enemy were driven out of a difficult position in broken ground and jungle, and the village was captured with small loss, though a promising young officer, Captain Neville, R.E., acting as aide-de-camp to Sir Hugh Rose, who had served with distinction throughout the siege of Sebastopol, was among the slain.

On the 2nd February the column marched to Saugor, which had been beleaguered by a large force of the rebels since June, 1857. On the following day Saugor was relieved, without the troops encountering any opposition, and twenty rebels were hanged on the spot. Thus one of the chief objects of the march of the Central India Field-force was accomplished, and nearly 200 European women and children were relieved after an anxious suspense of over six months. One of the besieged writes:—"Who can imagine the full gladness that then filled the hearts of the Europeans shut up for seven weary and anxious months in the Saugor fort, or the sense of release from our prison-house which it brought with it? For many a month and week during this period had we heard of relief being near, till the heart grew sick with expecting and watching for its realisation. It was about eight days ago that we knew that Sir Hugh Rose's force had arrived in the district, and it heralded its approach by the bombardment of Ratghur, a city situated

about twenty-four miles from Saugor, and containing one of the strongest forts in Bundelcund, considered to be next in strength to Kalunga. The troops marched right through the city of Saugor in a long line, and as the rear-guard did not come into the station before 4 o'clock p.m., you can imagine the impression their numbers must have made on the natives of the place. Such a thing as an European regiment had never been seen in Saugor, and we certainly never expected to see Her Majesty's 14th Dragoons. These men, and the large siege-guns dragged by elephants, were a source of much curiosity and awe to the natives."

Having relieved Saugor, Sir Hugh Rose proceeded to reduce the hill-fort of Garrakotta, south-east of Saugor, which was held by rebel Sepoys of the 51st and 52nd Regiments of Bengal Native Infantry. The fort is situated in the angle made by the confluence of the Sonar and Giddari rivers, high on the apex of a rock, irregular in form, with a large forest on its north side, and is of such strength that, during the Mahratta War of 1818, Brigadier Watson, with a force of 11,000 men and twenty-eight guns, failed in making a practicable breach in its defences. Sir Hugh says in his despatch:—"Major Boileau,* commanding engineer, is of opinion that if the garrison had made a resolute defence, its capture would have cost much time, and involved a great loss of life in infantry." After a fatiguing march of twenty-five miles, Sir Hugh arrived before the fort at 3 p.m., but, before taking rest, according to his custom throughout the campaign, proceeded to reconnoitre, and did not return to camp till 8 p.m. His powers of endurance in the hot sun surprised all old Indians, and disconcerted his staff, who were only mortal and could not endure the fatigue which did not appear to affect the General in the least. Some fighting took place during the day, the enemy attempting to capture the guns, but a breaching battery was soon erected and commenced to play on the west face.

Though the garrison resisted the advance towards the fort, when they were driven from their positions with loss, and returned the fire of the British guns throughout the 12th, they had no heart for a stubborn defence, and, during the night, fled from Garrakotta, before the General had time to invest more than two sides. Perhaps it was fortunate that they displayed such want of enterprise, for Sir Hugh Rose says:—"Such is the

* The late Colonel Archibald Boileau, of the Royal (Madras) Engineers, an excellent officer, who had seen service in Scinde under Sir Charles Napier, and in the Persian campaign of 1856-57.

impracticable nature and extent of the ground round Garrakotta, that no investment made by a force of my numbers, could have been very complete." Twelve guns were found in the fort, and large supplies of grain and ammunition. The left flank of Saugor was now free from rebels, and a satisfactory feature in the recent operations was the friendliness of the villagers, who freely supplied guides for the column. Two flying detachments were sent in pursuit, and one, coming up with the rebels, cut up from 70 to 100. The Engineers busied themselves in destroying the fort, and, on the return of the detachments, Sir Hugh fell back upon Saugor, on the 17th February, to repair his siege-guns. Owing to a want of supplies he was unable to march thence until the 27th. Meantime Sir Hugh Rose directed Brigadier Stuart, commanding his 1st brigade, who had marched from Mhow and Indore to Goonah, for the purpose of clearing the Grand Trunk Road leading from Bombay to Agra, to move westward from Goonah and take the fort of Chandeyree, whilst he forced his way northwards, and to join him on his march upon Jhansi, in order that the attack on that important fortress might be made with the united force of both brigades.

At 2 a.m. on the 27th February, Sir Hugh Rose left Saugor in order to force the pass of Mudinpore, the other passes in the mountainous ridges which separate the Shahghur and Saugor districts, being those of Narut, just above the fort and town of Malthone, and Dhamooney. The pass of Narut was the most difficult, and had been barricaded by the enemy with abattis and parapet 15 feet high, made of large boulders of rock, and was held by the Rajah of Banpore with between 8,000 and 10,000 men. The next most difficult pass was Dhamooney, while little was known of the pass of Mudinpore, which was described in the ordnance map as "good for guns." On the same day he arrived at Rijwass, a central point, where he was joined by Major W. A. Orr—the distinguished commander of the Hyderabad contingent, which throughout the campaign did such excellent service—whom he had detached to examine the three passes, and who now reported in favour of attacking the Mudinpore pass. Sir Hugh resolved to act on the advice of that able officer, and in order to deceive the Rajah of Banpore, detached Major (the late General) Scudamore, of the 14th Dragoons, with a detachment of troops to make a feint on Narut, while he made the real attack by a flank movement on the Mudinpore pass, which was defended by the Rajah of Shahghur. He first took the ruined little fort of Barodia, to keep open his communication, and on 3rd March marched

against Mudinpore. As the advanced guard approached the pass the rebels opened fire from a range of hills to the right, but were driven back. On approaching within 800 yards of the entrance, the enemy were seen in great force on the hills on the left of the pass, which was formed by a sudden descent of the road into a deep glen thickly wooded; to the right, further on, the road ran along the side of a lake, and on the left was lined by lofty and precipitous hills. After some skirmishing, the General advanced some of the Hyderabad contingent, who charged into the glen and swept down to the road, while the 3rd Europeans attacked in front, and other details the rear of the enemy, who, charged on all sides, gave way, and, crossing the road ascended the hill on the left for the purpose of joining the main body. Following quick in their steps Sir Hugh ordered the 3rd Europeans to storm the hill to the left of the road, which was done in gallant style, and soon the enemy were driven from all the hills commanding the pass. The Hyderabad cavalry now cleared the pass, and the enemy, repelled in front and flank, retired to the village of Mudinpore, in rear of the end of the lake. The village was fortified by a formidable work in the shape of a bund of great thickness of earth and solid masonry, which dammed up the lake. The enemy had placed the few guns they had in rear of the bund, and had been firing with them on the 3rd Europeans on the hill. The pass having been gained, the General sent directions to Brigadier Steuart, whom he had halted in rear of the pass with the reserve and siege train, to advance through it, and occupy the head of the lake. As soon as they had arrived, he opened fire on the rebel guns with an 8-inch howitzer and the 9-pounders. At this time he received a message from the officer commanding the rear-guard, that the enemy had fired on him from the range of hills running to the pass of Narut, and menaced his long line of baggage, on which he sent a troop of H. M's. 14th Light Dragoons, and a regiment of Hyderabad cavalry, to cover the rear-guard.

A few rounds drove the enemy from their position in rear of the bund, and they retired from Mudinpore through the jungle, towards the fort of Serai. Sir Hugh directed Major Orr to pursue with the remainder of the Hyderabad cavalry, and that officer succeeded in cutting up the rebels, principally belonging to the 52nd Bengal N.I. Sir Hugh now marched several miles beyond the pass into an open and level country. The line of baggage was so long that it did not come up till the next day, but owing to the precautions he had taken, it did

not sustain the slightest loss. The successful operations at Mudinpoore exerted a most important effect on the fortunes of the campaign. The General says:—"My force had got into the rear of the passes, and the enemy's line of defences, of which they thought so much. The pass of Narut, considered by them to be impregnable, was turned."

Thus Sir Huger Rose, by his masterly movements, succeeded in forcing the pass of Mudinpoore, and turned that of Narut, getting thereby into the level country beyond the range of hills between Saugor and Jhansi. The pass of Mudinpoore had been defended by the Sepoys of the 52nd and other regiments, and by 7,000 picked Bundeelas, who quarrelled with the regulars, who declared that the Bundeelas had run away and left them to fight at the pass, the result being that general mistrust and panic ensued in the rebel camp. In this action Sir Hugh had his horse shot under him. The enemy never rallied until they got to Serai, a fort some three miles east of the British camp, on the top of a high hill, which they evacuated during the night, leaving behind guns, grain, and ammunition.

The force now advanced in the direction of Jhansi to Marrowra, where was a strong fort, but so terror-struck were the rebels that they abandoned this place without resistance, and retired to Shahghur; on the 7th March the British flag was hoisted on the fort of Marrowra, and a proclamation of annexation was read, disinheriting the Rajah of Shahghur.

On the same day the detachment sent to make the feint attack on the pass of Narut, under Major Scudamore, of the 14th Dragoons, rejoined the main column, having threaded the pass, which the enemy had abandoned on hearing of the defeat at Mudinpoore. On the 9th March Sir Hugh Rose arrived before Banpore, which, like most of the towns they had passed, including Marrowra, was found to be deserted. From their camp at Banpore they could hear the guns of the 1st brigade, breaching the fort at Chandeyree. The palace of Banpore was blown up and burnt to the ground, and, on the 12th, the column marched for the town of Tal-Behut, which was reached on the morning of the 14th March. Two days later the Hyderabad contingent marched off to the left bank of the Betwa, and the Engineers, having bridged that river, Sir Hugh Rose crossed with the 2nd brigade on the 17th March, the same day that Brigadier Stuart, at the head of the 1st brigade, took the fort of Chandeyree by storm.

Sir Hugh arrived before Jhansi at 7 a.m. on the 21st March, having sent forward cavalry and horse-artillery on the preceding

day, under the command of Brigadier Stuart, who was accompanied by Major Boileau and the other engineer officers, to invest the fortress. Jhansi was garrisoned by about 1,500 regular Sepoys and 10,000 Bundeelas, at the head of whom was the Ranee, who, to military talents, added a remorseless cruelty not inferior to the bloodthirsty Nana Sahib. In June, 1857, the city had been the theatre of one of those fearful scenes of blood that characterised the great Indian Mutiny. The 12th Native Infantry and the 14th Irregular Cavalry quartered there, massacred several officers in cantonments, and the fort only yielded a temporary refuge to the remainder, and the trembling women and children who sought the protection of the Ranee. This princess, however, joined the rebels and gave them guns, and the Europeans were forced to surrender, with the promise of their lives; but, as in the case of Cawnpore, the promise was not kept. On the 8th June, the victims left the fort, but within 400 yards of the gate, were massacred by the people and mutinous Sepoys, not a hand being raised to save them. The total number slain—according to a return made by Captain Pinkney, and forwarded by Sir Robert Hamilton to the Governor-General, with details of the massacre, under date 23rd April—amounted to 67 European and Anglo-Indian men, women, and children. Lieutenant Reeves, of the 12th Native Infantry, and a woman with two or three children alone escaped out of 72 souls. It was to avenge this deed of blood that Sir Hugh Rose and his gallant army stood under the walls of Jhansi on March 21st, 1858.

The town, which was built by the Mahrattas, is surrounded by a wall, and is overlooked by the fort, a lofty mass of stone buildings, surmounted by a huge round tower, in which the European fugitives had taken refuge at the time of the massacre. Being without plans, and in total ignorance of the nature of the defences, Sir Hugh Rose was obliged to employ some days in making reconnaissances before he could commence the attack.

On the 22nd March the investment of Jhansi was completed by the cavalry, and four batteries having been erected, he opened fire on the morning of the 25th March. On the arrival of Brigadier Stuart with the 1st brigade, more batteries were constructed, and the siege operations were divided into a right and left attack—the 3rd Europeans, 24th N.I., and Hyderabad Infantry composing the right, and the 86th and 25th N.I., of the 1st brigade, the left. The batteries, erected on the left, were constructed on the brow of a rocky ravine, about 400 yards from the wall of the town, under tolerable cover from the fire of the

enemy, but, on account of their proximity, they required strong trench-guards, usually consisting of 200 men of the 86th and 25th, who were relieved each morning at daybreak. It was from this point that a breach was made in the defences of the place. The enemy kept up a brisk fire at all times, though without doing much damage, even to the parties holding the bare rocks of the left attack. During five days* the vertical

* The following are some of the incidents of the siege of Jhansi, gathered from a work on the Central India Campaign by Dr. T. Lowe, medical officer to the Madras Sappers and Miners :—"About 9 p.m. on the evening of the 22nd, the Madras and Bombay Sappers moved silently from camp in company with two 18-pounders, howitzer and mortars, and a company of the 24th N.I., for the purpose of throwing up a battery near the Oorcha road, on the east side of the town wall. A little while before some horse-artillery and dragoons had passed along the same way, skirting the hills, towards the north-east side of Jhansi. As the heavy guns rolled silently along towards the spot indicated by the chief engineer, Major Boileau, for the battery, a light flashed a few yards in our front, and as quickly disappeared. At first it was supposed to come from a body of the enemy, and the men halted and prepared to resist. Then several officers dashed their horses forward to find that the light had come from a body of the 3rd Europeans, who already held the position, and had an extended line along this face. The men worked hard all night without interruption from the enemy; a mortar battery was thrown up upon a little temple, and the heavy gun batteries upon a rocky eminence about 300 yards from the wall. At dawn the enemy opened fire upon us from the fort guns, and from two or three batteries upon the wall. At first their shots passed over us, but by and by they got our range exactly, and then their shots struck the sand-bags, and the temple almost every time. All day the enemy were at work behind a screen, throwing up a new battery on the wall to their left to enfilade ours. On the evening of the 24th, we had four batteries ready to open on this 'the right attack,' as the General had named it, and at daylight on the 25th the guns opened fire. The howitzer and mortars threw shell into the fort, and every part of the town, while the 24- and 18-pounders poured their contents against the works upon the wall. Several of the enemy's guns were silenced, and their battlements torn down. After shelling and carcassing for a few hours, a large fire broke out in the town beneath the east face of the fort, and by and by other fires broke out in various spots, so that Jhansi began to look awfully panoramic. All this time there was constant rattling of musketry firing from the enemy, and from our infantry, who occupied various advanced positions behind boulders of granite, cottage walls and temples. The 1st brigade from Chandeyree had now joined Sir Hugh Rose, and the General forthwith instituted a "left attack," from a position immediately south of the fort, and commanding several of the enemy's works upon the wall. With the 1st brigade there was a company of Royal Engineers under Captain Fenwick, and a detachment of Bombay Sappers, Horse Artillery, and a field battery, so that the General was now sufficiently strong in siege material to push on the offensive operations with vigour to a speedy conclusion. And much indeed was an end of these affairs to be desired, for the heat was daily increasing—in fact, it was terrible, because we had to endure it from sunrise to sunset without a morsel of shade to creep into, and this among great boulders of granite, themselves heated as with an internal fire from which they never cooled, and from which radiated an unbearable glare and heated air. But there was the excitement of the enemy before us, and the work of destruction to go on with, so by the constant applications of cold water to the head upon a towel, and frequent large draughts of cold water from the "musuk," we managed to endure for long consecutive hours what one would imagine would kill one in half the time. On the morning of the 26th, the Madras Sappers marched with a working party of the Royal Engineers to erect batteries on the 'left attack,' upon a rough rocky eminence about 400 yards from the fort, and the new three-gun battery we had seen the enemy throwing up on the wall the day we arrived. Below this hill was a small defile, and a little nearer to the enemy other elevated ground. This was taken possession of under a very

and horizontal fire from guns and mortars continued against the town; the heat throughout those days was terrific, and there was no shelter from the scorching rays of the sun. A fair prospect of a successful assault appeared to present itself, when the General received intelligence that a relieving force of rebels, stated to number from 20,000 to 25,000 men, including two regiments of the Gwalior contingent, well supported by artillery, was approaching the fords of the Betwa on his right flank. Nurden Singh, the ex-Rajah of Banpore, and Tantia Topee were the leaders of the force, which assumed the grandiloquent title of the "Army of the Peishwa." The situation was now critical, but Sir Hugh Rose was equal to the emergency, and displayed the spirit and genius of a great general.

On the night of the 30th March, orders were issued to Brigadier Stuart, to close in and join the 2nd, under Sir Hugh Rose, and the greater portion of the division thus formed moved off at dawn on the 31st, in a south-easterly direction towards the Betwa, hoping to meet the enemy on their advance from the fords of the river. But the rebels were still on the opposite (right) bank of the Betwa, at this place three quarters of a mile wide and flowing over a bed so rocky that guns could only be taken across with difficulty. Sir Hugh drew up in order of

galling cross fire from the fort guns and those on the bastions on the wall. The Royal Artillery, commanded by Captain Ommaney, soon got a 10-inch howitzer into play, and the Hyderabad Artillery brought up other smaller guns. This position was held, supported by the 88th Royal County Downs, the 25th Bombay N.I., and the 5th Infantry, Hyderabad contingent. The greatest annoyance was experienced from the white tower guns, as from this bastion the enemy quite commanded our position. The General was very particular in ordering the parapets of the fort bastions to be battered down. All day on the 28th the troops were hard at work on this 'attack,' while the guns on the 'right attack' continued to pour upon the city. Great numbers attempted an escape and were cut up by our cavalry, who also seized several cartloads of vegetables and fruits going to Jhansi. On the 28th there was continued heavy firing from the batteries on both attacks, and the enemy kept up a very smart fire upon our various works from their guns and from the whole line of the wall reaching from the fort to the right attack. We had silenced several of their guns, and as often as they were silenced so often did they re-open from them to our astonishment. In the midst of this din a great explosion occurred in the fort on the east face. This followed the constant shelling from the right attack. Every ten minutes in the twenty-four hours shell and shot fell in various parts of this doomed place, and fresh fires burst out among the different buildings, each fire greeted with loud hurrahs by the men in our batteries. The excitement frequently became intense, and the gunners continued their work in the scorching sun as though it were winter time. By the 29th the parapets of the fort bastions were torn down from the left attack, and the enemy's guns were accordingly rendered useless. At the same time a breach was commenced in the town wall near the fort. The cannonading went on with great spirit, while the enemy continued a determined opposition from the 'garden battery' on the west side, and from musketry and light guns along the wall. During the midday heat scarcely a shot was fired by the enemy, but about 3.30 p.m. every evening they re-opened upon us with considerable spirit. The breaching and shelling were continued with unabated spirit on the 30th and 31st, and the enemy kept up a fearful fire upon us.

battle on the left bank of the stream, and, finding the enemy motionless, slowly retired to camp, the 1st brigade marching back to its old position on the left of Jhansi, and Sir Hugh to one covering the camp of the right attack. The enemy seized this opportunity to cross the river, and, during the night, marched up to a position a mile distant from the British lines. The 1st brigade, which, on the enemy's advance, had again been ordered to unite with the 2nd, struck its camp, and, leaving the batteries playing on the city, moved off along the Calpee road towards the Betwa, Brigadier Stuart being directed to advance, and, if possible, attack the rebel left.

Though the division at Sir Hugh Rose's disposal for taking the field was very weak, the pickets along the whole British line were strengthened and ready for action. "The General," says Dr. Lowe in his account, "did not weaken his investment of the city by the withdrawal of a single picket for the opposition of the relieving army, and the shelling and siege operations went on from both attacks with the same vigour and determination all that night. The force at his disposal, for the battle about to be fought against such odds, did not number over 1,200 men of all arms, and out of these he had not 500 British infantry. But Sir Hugh Rose knew his men, and they trusted implicitly in his genius, intrepidity and unwearied vigilance, while individually they determined to die or conquer. By and by the enemy made a bold reconnaissance of our position from the telegraph hill. That was enough, (Sir Hugh had deceived them by striking the camp of the 1st brigade), they saw the few tents only of the 2nd brigade, and what was such a force against theirs? They accordingly marched in masses, and took up a position in front of our camp, lighted great fires, killed their cattle, and ate! The enemy in the fort could see all this, and they shouted, and fired a salute, while the tom-tomming and bugling went on at a Bedlam pace all night, and the matchlock-men along the wall wasted a proportionate amount of ammunition."

Meanwhile, the main body of the enemy concentrated itself in Sir Hugh Rose's front, and both armies awaited the advent of the morning. The sentries were so close that the rebels often taunted the British outposts, and told them they would all be sent to "jehannum" (hell) on the morrow. The rebel host in their thousands lay around the city that night, their watch-fires gleaming fitfully, and reckoned surely on a triumph; but ere the morrow's sun had set, their corpses in hundreds strewed the road to the Betwa. Their moolvies, who hounded them

on to a trial of strength with the British army, presaged a victory, but they were doomed to belie themselves. Already

" Ravens, crows, and kites,
Fly o'er their heads, and downward look on them,
As they were sickly prey ; their shadows seem
A canopy most fatal, under which
Their army lies ready to give up the ghost."

At six o'clock on the morning of the 1st April, the rebels commenced a general action by throwing forward the whole strength of their artillery, with two regiments of Sepoys, and five hundred horse in support. Their guns opened fire on the British within 500 yards range, to which the artillery replied, the infantry meanwhile lying down. Sir Hugh, in order to create a diversion, moved out the 14th Dragoons, who, taking a sweep, charged the enemy's right in flank, and threw them into some disorder. Still the rebel guns kept their ground, upon which Sir Hugh put himself at the head of Captain Need's troop of the 14th Dragoons, and, in face of a heavy fire from both infantry and artillery, led the charge at the guns in dashing style. The enemy were panic-stricken and fled, and the horse artillery and cavalry advanced, the latter charging four times, the enemy on each occasion turning to bay, but, at the last charge, the rout was complete. They made a final effort to retrieve themselves on the banks of the Betwa, to which they had been driven, but, as the shrapnel shell burst among them, committing great havoc, they finally turned and fled, flinging away their muskets, and abandoning their guns, as well as all the ammunition, elephants, and stores in vast quantities. As the right of the rebels was retreating from the field, they came unawares on Brigadier Stuart's column, returning from its first advance in the morning. The brigade was about 6 miles from Jhansi, when the enemy were observed crowning a hill top to the right flank, and Brigadier Stuart attacked with such spirit that they were soon in headlong flight, the Sepoys of the 25th N.I. vieing with the European soldiers of H.M.'s 86th Regiment in the celerity with which they followed the 14th Dragoons in charging the rebel guns. The victory was now complete, and the 1st brigade captured 5 more guns, making 18 in all, and one mortar, and immense supplies of ammunition and stores. Sir Hugh Rose placed the rebel loss at 1,500 men, chiefly Sepoys. The attempt to relieve Jhansi having been disposed of, preparations were resumed for carrying that stronghold by escalade.

The assault was made on April 3rd. The force was divided into two columns of attack, the first, on the left, under Brigadier

Stuart, consisting of the 86th Foot, supported by the 25th Native Infantry, one half at a breach, the other half at a bastion, with scaling ladders, assisted by the Engineers; the right attack, from the 2nd brigade, consisted of the 3rd Bombay Europeans, supported by the 24th Native Infantry, and the Madras Sappers. The attack on the breach was led by Captain Darby, of the gallant "County Downs," Major Stuart escalading the bastion. Both columns effected an entrance—the first man over the walls of Jhansi being Lieutenant Dartnell, who recently did such good service in Zululand in command of a battalion of natives, —and fought their way through the town as far as the gate of the fort, which swarmed with the enemy, who kept up a murderous fire. The 3rd Europeans were not equally successful at first; their ladders were too short, and two Engineer officers, Lieutenants Dick and Meiklejohn, who had reached the top, and had been assisted on to the crest of the wall, were suddenly seized by the enemy, dragged inside, and cut to pieces, the breaking of the ladders rendering it impossible for the men to follow. However, the gallant 3rd got in immediately after, and advanced to the palace, where the enemy made a most obstinate defence. Here Colonel Turnbull, commandant of the artillery, a brave officer, fell.

After the capture of the palace, Sir Hugh set to work clearing the city, which was not effected without many hand-to-hand encounters. The fighting continued during the whole of the 3rd and 4th, and, on the morning of the 5th, the fort, which had kept up a heavy fire during the operations, was found to have been evacuated, the Ranee, with a small escort, effecting her escape although chased for twenty miles by the cavalry, who cut up the fugitive garrison in every direction. Our losses were heavy, the 86th losing about 70 killed and wounded, and the 25th N.I., —a gallant corps, which did specially good service throughout the campaign, under their distinguished commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Robertson—losing between 20 and 30. Six officers were killed, and among the wounded were Captain Darby and Lieutenant Dartnell. The loss was greatest among the Engineer officers, drawn from the Madras and Bombay corps. On the morning of the 1st April, two lieutenants, Dick and Meiklejohn, were killed; Lieutenant Fox, who was said to have slain 8 men with his own hand at the battle of the Betwa, was dangerously wounded by a musket ball in his neck; Lieutenant Prendergast was very severely wounded, charging with the cavalry, and received the Victoria Cross for his distinguished gallantry on this occasion, and at Mundisore and Ratghur;

Lieutenant Bonus was wounded, and Captain Brown was too ill to continue on duty. Major Boileau and Lieutenant Gordon escaped uninjured, as did Lieutenant C. A. Goodfellow, who gained the V.C. for his cool heroism when carrying a ladder on the right attack, and afterwards a powder-bag to blow open the gate, under a tremendous fire.* It was computed by Sir

* The following are some details of the storm of Jhansi from Dr. Lowe's work :—
 "The Major-General came down in the afternoon to one of the batteries on the right attack to look to the ladders which lay below, under the cover of the hill. He then went to the left attack, and inspected, as far as possible, the condition of the breach. Up to this time the siege had been carried on with such unabated vigour that the whole of the towers on the south face of the fort had been rendered useless, and the works upon the walls quite battered down. The kindness of the General to his men was most marked. He constantly visited the sick and cheered them up, and never failed to notice any good conduct. He frequently rewarded men on the spot, and often distributed money from his own purse among them when they pleased him by accuracy of fire or other gallant acts. He expected much of them, but never failed to show them that he, too, could bear the hard and harassing duties of the field. Great numbers of the enemy attempted escape from the northern gate of the city, but were all cut up by our line of cavalry pickets, or fell by the rifle. About 3 a.m. on the morning of the 3rd we marched off in dead silence from our tents, to the two attacks from whence we were to debouch in two strong storming parties at the moment of the given signal sounding from the western side. The right attack was to be by escalade, the left by storming the breach. On the right attack were the Madras and Bombay Sappers, the 3rd Europeans, and the Hyderabad Infantry; on the left attack the Royal Engineers, the 86th and 25th Bombay N.I. The moon was very bright; too light, indeed, for the coming work. We waited some time in terrible suspense for the signal, as morning was fast approaching. At last the word to advance was given in a voice a little above a whisper; the ladders were hoisted upon the shoulders of the sappers, preceded by the 3rd Europeans and Hyderabad Infantry as a covering party, and away we marched from our cover in three bodies—swords and bayonets glistening in the pale light. No sooner did we turn into the road leading towards the gate than the enemy's bugles sounded, and a fire of indescribable fierceness opened upon us from the whole line of the wall, and from the towers of the fort overlooking this site. We had upwards of 200 yards to march through this fire, and we did it, and the sappers planted the ladders against the wall in three places for the stormers to ascend; but the fire of the enemy waxed stronger, and the men wavered for a moment and sheltered themselves behind stones. But the ladders were there, and there the sappers, animated by the heroism of their officers, kept firm hold until a wound or death struck them down beneath the walls. At this instant on our right three of the ladders broke under the weight of men, and a bugle sounded on our right also for the Europeans to retire. A brief pause, and again the stormers rushed to the ladders, led on by the Engineer officers. In a few moments more Lieutenant Dick, Bombay Engineers, was at the top, and calling on the 3rd Europeans to follow him; Lieutenant Meiklejohn, Bombay Engineers, had gained the summit of another ladder, and boldly leaped over the wall into the midst of the enemy; Lieutenant Bonus, Bombay Engineers, was upon another. In a few seconds more, Lieutenant Dick fell from the wall bayoneted, and shot dead; Lieutenant Bonus was hurled down, struck by a log of wood or stone in the face, and Lieutenant Fox, Madras Sappers, was shot through the neck; but the British soldiery pushed on, and in streams from some eight ladders at length gained a footing upon the ramparts, dealing death among the enemy, who still contested every point of the attack in overwhelming numbers. Now we heard the victorious shouts of the 86th and 25th, who had carried the breach, and as they rushed along the ramparts, driving the enemy before them from every spot, the two streams of the stormers met, and the air resounded with yells and huzzas! Soon after I had gained the bastion over the Oorcha gate the General and staff came along the rampart, accompanied by Colonel Turnbull, commandant of artillery. Street fighting was going on in every quarter, from the wall to the palace. Heaps of dead lay all

Hugh Rose that during the siege and storm the enemy lost over 3,000 men; and so filled were the streets and houses with the dead bodies that the stench was insupportable. Thus was avenged the foul massacre of June, 1857, the most treacherous and sanguinary after the deed of blood of Cawnpore. For each one of our 70 countrymen, women, and children who perished

along the rampart and in the streets below, and screams and groans were heard in every house. By this time the town near the wall and along the main street was pretty well cleared of the enemy, and the General with some sappers then went off to the palace, which by this time was in the hands of our soldiery. In a few moments afterwards, numbers of wounded and burnt men were brought along the street, the enemy having exploded some powder in the palace. While these were being looked after as well as circumstances would admit of, Colonel Turnbull was brought back upon a charpoy, shot through the abdomen from a window in the palace. There were many others along the ramparts lying wounded, and near the body of poor Lieutenant Meiklejohn, cut to pieces, and robbed of everything, even to his socks. Ere long the houses on both sides of the street leading to the palace were on fire; the heat from the sun and these flames was fearful, and as we passed from the cover of these burning buildings to get into the palace yard, we had to make a rush, for the gateway was immediately commanded by the fort, into which the enemy had fled, and from which they kept up a constant heavy fire upon this spot. We had been some two hours in the palace when it was discovered that a large body of the enemy had shut themselves up in the stables. The 86th and 3rd Europeans rushed in upon them and slew every man—upwards of fifty, but not before they had cut down some dozen Europeans. The wounded men came staggering out with the most terrible sword-cuts. Here was found the British flag, and when it was brought out into the yard, how the Royal County Downs yelled and cheered! It was instantly taken to the top of the palace by the Adjutant of the 86th and put up, under a heavy fire from the fort. The street fighting went on all this time in a terrible way, every house almost had its inmates of rebels, who fought to the death like tigers, so the bayoneting went on till after sunset.

"About 4.30 p.m. a message came to the General that the enemy were again coming down upon our camp. He moved away from the palace with some men of the 86th. About 400 of the enemy had escaped from the west face of the town, and gained a hill, where they were surrounded by our cavalry. The 24th N.I. went in at them and slew them all save about twenty, who gained an eminence difficult of approach. Lieutenant Parke, of the 24th, was shot dead with many others, and about twenty of that regiment were brought into camp wounded. To the west side of the palace about 1,500 men collected in a place called the new Pettah, and here they determined to stand or die. After some hard fighting a good many endeavoured to escape, but the cavalry cut up some 300, and the rest then moved beneath the fort in which the Ranees, and, as reported, about 500 followers, had taken shelter. All the day on the 4th, there was a good deal of street fighting going on, and on the morning of the 5th, Lieutenant Baigrie, 3rd Europeans, went up to the fort gate and found it open; he then went on from gate to gate, peeping and seeing no one, and at length found himself in possession of the fort of Jhansi. The Ranees and her followers had fled in the night from the gate near the garden battery, and were off long before we knew of it. Our cavalry went in pursuit, and caught up some 200, and slew them to a man, while street fighting continued on and off all the day. On the 6th, the last desperate body, which had collected in the Lane-Bagh, was disposed of after hard fighting and considerable loss on our side. Lieutenant Sinclair, Hyderabad Infantry, was shot dead. Lieutenant Simpson, Bengal army, shot through the throat; and many rank and file killed and wounded. After four days' hard fighting, Jhansi—city and fort—was in our hands, and a hard gained prize it was; for, considering all difficulties the General had to combat—the heat, the want of provisions, a large fortress and city crowded with the enemy, an army of their best troops beaten on 1st April in the face of the enemy, their friends in Jhansi, it is not to be wondered at if our list of killed and wounded numbered upwards of 300."

on that summer day, 40 of their murderers bit the dust. Though powerless in life to avert their tragic fate, their manes exacted a terrible revenge. As Brutus exclaimed when he saw the toils of a merited doom closing around him :—

“O, Julius Cæsar, thou art mighty yet !
Thy spirit walks abroad, and turns our swords
In our own proper entrails.”

No excesses of any sort were committed by our soldiers, who were even seen sharing their rations with the women and children, to whom also supplies of prize grain were issued. It was fortunate indeed that the fortress had been evacuated, for its strength was enormous, and it could have been carried, according to Sir Hugh Rose, only “by mining and blowing up one bastion after another.” Sir Hugh Rose detached Lieutenant-Colonel Lowth, commanding H.M.’s 86th Regiment, with a column to watch the road from Jhansi to Goonah, but the approach of Brigadier Smith’s column from Rajpootana to Goonah having secured Jhansi from attack by the Kotah and Bundelcund rebels, Sir Hugh recalled Colonel Lowth, and leaving an adequate garrison at Jhansi under Lieutenant-Colonel Liddell, 3rd Bombay European Regiment, and Brigadier Steuart, with the remainder of his brigade, with orders to bring on the right wing 71st Highlanders, and two troops of the 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry, on their arrival—he marched on the 25th April, on Calpee, with the 1st brigade. On the 1st May Sir Hugh effected a junction 16 miles from Koonch, with a flying column he had detached under Major Gall, 14th Dragoons, to watch the enemy along the road between Jhansi and Calpee. From this officer he learnt that Koonch was occupied by the rebel garrison of Calpee of all arms, reinforced by 500 Velaitees, under the Ranee of Jhansi, with cavalry from Kotah, and guns and troops from disaffected rajahs, the whole being under the command of Tantia Topee, who had thrown up entrenchments armed with guns to defend the roads leading to the town, which was difficult to attack, as it was surrounded by woods, gardens, and temples surrounded with high walls. Sir Hugh detached Major W. A. Orr, commanding the field force Hyderabad contingent, across the Betwa, and drove the rebel Rajahs of Banpore and Shahghur from their position at Kotra, whence he marched to Koonch. On the 2nd May the General was joined by the 2nd brigade, strengthened by the 71st Highlanders, and, on the 7th May, made a flank march with his whole force to the north-west, his left, the 1st brigade, resting its left flank on the village of

Nagapura; his centre, the 2nd brigade, in the village of Chomair; and his right, Major Orr's column, in front of the village of Oomree. This position threatened the enemy's line of retreat from Koonch to Calpee, and it exposed the north-west of the town, which was not protected by entrenchments, to attack, while he counted upon the moral effect always produced on an Asiatic force by a turning movement, as an important factor in gaining a victory.

The operations of the day were commenced by driving in the vedettes and pickets of the enemy, and on coming up to the main body of the rebel infantry, posted behind a long wall in his front, Sir Hugh Rose, who accompanied the 1st brigade, directed the men, while the heavy guns battered the wall, and the horse artillery shelled the infantry to the left of it, to dine, as they had marched that morning under a blazing sun a distance of fourteen miles from Loharee; but he himself, with his usual disregard of fatigue, took no rest, but rode off to reconnoitre. The men having dined, the General advanced, with the object of driving the enemy out of the wood, gardens, and temples which surround Koonch, after which he intended to storm the town and a dilapidated mud fort on the right. Accordingly, he threw the left wing of the 86th, under Major Stuart, and the whole of the 25th N.I., under Lieutenant-Colonel Robertson, into skirmishing order, their flanks supported by guns and cavalry; the right wing of the 86th, under Lieutenant-Colonel Lowth, with the remainder of the guns and cavalry, being in reserve. The 25th charged into the woods and walled gardens, under a heavy musketry and artillery fire, with admirable spirit, and drove the enemy out of them as well as the houses in the streets of Koonch; and Sir Hugh expressed to the officers and men on the ground, his "approbation of the gallantry with which they had gained this important position." Not less successful were the "County Downs," who, making a circuit to their left, captured all the obstacles in their front, and then, bringing their right shoulders forward, advanced, despite a heavy fire of great guns and small arms, through the whole north part of the town, thus cutting the enemy's line in two, and captured the fort occupying a strong position on some rising ground. The discomfiture of the rebels was completed by a gallant charge of the 14th Dragoons.

"The 2nd Brigade, under Brigadier Steuart," says Sir Hugh Rose in his despatch, "owing to some misconception on his part, did not effect a lodgment in the town, but moving round the south of it, their artillery and cavalry joined in the

pursuit." The enemy's line being now cut in two, and their position completely turned, they retired in masses from Koonch, but in good order, and were followed by the 1st brigade, which quickly made their way through the town. But the men suffered so greatly from the heat, a large number being struck with *coup-de-soleil*, that Sir Hugh Rose halted the brigade, as well as the infantry of the 2nd brigade and Major Orr's column, which had advanced through the wood round the town to the plains. The entire cavalry, except a small party engaged in watching the Jaloun road and the rear, and a portion of the artillery, went in pursuit, and the enemy turned frequently at bay and fought desperately.

In this pursuit the veteran General joined with all the ardour of a cornet of dragoons, and, as he says, not until "the cavalry and horse artillery were so beat by sun and fatigue that they were reduced to a walk," did he give the order to halt at a village. The men "had been marching or engaged for sixteen hours," and after watering the horses, he marched them back at sunset to Koonch. The enemy lost between 500 and 600 men in the action and pursuit, one regiment of the old Bengal native army, the 52nd, called "Henry-ke-pultun," which covered the retreat, being almost annihilated. Nine guns, and a large amount of ammunition and stores, were also the fruits of this victory, which gave rise to mistrust and dissension in the rebel ranks, as the infantry accused the cavalry of having abandoned them, while all three arms charged Tantia Topee with cowardice, he having fled at Koonch as rapidly as at the Betwa, leaving to their fate his grand "Army of the Peishwa." Sixteen hours' hard marching and fighting were too much even for British troops, and many valuable lives were lost by sun-stroke, the General himself having fallen off his horse three times, though he continued to struggle on until victory had crowned the day.

The enemy, who had become greatly dispirited after their defeat of the 7th May, abandoned Calpee on hearing of the British advance; "and I was assured" says Sir Hugh, "that at one time there were only eleven Sepoys in the town and fort." The unexpected arrival of the Newaub of Banda with a strong force, produced a reaction, and Sir Hugh intercepted a letter in which the garrison was exhorted "to hold to the last Calpee, their only arsenal, and to win their right to paradise by exterminating the infidel English." Some 15,000 rebels, accordingly, returned to Calpee and its environs, re-occupying the strong positions in the labyrinth of ravines which surround it, and the entrenchments

which they had thrown up and armed, a few miles in front of the Chowrani ("eighty-four") temples two or three miles distant from Calpee, which were surrounded by solid masonry. The fort of Calpee, forming the inner line of defence, is protected on all sides by ravines, with the Jumna in its rear, and the rock on which it stands is very precipitous.

Sir Hugh Rose was again on the march on the 9th May with the 1st brigade; the 2nd brigade, now temporarily under command of Colonel Campbell, 71st Highlanders, being a day's march in the rear. On the 15th, he reached Golowlie, on the Jumna, about six miles to the east of Calpee, where he remained some days in camp. On the 19th Sir Hugh commenced shelling the town, and, on the 21st, Colonel Maxwell, who had arrived from Cawnpore, opened fire from the north bank of the river with his guns. The rebels, seeing the toils closing around them, made a bold effort to turn Sir Hugh's flank, and again, on 22nd May, sallied out in strong force upon the British lines, displaying the utmost determination. Sir Hugh's right front was hard pressed, but he brought up his camel corps, which had been sent across the river by Colonel Maxwell, and the whole line, dashing on under cover of the guns, drove the rebels before them at the point of the bayonet. Before daybreak the next day, Sir Hugh marched from Golowlie upon Calpee, expecting that the enemy would there make a last desperate stand, but they were panic-stricken, and fled from the town and fort, after firing a few shots, and so, by 10 o'clock, Calpee was won, together with its subterranean magazine, containing 500 barrels of powder, its four foundries for casting guns, and immense quantities of warlike stores.* A flying column was despatched in pursuit

* The following account of the fighting before Calpee is from the pages of Dr. Lowe's excellent work:—"After our arrival in camp the cavalry of the enemy came down in force upon the baggage and rear-guard. Several men of the 25th N.I. were killed and others wounded, and the enemy were driven off with loss. The 2nd brigade, with Major Orr's force, had a smart encounter with the enemy on Sunday, 16th. Our force got under arms about 10 a.m. and remained in the open upwards of two hours, when heavy firing was heard in the position of the 2nd brigade. The General and staff then rode off over the plain towards the village of Diapoor. Shortly after this their infantry came swarming up the ravines between our camp and Calpee, and a brisk musketry fire ensued between them and the 86th and 25th, the enemy being driven back with loss. The 2nd brigade had had a hard fight for their post, but, as usual, it ended in the discomfiture of the foe. Sickness and mortality were fast on the increase, Europeans and natives, and beasts also, fell victims to the incessant toil, anxiety and heat. But there was no rest for us, and we were fighting against enormous odds, despite these drawbacks every day. On the 17th heavy firing again told us that the 2nd brigade was attacked; it did not cease till about 8 p.m. on the 19th, when these troops joined our camp, on account of the wells being emptied at Diapoor. On the 20th the enemy made another attack upon our positions from the ravines, extending all along our front as far down as the village of Golowlie, and our officers and men suffered much from the sun. The same

of the enemy, under command of Colonel Robertson, which killed a large number of them.

evening two companies of the 88th, the camel corps, and 120 Sikhs, crossed over the river from Colonel Maxwell's column. We had been shelling the town for two days now from a mortar battery on our right front; on the 21st the batteries from Colonel Maxwell's camp opened upon the fort and town, and continued shelling without cessation. Between 8 and 9 o'clock on the morning of the 22nd, large bodies of the enemy were seen advancing in order of battle from the Calpee road, round the villages in our front, while our pickets in this direction retired in order upon their supports; and the whole force was speedily under arms. Their right, consisting chiefly of large masses of cavalry and horse artillery, came boldly to the front, resting on the villages of Tehree and Golowlie; and our right, extending along the ravines to the Jumna, appeared for a long time to remain unthreatened. Along this face was Brigadier Stuart, with the 86th, 3rd Europeans, four companies of the 25th N.I., half a field battery, a troop of dragoons, and one of the 3rd Light Cavalry; on the right of our centre were half a field battery, the Royal Engineers, and a body of the 25th, under Colonel Robertson; in the centre were the siege guns, howitzers, and rocket-tubes, with the Madras Sappers, under Lieutenant Gordon, supported by a wing of the 71st, detachments of the 3rd Europeans, a squadron of the 14th Dragoons, a troop of 3rd Cavalry, and Royal Artillery guns; to the left of the centre were horse artillery and two troops of the 14th; and beyond these, the camel corps, and a field battery, supported by the Sikhs; and to the extreme left the Hyderabad contingent. The enemy continued to advance in great force along our front, and extending along the plain to our extreme left, opened fire from their guns upon our centre. Our fire from the heavy guns and howitzers began to tell upon them, and they limbered up and began to retreat, while at the same moment a dense mass of their cavalry and another field battery endeavoured to get to our left flank; but the Hyderabad Contingent were too quick for them, and turned them again. We had been upwards of two hours pounding at the enemy, when the General saw the moment for advance, and with the guns and cavalry dashed off towards them; they then turned round quickly and fled, vast masses of their infantry making for the villages and the ravines towards Calpee, others flying south and across country over the Calpee road, while our guns and cavalry continued to rout them. On our right, while we battled the enemy in our front, their infantry advanced with such determination and in such overwhelming numbers through the ravines, that our men were well-nigh overpowered. At one moment they were close upon our light field guns and mortar battery. The 86th and 25th had weakened themselves by being obliged to extend their line all along this face against such odds; but they fought bravely and disputed every foot of the line, until reinforced by the camel corps, who trotted round from our left, dismounted, and at a quick double, charged down upon the rebels, in concert with the 86th, 3rd Europeans, and 25th N.I. A yell, a dash forward from our whole line along the heights, and down the enemy went headlong into the ravines below. The 25th, who extended towards the village of Tehree, met the rebels, who taunted them for their allegiance, with a volley, rushed on with a cheer into the ravines, and carried everything before them, driving the enemy back into the village, through it, and over the plain towards the Calpee road. Our cavalry and horse artillery and field guns had turned their right and completed the general rout, and away they went, infantry and cavalry and guns, all mingled together over the heights, in the ravines, and along the high road. On our extreme right, resting on the Jumna, Colonel Lowth, with a few of the 86th and a company of the camel corps, cut off a body of the rebels ten times their number, and either killed them in the ravines, or drove them into the river, where they perished. All the time the battle was raging on this side the Jumna, Colonel Maxwell was pouring shell into the fort and town of Calpee without intermission, so that the enemy found but poor shelter and no rest in this place after their defeat in the field. On the morning of the 23rd, the camp was struck, and the force moved off in two divisions, the 1st brigade towards Calpee through the ravines and along the Jumna, under Brigadier Stuart; the second, under Sir Hugh Rose, to the left along the Calpee road. It was yet dark, and the shells from Colonel Maxwell's batteries continued to pour into Calpee and upon the village of Tehree as we advanced along the interminable net-

After the capture of Calpee it seemed as if the work of the gallant General and his army was at an end, and, had it been so, they had earned enough glory to have satisfied the most ambitious; but they had not yet fought their last fight. On the 1st June, Sir Hugh Rose, whose health had been greatly shattered by exertion and exposure to the sun, he having suffered no less than five sunstrokes during the past few days, prepared to take leave of his army, and issued the following valedictory order:—"Soldiers! you have marched more than a thousand miles, and taken more than a hundred guns; you have forced your way through mountain passes and intricate jungles and over rivers; you have captured the strongest forts, and beat the enemy, no matter what the odds, wherever you met him; you have restored extensive districts to the Government, and peace and order now reign where before, for twelve months, were tyranny and rebellion; you have done all this, and you have never had a check. I thank you with all my sincerity for your bravery, your devotion, and your discipline. When you first marched I told you that you, as British soldiers, had more than enough of courage for the work which was before you, but that courage without discipline was of no avail, and I exhorted you to let discipline be your watchword. You have attended to my orders; in hardships, in temptations, and in dangers you have obeyed your General, and you never left your ranks. You have fought against the strong, and you have protected the rights of the weak and defenceless, of foes as well as of friends; I have seen you in the ardour of the combat preserve and place children out of harm's way. This is the discipline of Christian soldiers, and this it is which has brought you triumphant from the shores of Western India to the waters of the

work of ravines. Morning soon broke, and as we continued our advance we caught sight of Sir Hugh Rose's column debouching from the village of Tehree and the ravines between it and the road. As the 2nd brigade advanced, the enemy opened fire from a masked battery among the ravines upon them, but they were soon silenced, and speedily limbered up and fled towards the tombs, as the columns advanced. When the general's column came up in a line with ours, the advance was sounded, and away we went into the town without further resistance,—the enemy had fled, and Calpee was at length in our hands. They were then pursued by Colonel Gall with cavalry and horse artillery, and the Hyderabad contingent under Captain Abbott, for many miles. All the guns they had carried away with them were captured, with many camels, elephants, and horses, and great numbers of them cut up; and so hot was the pursuit that they not only threw away their arms, but stripped themselves of their clothing to get away faster. We remained in the town till about 5 p.m. and then pitched camp among the tombs. Early on the morrow the troops paraded and a royal salute was fired, for it was the Queen's birthday, and the troops rejoiced in the prospect of going into quarters, and the sick and wounded of going home. A flying column of all arms under the command of Colonel Robertson left camp to follow up the rebels, who were reported to have gone towards Jaloun."

Jumna, and establishes, without doubt, that you will find no place to equal the glory of our arms."

But this order was premature, for, as the General was preparing to leave the force, arrangements for breaking up which were already advanced, news came that Gwalior had been occupied by the rebel leader, Tantia Topee, who had reorganised his routed army, driven the youthful Maharajah of Gwalior from his capital, and set up a new ruler in his stead. It appears that after Calpee had been captured, a large body of the rebels retreated westward to Gwalior, and on June 1st, were attacked by Scindia at the Morar cantonment, near his capital; but Tantia Topee having successfully tampered with our ally's soldiers, during the engagement a considerable portion of Scindia's troops deserted to the rebels, he himself being compelled to fly to Agra. The victorious enemy then marched into the city, and Rao Sahib, a nephew of the infamous Nana, was placed upon the "musnud," or throne, of Gwalior. On hearing of this alarming intelligence, Sir Hugh was in the saddle at once, and lost not a moment in taking action. His eager temperament brushed on one side all considerations of a personal nature, for in his opinion, the crisis was one admitting no delay; and the army also received with enthusiasm his call to fresh exertions, for they placed reliance in his genius and good fortune. As Milton wrote of Lord Fairfax :

" His firm unshaken valour ever brings
Victory home, though new rebellions raise
Their Hydra heads."

Recalling his detachments, and leaving General Whitlock to guard Calpee, he pushed on to Sassowlie, which he reached on June 15th, with the sun marking sometimes nearly 120° in the shade. His two brigades were now commanded by those tried soldiers, Stuart and Napier (now Lord Napier of Magdala) who had hitherto fought with Outram, as his chief of the staff, and in command of the engineer brigade at the final capture of Lucknow by Sir Colin Campbell in the previous March.

In the meantime the rebels, having plundered the treasure and the palace at Gwalior, were deserting in large numbers, and Tantia Topee and the Newaub of Banda also left the old tigress of Jhansi, the Ranee, to lead her troops to battle. Sir Hugh quitted Sassowlie soon after midnight of June 15th, and advanced upon the Morar cantonment, which lay about three miles eastward of the city, and was occupied by the enemy. He made a brief and rapid reconnaissance, and, finding the

enemy in no great strength, determined on an immediate attack. The left flank of the enemy was turned, and the 1st brigade drove them rapidly out of the cantonment, whence, as they emerged, the 2nd brigade charged them with great impetuosity, and the rebels fled in confusion, hotly pursued by our victorious troops. The Morar cantonment was occupied by the British on the 16th, and, on the following day, Smith and Orr's brigades, which had marched from Sepree and Jhansi,—the former officer having attacked and defeated some advanced posts of the enemy with the loss of four guns,—effected a junction with Sir Hugh's forces. On the 18th, the crescent of hills that barred approach to Gwalior from the south was occupied, and in that day's fight, the Ranee of Jhansi, dressed in male attire, was killed. On the 19th the whole army advanced, under a heavy cannonade, to the assault of Gwalior, and, after an action which lasted five hours and a half, the entire city fell into the hands of the captors, with the exception of the citadel; this work, which crowned an isolated rock rising sheer 300 feet above the plain, was stormed on the following day by a handful of the 25th Native Infantry, led by Lieutenant Rose, who fell, mortally wounded. The loss of this gallant young officer, who died at the termination of this arduous campaign, being the last officer who fell, was greatly deplored by the force, and Brigadier Stuart issued a general order on his services and death.

In the heavy fighting between the 16th and 20th June, the brunt fell on the 86th and 71st Regiments of the Royal Army, and the 10th and 25th Bombay Native Infantry. The rebel loss in slain was very great, and 27 guns were captured. On the following day the young Maharajah, who had arrived on the 18th, was conducted in state to his palace by Sir Hugh Rose and Sir Robert Hamilton, amidst every appearance of enthusiasm from the population who lined the streets. This prince has been suspected of lukewarmness in our cause, if not of complicity in the Mutiny, though it should be remembered that he was a sufferer at the hands of Tantia Topee, who had assumed the title of Lieutenant of the Peishwa. Without questioning his loyalty, or that of any other feudatory prince, which can only be counted upon so long as its claims do not conflict with their interests, we may agree with the estimate the late Sir Herbert Edwardes applied to the loyalty of Gholaub Singh, to whom we sold Cashmere, the "Happy Valley," with the unhappy inhabitants whom famine and misgovernment have recently thinned so greatly. He said:—"What Asiatic sovereign is a sincere friend of the British Government? It is sufficient if they are consistent

allies. Be they Hindus, or be they Mohammedans, their religion, which is their strongest sentiment, dreads and abominates Christianity. They are thus incapable of love, but they are not of gratitude."

After this crowning victory, the Central India Field-force was broken up, some portions garrisoning the places it had conquered, while the remainder, under one of its leaders, Napier, won fresh laurels at Jaura Alipore. The Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief issued congratulatory orders on the conclusion of the campaign, and never were they better deserved, for no officer or man had spared himself, and the large number who had fallen victims to sunstroke testified to the severity of the marching. Sir Hugh Rose started for Bombay on 29th June, shattered in health by the exposure he had undergone. When so many younger men had succumbed to the effects of the fearful heat, it was astonishing how he lived through it all; three times in one day had he been struck from off his horse by sunstroke, only to remount after sensibility had returned. Sir Hugh was fêted at Poona and Bombay, and was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General, and created a G.C.B. After his health had been sufficiently restored by a residence in England he returned to India as Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay army. On the 15th May, 1860, he resigned the command of the army of the Western Presidency to Sir William Mansfield, succeeding Lord Clyde as Commander-in-Chief in India, and took his seat as senior member of the Governor-General's Council on July 6th of the same year.

In his farewell order to the Bombay army, Sir Hugh Rose said in reference to the services of the Central India Force: "Nor can I forget the weak division, incomplete in every requisite, except a resolution and discipline, which, with no other aid but a portion of the Hyderabad contingent, fought its way, in 1858, from Western India to the frontier of Bengal, planting their colours in every hostile camp and fort which opposed their line of march. So small was this column, so far had it advanced, and so hard was it pressed, that it could not afford a reserve; the tide of war closed round it from every side; sickness was in the camp; marching by night and fighting by day in a summer sun had prostrated many, and weakened all; the intense heat even rendered useless a great portion of the arms and ammunition of the European infantry. But nothing could prostrate the spirit of the Central India Field-force. Their devotion never allowed them to think that they could be beaten; their discipline told them that they must obey

their orders to take Calpee and join the Bengal army, no matter at what sacrifice. They never yielded; they always advanced till they won the Jumna, and gave their hands on its banks to their gallant comrades of the Bengal army. Calpee was the fruit of this hard fought-for union." On his arrival in Bengal Sir Hugh Rose found some of the European regiments of the late Company's army in a mutinous state, and, in November, 1860, felt compelled to direct the carrying out of the capital sentence pronounced by a court martial on a private of the 5th Europeans, stationed at Dinapore, convicted of having refused to obey the orders of his superior officer, but who was recommended to mercy by the court on account of his youth and previous good conduct. Sir Hugh Rose's period of command at Calcutta was not marked by any military event of importance beyond the Umbeyla Expedition conducted by Sir Neville Chamberlain. The Indian army benefited greatly under his vigorous superintendence, but Sir John Lawrence was then Viceroy, and the policy of "masterly inactivity," with peace within and without the borders of India, was in the ascendant in his sagacious councils. Thus the army presided over by Sir Hugh Rose was not called upon for any great effort, and its efficiency was not therefore put to any severe test by the strain of war. Nevertheless the Umbeyla campaign, though only lasting from October to December, 1863, was the greatest of our "little wars," and with no less than 25,000 men in motion west of the Jhelum, and troops moving in support as far as Meerut, 400 miles from the scene of action, where 9,000 troops were engaged, no little anxiety existed, and some pressure arose at head-quarters. In 1865, Sir Hugh Rose's period of service as Commander-in-Chief expired, and he returned to England, when he was appointed Privy Councillor, and Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, and his combinations in treading out the embers of disaffection in the abortive Fenian rising, were masterly and successful.

Sir Hugh was gazetted Colonel of the 45th Foot, and was subsequently transferred to his old regiment, the 92nd Highlanders. He was made a D.C.L. of Oxford in June, 1865, and, in the following year, was created a peer, as Baron Strathnairn, of Strathnairn, in the county of Nairn, and of Jhansi, in the East Indies. Finally he was raised to the highest place in the military hierarchy, on promotion to the rank of Field-Marshal, and was appointed Colonel of the Royal Horse Guards, in succession to the aged veteran, Lord Gough. Thus the soldier

of many fields was transformed into that illustrious Court dignitary, yclept "Gold Stick."

The famous Central India campaign is in many respects unique in Indian history, and it is difficult to say whether the troops deserved most praise for the powers they displayed in marching or fighting. The season was an exceptionally hot one, and the march across India forms one of the most marvellous displays in the history of war, and gained for the Central India Field-force and its commander the admiration and wonder of their brethren campaigning in Oude and elsewhere.

Lord Strathnairn recently afforded proof that his old energy and warlike ardour were not quenched by years and the infirmities of age; for when, in the spring of 1879, intelligence arrived in England of the disaster of Isandlana on the 22nd January, and the Government despatched to South Africa large reinforcements, his lordship proffered his services to the Prime Minister, who, however, declined them on the ground that the crisis was not sufficiently urgent to demand the presence of an officer of the high rank of Field-Marshal. But that the offer was made is none the less honourable to the distinguished veteran, who, as Sir Hugh Rose, earned so bright a reputation as a military commander in our Indian Wars.

GENERAL SIR NEVILLE BOWLES CHAMBERLAIN, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.

His arrival in India—Is ordered on service to Afghanistan—General Nott's defence of Candahar—Actions of 12th January, 9th March, and 25th March, 1842—Return via Cabul to India—Chamberlain is engaged in the Gwalior campaign—Distinguishes himself at Chillianwallah and Goojerat—In civil employ in the Punjaub—Is appointed to the command of the Punjaub Frontier Force—The Meerunzye Expedition—The Indian Mutiny—Proceeds to Lahore and Delhi—Is appointed Adjutant-General—Commands in the actions of the 9th and 14th July, 1857, and is severely wounded—Campaigning in the North West Frontier—The expeditions against the Khoord-Cabul and Mahsood Wuzzeeres—The Umbeyla Campaign—Conclusion.

If India is the best school England possesses for the training of good soldiers, then is the Punjaub Frontier Force, which has the pick of our young officers, the first class or sixth form (to carry out the school simile) for the education of able and talented aspirants for the command of our armies, and the conduct of the diplomacy which is brought into play the moment the work of the soldier gives place to that of the administrator. In India, that hybrid and almost indigenous creature, the soldier-diplomatist, is well-nigh a necessity; and, accordingly, in India he has ever been found to abound, and to approach as near to the type of perfection as may be expected of anything human. Clive, Wellington, and Malcolm, were as ready to administer as to fight, and so were their lineal successors the Lawrences, the Edwardes, and the Nicholsons of our days.

Sir Neville Bowles Chamberlain is the second son of Sir Henry Chamberlain, first baronet, some time Consul-General at Brazil, and was born at Rio on the 18th January, 1820, so that, although his services have been so long and prominently before the public, and he has attained the highest rank and honours in his profession, he is still comparatively young. He entered the Indian army in 1837, and arrived at Calcutta in June of that year. Soon after setting foot in the "City of

Palaces," Ensign Chamberlain was ordered to do duty, first with the 70th, and afterwards with the 12th Native Infantry, at Barrackpore. In December following, he was appointed to the 52nd Native Infantry at Nusseerabad, from which he exchanged into the 55th, and marched with that regiment to Delhi. Young Chamberlain took no part in the invasion and conquest of Afghanistan, but he proceeded thither in 1841, and at the time of the disasters at Cabul in the winter of that year, was attached to Major-General Nott's force at Candahar.

He was fortunate in making his *début* in the warlike arena under such favourable auspices. His commander, General Nott, was one of those soldiers who owed nothing to fortune. A man of singular independence of character, the reader arises from a perusal of his letters, as they appear in his published "Life," with a high estimate of his character, though the impression is marred by a harshness in his judgments, which had its counterpart in an unfortunate irritability of temper and intemperance of language. A native of Carmarthen, of the *bourgeois* class, General Nott went out to India without friends or interest, and, not being so fortunate as to see much service, but for an accident would have lived and died a regimental officer of the type so common in the army, whose highest aspiration is to command his regiment or a brigade in the humdrum times of peace. But this Welshman, without being a man of genius, was a stout soldier, and, when troublous times arose, and found him in a responsible command, quickly showed his superiority to the courtier class of generals placed over his head by a government to whom sycophancy and pliability were a passport to high command. This rugged, plain-spoken, and honourable soldier, was the man for the crisis that had arisen in Afghanistan, and England's honour was safe in his keeping. With military incompetence displayed at Cabul, and later, at Hykulzye, the words Shakespeare puts into the mouth of a great leader regarding a countryman of Nott's, might be applied to him:—

"Though it appear a little out of fashion,
There is much care and valour in this Welshman."

Young Chamberlain's services were placed, in the first instance, at the disposal of the Political Agent, Major (now General Sir Henry) Rawlinson, by whom he was transferred to Shah Soojah's 1st Regiment of Cavalry. On the 12th January, 1842, he was first engaged, thus commencing that career of active service which has placed him in the first rank of our

Indian soldiers, and gained for him the highest insignia of two military orders. On that day the insurgent chiefs moved down to the valley of the Urghundab, and took post about five miles to the west of the city of Candahar. General Nott lost no time in marching out to attack them. Taking with him H.M.'s 40th Regiment, 4 regiments of native infantry, the Shah's 1st Cavalry, a party of Skinner's Horse, and 16 guns, he made a four hours' march over a very difficult country, and came upon the enemy, about 15,000 strong, posted on the right bank of the Urghundab. The British troops crossed the river, and the infantry at once advanced to the attack, flanked by the artillery and cavalry. The action was of brief duration, though with the fortune for which Lieutenant Chamberlain was afterwards remarkable, he did not escape without a severe wound. At the end of twenty minutes, during which our guns and musketry, telling with deadly effect upon the heavy masses of the enemy, were answered by a wild and ineffective fire from their ranks, the insurgents became confused and took to flight. Atta Mahomed, one of the chiefs, attempted to make a stand at a village, but Nott moved his troops forward and carried the position by storm, when every soul within its walls was slaughtered. The British line was then re-formed, and Atta Mahomed prepared to meet a second attack. But the cavalry, with two horse artillery guns, charged down upon the enemy, who broke and fled in dismay. An officer of H. M.'s 40th, speaking of this action as "the first success after our recent disasters at Cabul," adds, "the victory having been obtained over a force so immensely superior to that which was opposed to it by the British, most effectually damped the spirit of our enemies in that part of the country."

The rebels were now joined by the Dooranee chiefs, with Mirza Ahmed, the ablest man in western Afghanistan, at their head; and Candahar was in a manner invested. On the 21st February, a letter arrived from Cabul, ordering the evacuation of Candahar, but the military and political chiefs being of opinion that it was written under compulsion, returned a decided refusal, thus saving the honour of the British arms as well as consulting the safety of the force. General Nott was not the man to remain on the defensive, and permit the enemy to select their own time for attacking him, but resolved to make a vigorous effort to break up the Afghan camp, which continued to hover round the city. To prevent any insurrectionary movement within, a thousand Afghan families were expelled from the city, after which Nott marched out, on the 7th March, to encounter the

enemy. He took with him the 40th Queen's, four regiments of native infantry, all the cavalry in the force, with which went Neville Chamberlain, and sixteen guns; while he left behind for the protection of the city, three and a half regiments of native infantry. As Nott advanced, the Afghans, who had been hovering about the neighbourhood of Candahar, retired before him. He crossed the Turnuk, and advanced to the Urghundab in pursuit of the enemy, who, however, shrank from meeting British bayonets, and it was long before they even ventured to come within reach of the guns. When they did so, the artillery opened upon their dense masses with such good effect that they were more than ever disinclined to approach their enemy. On the 9th, however, there seemed some prospect of a general action, for the Afghan footmen were observed drawn up in battle array on a range of hills, and, as Nott advanced, they saluted him with a volley from their matchlocks. Advancing the light companies of the 40th and 16th Native Infantry to storm the hills on the right, and the grenadiers of the 40th to carry the heights on the left, the enemy soon gave way, as they invariably did throughout this war, when the attack was of a determined character. On the hills being cleared the Afghan horse were seen drawn up in a long line extending across the plain—their right resting upon a range of high ground, and their left on a ruined fort, built on a high scarped mound. Hoping to draw the enemy within reach of his cavalry, General Nott ceased the fire of his guns, but they declined to meet him in the open field, for, as Major Rawlinson says in his MS. journal, "the plan of enticing the General to Telookham, delaying him there by keeping a body of horse in his vicinity, and then doubling back on the town, was all preconcerted by Meerza Ahmed." During the absence of the main portion of the British force, the rebels gathered their full strength for an attack on the city of Candahar, which they hoped to carry by a *coup-de-main*. Though all the Dooranee tribes of the country, except the Noorzys, were present, they were repulsed by Major Rawlinson who conducted the defence, with severe loss.

After Nott's return on the 12th March, no military movement took place till the 25th, when a brigade under Colonel (the late General Sir George) Wymer, took the field, to clear the country, on the Candahar side of the Urghundab, of the Dooranee horse. It consisted of three regiments of infantry, a troop of horse artillery, with 400 cavalry, including Chamberlain's corps. In the neighbourhood of Baba-Wullee, the Dooranee horse, 3,000 strong, crossed the river Urghundab, to attack

Wymer, who sent a messenger to Candahar to inform the General of his position, and prepared to defend himself. Wymer had to guard his cattle as well as to fight the enemy, and the former necessity greatly crippled his movements, and being weak in cavalry, he found himself opposed at a disadvantage to the large bodies of the enemy's horse, which now appeared in his front. His small detachment of troopers were driven in by the Dooranees, under Saloo Khan, who gallantly and repeatedly charged the British squares.

Major Rawlinson, in his MS. journal, which gives a complete and graphic account of all the events, political and military, connected with that portion of Afghanistan to which he was accredited, writes:—"In the charge of the horse under Saloo Khan, when after driving back our cavalry, they were stopped by the fire of the guns, and the light company of the 38th, which had been thrown out in advance, Yar Mahomed, of Dehrawat, who was Saloo Khan's nephew, fell; and in another part of the field three other chiefs of note of the Noorzye were wounded. The total loss of the enemy in killed and wounded, I estimate from all I could learn on the field, and from the villagers, at about 150. We had a few men killed, and some 40 wounded. Amongst the latter are two cavalry officers, Chamberlain and Travers. The Dooranee horse came on more boldly on this occasion than they had ever been seen to do before. Some of the 38th Sepoys, indeed, received sabre cuts from their horsemen, but they cannot stand our artillery or musketry fire. They had been so taunted with cowardice, that they resolved to have one conflict with us before they quitted the vicinity of Candahar; and had not reinforcements gone out, they would have sustained, I doubt not, a much heavier loss, by making repeated charges on different parts of the camp during the afternoon." But the affair soon degenerated into one of distant skirmishes, for the audacity of the Afghan chivalry was soon cooled by the fire of the British infantry, and the splendid practice of the guns.

In the meanwhile, the sound of the cannonade reached Nott in Candahar, and he moved out in support. The Dooranees were still surrounding Wymer's camp, when the General entered the valley with his reinforcements. The scene as the afternoon sun shed its rays upon the sabres of the enemy, is described by an eye-witness, Captain Neill, in his *Recollections of Service*, "as a beautiful spectacle, which will not readily be forgotten." The British infantry were drawn up in a hollow square covering a crowd of camels; the horse artillery guns, which had done such

good service before, were playing with precision under Turner's direction, upon the dense bodies of the enemy's horse, whom their heavy fire now kept at a respectful distance. At this time our hero signalled himself by an act of valour, which is thus noted by Captain Neill:—"Just as General Nott, with the reinforcements, came in sight, Lieutenant Chamberlain, of the Bengal service, an officer in the Shah's Cavalry, who at the head of a small party, had charged the enemy, was driven back, and, emerging from a cloud of dust, formed in rear of the infantry, with the loss of a few men killed, himself and many of his party wounded, but not without having given very satisfactory proofs of his power as a swordsman, albeit his treacherous weapon had broken in his hand."

When Nott's reinforcements approached, the Afghans retired to their camp on the opposite bank of the river. The General was desirous of following them up, but the guns could not be brought down to the river without great labour, and the fords were well-nigh impracticable, so he withdrew his troops to Candahar for the night, leaving Wymer in position. On the following morning Nott sallied out again, with the brigade that had accompanied him on the preceding day, but finding that the enemy had struck their camp during the course of the night, and had dispersed in different bodies, he returned to Candahar, leaving Wymer in the valley to graze his cattle, the garrison being greatly in want of forage.

Meanwhile General Nott experienced great disappointment on learning the repulse of Major-General England at Hykulzye on the 28th March, when he fell back to Quetta; and, on the 18th April, wrote an outspoken letter* ordering him to advance

* In this letter General Nott said:—"I think it absolutely necessary that a strong brigade of 2,500 men should be immediately pushed from Quetta to Candahar, with the supplies noted in the foregoing paragraph. I therefore have to acquaint you that I will direct a brigade of three regiments of infantry, a troop of horse artillery, with a body of cavalry, to march from Candahar on the morning of the 25th instant. This force will certainly be at Chummun, at the northern foot of the Kojuck, on the morning of the 1st of May, and possibly on the 30th of this month; I shall therefore fully rely on your marching a brigade from Quetta so that it may reach the southern side of the pass on the above mentioned date. I believe there can be no difficulty whatever in accomplishing this nor of crossing the Kojuck without loss, provided the heights are properly crowned on either side. I have crossed it three times in command of troops, and I know that what I now state is correct. There can be no danger in passing through Pisheen, provided a careful and well ordered march is preserved, and patrols and flanking parties of horse are thrown well out. The people of this country cannot withstand our troops in the open field. I am well aware that war cannot be made without loss; but yet I hope that British troops can oppose Asiatic armies without defeat; and I feel, and know, that British officers should never despair of punishing the atrocious and treacherous conduct of a brutal enemy. I feel obliged to you for pointing out the many difficulties attending our position; but you are well aware that it is our first and only duty to overcome

forthwith. General England, accordingly, succeeded in forcing his way to Candahar, with supplies and reinforcements, including H.M.'s 41st Regiment. After his arrival Nott sent Colonel Wymer to relieve Khelat-i-Ghilzye, with a strong brigade of four infantry regiments, some cavalry, and two batteries of artillery. The defence of this isolated post by Captain Craigie, with a small body of Sepoys and a few artillerymen, since the 9th December, when the Afghans first laid siege to the post, and the brilliant repulse of about 6,000 of the enemy, who made a desperate attempt on the 21st May to carry the fortress by assault, forms one of the proudest episodes in the history of the Indian army. It shows how Sepoys will fight when well led, and offers a striking contrast to the surrender of the Ghuznee garrison, under Colonel Palmer, on 6th March.

Taking advantage of the absence of this large portion of Nott's force, the Dooranees began to appear in the neighbourhood of Candahar early on the morning of the 29th May, and, hovering about the cantonments, carried off some baggage cattle. As the day advanced their numbers increased, but, being under the impression that they were only reconnoitring his position, Nott sent Colonel Stacey, with two regiments of infantry and 4 guns, to drive them back. The Afghans, thinking that a movement of Stacey's was dictated by an intention to retreat, took courage, and pushing forward, occupied some rocky heights to the west of the cantonments, from which they opened a distant fire on the British line. As it was obvious that the enemy were desirous of bringing on an engagement, Nott, leaving General England in charge at Candahar, despatched H.M.'s 41st Regiment and 8 guns, and himself rode out to take command of the troops. Covered by the fire of the guns, the infantry were now ordered to storm the heights. "The view from the look-out in the city," wrote Rawlinson, in his journal, "was now very fine. The hillocks on the right were crowned with masses of horsemen, numbering, apparently, about 1,500. A crowd of footmen occupied the rocky heights. In front of our line, and beyond, the shoulder of the hill was covered with human beings thick as a flight of locusts, bodies of horse continually debouching round

difficulties where the national honour and our military reputation are so deeply concerned. Nothing can be accomplished without effort and perseverance. In reply to the last paragraph of your letter of the 10th instant, I have only to observe that I have not yet contemplated falling back. Without money, I can neither pay the long arrears due to the troops, nor procure carriage for field operations. I deeply regret this state of things, which ought to have been attended to months ago. Had this been done, I should now have been on my march to Ghuznee."

the shoulder, and pushing on to join their comrades on the right."

The work of storming the heights was done rapidly and well, and, as the enemy were driven down, Chamberlain swooped down upon them with his horsemen, with the fiery ardour for which he had earned a reputation in the camp, and cut them up handsomely. It is said that the widow of Akram Khan, an Afghan chief who was executed at Candahar in the preceding autumn, was in the field, riding her husband's charger, and bearing a Ghazee standard. Lieutenant Rattray writes:—"As the enemy drew near, a white object was observed in the centre of their front ranks, which seemed the rallying point for the Ghazees, chieftains, Moollahs, kettle-drums, and standard-bearers. This proved to be no less a personage than the heroic widow of the slaughtered Akram Khan. Throwing aside her timid nature with her boorkha (veil), she had left the sacred privacy of the zenana for the foremost rank in the battle-field, had bestrode her husband's charger, and, with his standard in her hand, had assembled the tribes." The enemy were soon in confusion, and fled in all directions, and Major Rawlinson—who, like Macgregor, his brother "political" at Jellalabad, laid aside his pen and assumed his sword whenever fighting was on the *tapis*,—took a small body of horse to clear the hillocks to the right of the detached bodies of the enemy, which still clung to them, and Tait, with his irregular cavalry, was sent to support him. These two officers continued the pursuit to the mouth of the Baba-Wullee Pass, and cut up large numbers of the flying enemy. The Ghazees, confident that victory would crown their efforts, had barricaded this pass with stones, and thrown up a strong breastwork in another direction, intending them as defences between the British position and their own. But now, instead of having these defences in their front, they found them in their rear, and had our guns been pushed on with sufficient activity, the enemy would have suffered more heavily than they did. However, the General effected all he had desired, so, drawing off his troops, he returned to Candahar.

General Nott referred in terms of praise to the conduct of Neville Chamberlain, who had a horse shot under him. He said, in a private letter to Lieutenant Hammersley, political agent at Quetta: "A detail of the 1st Cavalry, under Chamberlain, behaved very well indeed. The enemy had 8,000 men in position, and 2,000 in reserve. We had 1,500 of all arms in the field." His gallantry in these engagements was so conspicuous that the Governor-General specially mentioned him in

general orders for his "distinguished services," and appointed him Adjutant of the 7th Irregular Cavalry.

At length the time came for Nott to act in concert with the victorious General Pollock. On the 7th August he evacuated Candahar, and, despatching General England with a brigade to Quetta, prepared to retire to India, according to the Governor-General's order, "by way of Ghuznee, Cabul, and Jellalabad." During this long and adventurous march of 320 miles to Cabul, and thence through the passes to Peshawur and the British provinces, Chamberlain was attached to Christie's Irregular Regiment of Horse.

For the first 160 miles of the march, until they arrived at Mookoor, the enemy avoided a conflict with our troops, but, on the 28th August, just after the rear-guard had moved from their encampment at Mookoor, the Afghans came down upon them with a party of 500 horse and two guns. Nott ordered out Christie's Irregular Cavalry, who cut up some fifty of the enemy's infantry. Without further molestation the force reached its halting ground; but no sooner had they arrived here than Captain Delamain rode out, without orders, to attack the enemy, who, it was reported, though without truth, had cut up some of his grass-cutters. Taking with him all the disposable cavalry, including Chamberlain's regiment, this officer, after dispersing a small body of the enemy, incautiously advanced to the foot of a range of hills, where a large force of the enemy were posted. Delamain at once determined to attack them. A squadron of the 3rd Bombay Cavalry charged up the hill, but a hot fire from a party of Juzailchees, who suddenly appeared on their flanks, saluted them as they advanced. At the same time the enemy's horse poured down upon them, and the sowars wavered. Captain Reeve was shot near the foot of the hill, and Captain Bury and Lieutenant Mackenzie, who gained the ridge, fell beneath the sabres of the Afghan horsemen, the latter receiving a severe wound in the elbow joint of the right arm. The troopers, seeing their officers fall, turned and fled. Their companions at the foot of the hill were seized with panic, and soon the whole body rode each other down in wild confusion. Besides the officers above named, Lieutenants Ravenscroft and Malet were wounded, and Chamberlain, vainly trying to rally his men, received a slight injury, while 56 men were killed or wounded. In the meantime General Nott had twice ordered Delamain, who had sent orderlies to him for instructions, to return to camp, but without effect. On receiving intelligence of the defeat of his cavalry, Nott marched with all

his troops to attack the enemy, who were reported to be above 7,000 strong, but they had decamped. On the 30th August the cavalry redeemed their honour.

Shumsoodeen Khan, the Afghan commander, emboldened by his success, moved down upon the British force, which was encamped at Goaine, with some 10,000 men of all arms. Outflanking Nott's column with his numerous horsemen, he opened fire with his guns, upon which the British general advanced his infantry in column, flanked by his field-pieces and Christie's Horse. After some manœuvring, the British troops went at the Afghans with a loud hurrah, when the latter, not caring to cross bayonets, turned and fled in confusion. Two of their guns were captured, and Christie's Horse, with which was Neville Chamberlain, started in pursuit, and did considerable execution.* Shumsoodeen's tents, magazines and stores were found scattered about the plain, and the chief fled to Ghuznee, the tribe who had joined his standard after his recent success

* The following by the historian of the war in Afghanistan, gives a more detailed account of the action of the 30th:—"On the preceding day Shumsoodeen Khan had sent round the heads of the officers who had fallen in the action of the 28th, and greatly exaggerating the victory he had gained, endeavoured to raise the people against the infidels whom he had beaten so gloriously in the field. On that day considerable reinforcements reached him. He was seen on the hills to the right of Nott's camp with 4,000 or 5,000 men, and it was believed that he would attack our troops in the course of the morrow's march. The morrow came. Nott marched to Goaine; Shumsoodeen moved parallel to him, and took up his position again on the hills to the right of the British camp. As every hour was increasing his number, he desired to postpone the inevitable collision. On the afternoon of the 30th he is said to have mustered not less than 10,000 men. Not far from the ground on which Nott halted on that morning was a fort held by the enemy, which he determined to attack. But the day was sultry. The troops were exhausted by their march. So the General pitched his camp at once, and, giving his troops a few hours to recruit and refresh themselves, postponed the attack to the afternoon. At three o'clock the General went out with the 40th Queen's, the 16th and 38th Native Infantry regiments, and all his cavalry details, Anderson's troop of horse artillery, two guns of Blood's battery, and two 18-pounders. The ground between our camp and the fort was difficult. Some time elapsed before the guns could be brought up to breaching distance, and when at last they opened upon the fort they made so little impression that Shumsoodeen was persuaded by his chiefs not to shrink any longer from a general action with a force whose cavalry had been already beaten in the field, and whose artillery now seemed so little formidable. So scattering his horsemen on both sides, so as to outflank us, Shumsoodeen moved down with the main body of his infantry and his guns, and, planting the latter on the nearest height, opened a rapid and well directed fire on the British columns. Then Nott drew off his troops from the attack on the fort, and advanced in column to the right, flanked by Anderson's guns and Christie's Horse, upon the main body of Shumsoodeen's fighting men. On this the enemy crowded upon the other flank, keeping up a smart fire both from their guns and juzzais; so Nott changed front to the left, deployed, threw out skirmishers, and advanced in line, supported by the guns. For some time the enemy seemed inclined to engage us, and kept up a sharp fire from their guns and juzzais; but when our troops came to the charge, and pushed on with a loud and cheerful hurrah, they turned and fled before us. One of their guns broke down, and was immediately captured. Christie, with his Horse, went off in pursuit of the other, sabred the drivers, and carried off the piece."

dispersing to their homes according to Afghan custom after a defeat.

Nott gave his troops rest during the 31st August, and, on the 1st September, resumed his march on Ghuznee, before which he arrived on the 5th. Ghuznee was now once more in the hands of the enemy, having been capitulated by Colonel Palmer on the previous 6th March. The 5th September was spent in desultory fighting. Shumsodeen, who had been reinforced from Cabul by Sultan Jan, occupied the heights to the north-east of the fortress, with a strong body of horse and foot. "The gay attire and fine chargers of the chieftains," says Colonel Stacey, "made them conspicuous even at a distance. The gardens, the ravines, and water-courses were filled with matchlock men, and the city seemed to be swarming with armed men." Before encamping his force, Nott determined to clear the heights, and in right gallant style did the troops answer the summons of their leader. Scaling the steepes with enthusiasm, they drove the enemy before them at every point, and then leaving two regiments and two guns to occupy them, the remainder of the force returned to camp. Preparations were now commenced for the siege of the place, when its defenders, losing heart, evacuated the citadel.

Nott determined to destroy this almost impregnable fortalice, the pride of Afghanistan, which was carried out by Major Sanders, his commanding engineer, a very distinguished officer, who fell at Maharajpore. The guns were accordingly burst, mines were run under the works and exploded, and, finally, the town and entire citadel were committed to the flames. According to orders from the Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, the gates from the tomb of Mahmoud, the famous sandal-wood gates, "which," as his lordship said, "are the gates of the Temple of Somnauth," (though competent authority has denied it) were borne off in triumph. Nott now proceeded on his march towards Cabul. On the 12th he was before Syderabad, which he burnt. Shumsodeen, Sultan Jan, and other Sirdars, with 12,000 men, occupied a succession of strong positions near Benec Badan and Mydan, intending to make a last stand for the capital. But Nott's gallant army carried everything before them, and, on the night of the 15th, twenty-six of their forts might have been counted in flames. On the 17th September he arrived before Cabul, only to find that he had been anticipated by Pollock, who, after a brilliant series of operations, had once more planted the British standard on the Bala Hissar.

On the 12th October, the combined forces of the victorious generals, Pollock, Sale, and Nott, moved away from the scene of so much disaster, and the return march to India commenced, Nott's division bringing up the rear. Chamberlain's regiment accompanied Sir Robert Sale, who proceeded, with two brigades and three regiments of cavalry, by the Gospund Durrah, or Sheep Pass, which runs parallel with, and on the right of, the Khoord-Cabul Pass, for the purpose of turning that defile and crowning the heights, the difficulty of doing so from the Cabul side being considerable. By this means the main column was enabled to thread this terrible defile, in which 3,000 men perished in January, 1842, without meeting with any opposition.

Christie's Horse afterwards rejoined General Nott's force, which formed the rear-guard of the army, and, on the night of the 15th October, was engaged in repelling a determined attack by the Ghilzyes in the Huft Kotul Pass, which Colonel Stacey, in his "Narrative" describes as a "severe affair," and which Nott, who was not inclined to write lengthy despatches, or to exaggerate the importance of his engagements, thought worthy of a brief despatch. General Nott reached Jellalabad on the 24th October, and, after a halt of a few days, during which the works which Sir Robert Sale's force had raised and defended with such perseverance and gallantry, were blown up, the army marched in the same order as before, General Nott's column bringing up the rear. There was some severe fighting in the passes between Jellalabad and Jamrood. At the mouth of the Khyber, General McCaskill's division was severely handled by the Afreedees, and two officers and several men were killed, and two guns were carried off by the enemy, though they were recovered on the following day. General Nott was also furiously attacked when marching to and from the fort of Ali Musjid, which, as well as the works erected by Mackeson for its defence, was completely destroyed by Major Sanders, chief engineer of Nott's column. In this affair, 23 officers and men were killed and wounded, among the latter being Lieutenant Chamberlain, who, though a mere youth of twenty-two, had, in this his first campaign, been wounded no less than four times, a result due to his headlong valour, which impelled him to take part in every affair when there was a chance of winning honour.

On the 6th November, General Nott cleared the Khyber Pass, and encamped at Jamrood, and, marching from Peshawur on the 12th, he crossed the Sutlej at Ferozepore into British territory on the 23rd December, bringing with him the Somnauth gates, which he had dragged so many hundred miles at the cost

of some lives, to grace the pageant of Lord Ellenborough, who displayed throughout his career a singular mixture of weakness and strength of character, of magnanimity and puerile vanity.

On his arrival in India, Lieutenant Chamberlain was selected by the Governor-General, as being "amongst the most distinguished in action during the late war," to do duty with his lordship's body-guard. In February, 1843, he was attached, as Deputy-Assistant Quartermaster-General, to the Army of Exercise, and was present at the hardly-contested battle of Maharajpore, when Lord Gough was surprised by the Gwalior troops, and with difficulty gained a victory. Owing to the effects of his last wound, from which he still continued to suffer, he was soon after obliged to give up his appointment, and proceed to the hills to recruit his strength.

In 1845, Neville Chamberlain came home to England on furlough, and thus missed the opportunity of participating in the first Sikh campaign, but he returned to India towards the close of the following year. In January, 1847, he was appointed Adjutant to the 14th Irregular Cavalry, and was shortly afterwards nominated military secretary and aide-de-camp to the Governor of Bombay. Captain Chamberlain did not long remain absent from his own presidency. In 1848, he was made an honorary aide-de-camp to the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, and was appointed second in command of the 8th Irregular Cavalry; we find he was excused passing an examination in Hindoostanee, as required from Indian officers doing duty with native corps, on account of his distinguished services in the campaign in Afghanistan. In November of the same year, Chamberlain was transferred to the post of Major of Brigade to the 4th, or Brigadier J. B. Hearsey's, Irregular Cavalry Brigade, forming part of Sir Joseph Thackwell's Cavalry division, attached to the army engaged in the operations in the Punjaub, under the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Gough.

He was not fortunate, or rather unfortunate, enough to be present at the disastrous battle of Chillianwallah, where our cavalry so signally misbehaved, but, on the 30th January, soon after his arrival in Lord Gough's entrenched camp, had an opportunity of distinguishing himself. On that day a party of the enemy were seen prowling about in quest of our camels, as they fed on the plain. Neville Chamberlain forthwith attacked the enemy with a detachment of the 9th, or Christie's Irregular Horse, and succeeded in killing 16 of them, and putting the rest to flight. He himself was slightly wounded, and such was the notoriety attaching to him of having been

more often wounded than any other officer in the army, that there was an exaggerated statement in Buist's *Annals of the Campaign*, that "this was the sixteenth wound Captain Chamberlain had received in action since 1840." Our hero was present with his brigade in the crowning victory of Goojerat, the "battle of the guns," as it has been so aptly called. In this engagement Chamberlain took part in the repeated charges made by the cavalry, and displayed his accustomed energy, under the orders of Sir Joseph Thackwell, in the pursuit of the beaten foe. A writer on the details of the decisive battle of the 21st February, 1849, says:—"Hand-to-hand encounters were frequent. Neville Chamberlain, of the Irregulars, particularly distinguished himself by the number he slew of the enemy." The Commander-in-Chief, Lord Gough, in his despatch to the Governor-General, reported that he was greatly indebted to Captain Chamberlain "for his assistance in the field, and for the example which he set in several hand-to-hand affairs with a furious and exasperated enemy." He was almost immediately raised to the brevet rank of Major, and appointed Major of Brigade of the cavalry detached with the force sent across the Jhelum in pursuit of the Sikhs, under the command of that brilliant soldier, Sir Walter Gilbert. The campaign was soon afterwards terminated by the surrender of the Sikh army, 16,000 strong, when the Sirdars, among whom were Chutter Sing and Shere Sing, delivered up their swords to their conquerors.

Major Chamberlain was now attached to the Sirhind division of the Bengal army, as Deputy-Assistant Adjutant-General, but, in the following November, was removed at his own desire to the political department as Assistant-Commissioner in the Punjaub, under the orders of Sir Henry Lawrence, President of the Board of Administration, who was clothed with almost plenary powers. He remained in this capacity till January, 1851, when he was gazetted Commandant of the new Punjaub Military Police Force, and, in December of the same year, was appointed military secretary to the Board of Administration at Lahore. At this time he made the firm and lasting friendship of Nicholson, who had succeeded Herbert Edwardes as Deputy-Commissioner of Bunnoo. Chamberlain remained at Lahore till February, 1853, when he proceeded on short leave to the Cape of Good Hope and New South Wales. On his return he was relegated to his former duties as military secretary to Sir Henry Lawrence in the Punjaub. Chamberlain recognised the fascination of manner and nobility of character that distinguished

this remarkable man, and made all his assistants his personal friends :—

“ His life was gentle, and the elements
So mixed in him, that nature might stand up,
And say to all the world : ‘ This was a man.’ ”

In the following year Sir Henry Lawrence was succeeded in the office of Chief Commissioner of the Punjaub by his brother Mr. John Lawrence, (the late Lord Lawrence,) whose policy was more in consonance with the views held by the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie. But the change in no way affected the position of Colonel Chamberlain, who was equally valued by both the distinguished brothers. In December, 1854, he was removed from his civil duties to others of a more congenial character. Mr. Lawrence appointed him commandant of the newly raised Punjaub Irregular Frontier levies, whose efficiency as a fighting force has been acknowledged by every general officer who has had them under his command in the field.

The year 1855 was signalised by some important events on the north-west frontier, and by two expeditions against the border tribes conducted by Brigadier Chamberlain with conspicuous success. Early in that year Dost Mahomed Khan, Ameer of Afghanistan, despatched his son and heir, Gholam Hyder, to Peshawur, to negotiate a treaty of amity with the British Government. The Sirdar was met by Mr. John Lawrence and Major Herbert Edwardes, Commissioner of the Peshawur district, and the negotiations were successful, Mr. Lawrence agreeing on the part of the British Government to respect the integrity of Afghanistan, though the Ameer was disappointed at not receiving pecuniary aid,* and a restoration of the old Afghan province of Peshawur, for which he had always a hankering. Chamberlain had not long been in command of the Punjaub Irregular force before he put their efficiency to the test.

From the annexation of the Punjaub in 1849 to the close of the year 1855, no fewer than fifteen expeditions were undertaken against the hill tribes, whether independent or owing allegiance to the British Government. The turbulent habits of these lawless clans† have necessitated the maintenance of a

* This demand for pecuniary aid was conceded to the Ameer by the treaty concluded at Peshawur on 4th January, 1857, by Mr. Lawrence and Major Edwardes, the Ameer, on his part, consenting to the admission of officers into Afghanistan to see that the subsidy was disbursed in resisting any further encroachments of Persia in the direction of Herat.

† The independent tribes at this time were twenty-four in number. Adjoining the Huzara district are the Hussunzyes, whose principal seat, the “ Black Mountain,” was

very considerable force on the frontier, which has had its counterbalancing advantages as a school that has turned out some of the best soldiers in the Indian army. In the five frontier districts upwards of 23,000 troops were at this time actually engaged in repressing outrage or insult, of whom 10,800 belonged to the regular force; about 13,000 men being usually massed in the Peshawur district, of whom not more than 2,500 were irregulars. When conciliatory measures failed of success, reprisals were occasionally instituted by the seizure of cattle and

scaled by Colonel Mackeson in 1853. Then come the Judoons of Mahabun, and the Boneyr tribe, and then the Swatees, who at this time held in subjection the Ranceeryes, and the Lower Osmankheyls. The people of the Swat tribe were long opposed to British rule, until, in 1852, their pride was completely humbled by the force under Sir Colin Campbell. The Upper, or Hill, Mohmunds, who inhabit the country between the south-western border of Swat, to a little beyond the Cabul river, muster some 12,000 fighting men, and are subdivided into the Pindee Alee, the Alumsye, and the Michnee Mohmunds. The capital of this triple tribe is Lalpoora, and their chief at this period was Saadut Ali, an inveterate enemy of the English. After the Mohmunds come the Afreedees, the most important tribe on that frontier. The Afreedee hills intervene between the Kohat and Peshawur districts, and present a frontage of eighty miles towards British jurisdiction. Mr. (now Sir Richard) Temple reported of this tribe in 1856, "The Afreedees are entirely independent. Their hills are lofty, steep, and rugged, most arduous for military operations. The villages are strongly posted, and difficult of access. The Afreedees are fierce by nature. They are not destitute of rude virtues, but they are notoriously faithless to public engagements. They are split up into factions. The subdivisions of this tribe are numerous; they can muster 15,000 or 20,000 fighting men. As soldiers, they are among the best on the frontier. They are good shots. Their tactics resemble those of the other tribes. They retreat before the foe as he advances, and press upon him as he retires. From the size of their country, and the strength of their numbers, the Afreedees, if united, might prove formidable opponents, but they rarely or never combine." This powerful tribe was reduced to submission by Sir Charles Napier, in 1850, or rather, after his partially successful expedition, the Afreedees agreed to accept black-mail in lieu of the uncertain returns of their frequent forays. The Sepahs and Beezotees live close to the Kohat Pass, but are powerless though brave. The Orukzyes join the Sepah tract, and number upwards of 20,000 fighting men. "Until 1855 this tribe," says Mr. Temple, "gave no positive trouble," but in that year they threw off all restraint, and necessitated an expedition under Brigadier Chamberlain. After the Orukzyes must be mentioned the Zymookht Afghans and the Toorees, each about 5,000 strong, who were finally tranquillised in 1854. The Wuzerees occupy the rugged hills overhanging the Bunnoo valley, and can muster upwards of 20,000 warriors. Below the Wuzeree limits run the Sheoranee hills, inhabited by men of Pathan lineage, warlike and predatory, who were reduced by Brigadier Hodgson in 1853. South of the Sheoranee hills dwell the comparatively feeble tribe of Oshteranees, brave and pugnacious, but not predatory. We now arrive at the boundary line between the Pathan and Belooch tribes, some of whom dwell on the hills, and others in the plains—the former being addicted to raids, while the latter are disposed to peace. The Kusranees, who fought with Sir Colin Campbell, were subdued by Brigadier Hodgson in 1853. Next to these are the Bozdars, who muster at least 3,000 fighting men, and are the most formidable robbers in this part of the frontier. Then come the Kosahs, with a force of 1,200 warriors, and after them the loyal and well affected Lugharees, followed by the Goorchanees. We now arrive at the territory of the Murree tribe, 3,000 strong, adjoining to whom are the Boogtees, subjects of the Khan of Khelet. Such were the independent tribes. Those within the frontier, and regarded as British subjects are the various tribes inhabiting the Huzara district, the Eusofzyes, Khuleels, and Mohmunds of the plains, occupying the Peshawur district, the Khuttucks, and Bungushes in the Kohat district; the Bunnoochees, Murwutees, Butanees, and others.

the apprehension of any members of the offending tribe who might happen at the time to be in British territory. If they still continued contumacious, the mouths of the passes leading to their country were closed, and access debarred to all markets and salt mines. As a general rule, reprisal and embargo combined, sufficed to bring the offenders to their senses, and security was extorted for their future good behaviour. But if they still refused to come to terms, a military force was sent into the hills to destroy their villages and stores of grain. These operations were oftentimes attended with great difficulty, owing to the configuration of the country, but they seldom failed to produce the desired effect.

The Meeranzys, a Pathan tribe, mustering about 5,000 fighting men, inhabiting the mountainous country between Kohat and Thull, had during the past three years been constantly engaged sacking the villages within our border, burning the grain stored away for the season, and carrying off the inhabitants for ransom. At length Mr. Lawrence resolved to chastise them, and, contrary to the practice which had been in vogue during the time that Sir Colin Campbell had held the command at Peshawur, between the years 1849-53, determined to employ native troops alone, chiefly the Punjaub Irregular force, and nominated Brigadier Chamberlain to conduct the expedition, as he said in orders, on account of his "high qualifications for that important command." Accordingly, on the 4th April, Chamberlain marched towards Meeranzye, with a strong force of 3,500 men, consisting of a Punjaub light field-battery, 3 mountain-train guns, 4th Punjaub Cavalry (Jacob's), a wing of the 66th Goorkhas,* 1st and 3rd Punjaub Infantry, and Scinde Rifles. The Brigadier was accompanied by Major Edwardes, Deputy-Commissioner, and among his officers were those tried frontier soldiers, Major Coke and Lieutenants H. B. Lumsden and Turner. In addition to these troops, Chamberlain left at Kohat a wing of the 2nd Punjaub Infantry, and a company of artillery. On the night of 29th April, 4,000 Orukzyes, Zaimookhts, and Afreedees, from the hills between Kohat and the Khyber, assembled on the heights above the village of Dursumund in Upper Meeranzye, where Brigadier Chamberlain was encamped, and on the following morning, 2,000 of them came down to a lower range above the village, whence they detached half their

* This was the regiment that received the colours and number of the old 66th Bengal Native Infantry, which had been disbanded for disaffection by Sir Charles Napier in 1850, a stretch of authority on his part as Commander-in-Chief, which, with another even more serious encroachment on the privileges of the Governor-General, caused his resignation.

number to attack a picket of cavalry in the plain. Instantly, one troop from Jacob's cavalry, and Major Coke with one company of his 1st Punjaub Infantry, scaled the hill and attacked the other half, which they put to flight after a brief hand-to-hand combat. Chamberlain continued his tour through the valleys of the Meeranzys, and exacted a severe retribution for their long continued acts of depredation on the defenceless British villages across their border. On his return he had the satisfaction of receiving the thanks of the Chief Commissioner, who considered that "the conduct of the expedition had been very satisfactory and honourable to the field-force, and reflected great credit on the Brigadier's good management."

Not many months elapsed before Chamberlain was again in the field, this time against the Afreedees of the Lomana range. On the 1st September, 1855, having formed his force into 3 columns, the Brigadier marched from Peshawur with Green's regiment, 2 guns under Lieutenant Sladen, and 4 guns of the Peshawur mountain train under Captain Brougham. He had sent on ahead Henderson's regiment of Punjaub Infantry, and 3 companies of Green's regiment, which, passing into the first range of hills, traversed the intervening hollow, and crowned the highest hill overlooking Nusseem-Ke-Ghurree, where they awaited the arrival of the 2nd detachment. This column, consisting of 1st Punjaub Infantry (known as Coke's Rifles), with an artillery officer in charge of a supply of gunpowder, left Peshawur about midnight, and, after a march of 15 miles, reached the rendezvous and halted. Chamberlain marched on the track of Henderson's column, which he joined two hours before daylight, and was followed by two of Bruce's guns and a detachment of Jacob's Rifles, under Captain Fraser, which were intended to cover the descent of the main force down the slope of a second range of hills. The Brigadier pushed on with 2 mountain train guns, and part of Green's regiment, leaving 200 men of the same corps, with guns, in the valley below, and, a little before daybreak, commenced the attack on Nusseem-Ke-Ghurree, their chief stronghold, regarded by these hillmen as inaccessible. The enemy, completely surprised, retired from a fort of some strength, on the first discharge of artillery, upon which their village was burnt. Meanwhile, the village of Sanghur-Ghurree, on the crest of the hills on the right, had been destroyed by Major Coke, the enemy here also retiring without waiting for the attack. The mountaineers had prided themselves on the impregnability of their strongholds, but so secret and swift was Chamberlain's march, and admirable his

arrangements, that they had no time for organising resistance. Their strongholds were all burnt or blown up, 400 cattle seized, and the crops around destroyed. By noon Chamberlain was on his return march, his columns, which numbered 1,000 men, having lost only 11 killed and 7 wounded. Meanwhile Kwaja Mahomed, a friendly Khuttuck chief, entered the hills with some 200 men, and destroyed several villages to the right of Major Coke's column.*

Brigadier Chamberlain was in command of the Punjaub Irregular Force, when the startling news reached the country of "the five rivers," of the outbreak at Meerut on the 10th May, 1857, and the seizure of Delhi. Every succeeding mail that was received in that distant dependency of the British Crown brought fresh news of further disasters. One after another the Sepoy regiments throughout Bengal raised the flag of rebellion, until it seemed as though the hour for the termination of our "raj" in India had struck, and that, on the 100th anniversary of the battle of Plassey, the 23rd June, 1857, they would see, as prophesied by the "Moollahs," the last of their white-faced conquerors.

On the 13th May, a council of war was held at the quarters of Major-General Reid, commanding the Peshawur division, at which were present Brigadier Sydney Cotton, commanding the troops at the station, Lieutenant-Colonel Herbert Edwardes, Commissioner, and Lieutenant-Colonel Nicholson, Deputy Commissioner, of the division. The previous night a messenger had been despatched to Kohat with a hasty note from Nicholson to Neville Chamberlain, the brigadier commanding the Punjaub Irregular Force, who had just arrived there from Bunnoo, entreating him to come in, and, by sunrise of the following morning, he was among them. The council of war sat at 11 o'clock, having, half an hour previously, received the cheering message, flashed up by the telegraphic wire, of the successful execution of the master-stroke at Lahore,—the disarming of every Sepoy regiment in the station by H. M.'s 81st Regiment and 12 guns of the Bengal artillery, under Brigadier S. Corbett. Never was a council of war convened at a more momentous crisis. These distinguished soldiers assembled to organise some plan of instant action, not merely for the defence of the Peshawur valley, but to assist in the defence of the Punjaub, and strengthen the hands of Sir John Lawrence in the coming deadly struggle.

Nicholson's proposal for the formation of a movable column

* In 1869 Colonel C. P. Keyes undertook an expedition against this tribe.

to traverse the country, and operate upon any point where danger might present itself, received the approbation of Sir John Lawrence, on whom devolved the almost invidious task of selecting an officer to command the column. The Chief Commissioner referred the choice to the Commander-in-Chief, to whom he submitted three names—Brigadier Sydney Cotton, Colonel J. Nicholson, and Brigadier Neville Chamberlain. General Anson telegraphed back that he appointed the last, subject to the confirmation of Government; and the rank of Brigadier-General was accordingly conferred upon Chamberlain, to insure for him and the column under his command an independence of movement, as exigencies might arise. So our hero, at the age of 37, took the field with the rank of Brigadier-General, leaving those stout paladins of war, Sydney Cotton, Herbert Edwardes, and John Nicholson, to guard the frontier.

General Chamberlain entered Lahore on the morning of the 3rd June, with the movable column, consisting of H.M.'s 52nd Light Infantry, under Colonel Campbell; Major Michael Daves' troop of horse artillery, Captain G. Bouchier's and Major G. Knatchbull's light field batteries; the 35th Native Infantry, under Colonel Younghusband; the 16th Irregular Cavalry; and wings of the 9th and 17th Cavalry. The first step was the dismounting of the 8th Cavalry, which was known to be disaffected, and had previously been disarmed. This was effected in the following manner:—By a slight change in the usual marching order of the column, as it entered Lahore, H.M.'s 52nd were placed in front, it having been previously intimated to the officer commanding, that while the left wing and the rest of the column halted at Anarkullee, the right wing was to march on to Meean-Meer, the encampment, six miles further on, and take up ground at the central picket. The wing arrived in the dim twilight, and drew up alongside the picket, which consisted of two companies of H.M.'s 81st Foot, four guns of the horse artillery and Captain Nicholson's Irregular Cavalry. The 8th was then ordered out. Overawed by the proximity of so large an European force, and with the unsympathising Punjaubees at their side, they sullenly obeyed the order to dismount. General Chamberlain halted with the movable column at Lahore for a week, and during that time took part in a public execution of rebels, who were blown away from guns, which soon became a painfully familiar scene. Two Sepoys of the 35th Native Infantry were charged with using seditious language, and endeavouring to instigate their comrades to open mutiny. They were tried and con-

demned to be blown away from guns. The execution took place on the 9th June, in the presence of the whole column, and, at its close, Brigadier-General Chamberlain addressed the assembled Sepoys in a soldier-like speech, and expressed his intention to "inflict this punishment on all traitors," and to reward three native officers who had borne witness against the culprits. The previous morning the telegraph brought the news of the mutiny of the Sepoys at Jullundhur, and, on the night of the execution, Neville Chamberlain hurried off, and, in two forced marches, brought the column to Umritsur. On the morning of the 10th June he was in possession of the city, and encamped under its walls. But still more active service in the very focus of rebellion, Delhi, was in store for him. Colonel Chester, the Adjutant-General of the army destined for the siege of that city, was killed on 8th June, at the action of Budlee-kee-Serai, fought by Sir Henry Barnard, provisional Commander-in-Chief on the death of General Anson. The choice of a successor lay between Nicholson and Chamberlain, and the latter was selected to fill the arduous and responsible post. Hastening down from Peshawur, Nicholson, who had been summoned to succeed him, took command of the movable column on the 21st June, on which day it had marched into Jullundhur.

Brigadier-General Chamberlain, as Adjutant-General of the army, arrived in the camp before Delhi on the 24th June, bringing with him Lieutenant Alexander Taylor, a most talented officer of engineers. On the 9th July, 1857, not long after his arrival, Chamberlain was entrusted with the command of the troops despatched to drive back the enemy who had sallied out of the walls of Delhi. Early in the morning the rebels, who had been largely reinforced by the mutineers from Bareilly, showed outside the city in great force; our main picket was reinforced, and the troops remained accounted in their tents ready to turn out, while an unceasing cannonade was kept up from the city walls, and from field artillery outside. About ten o'clock the insurgents appeared to be increasing in numbers in the suburbs on the British right, when, suddenly, a body of cavalry emerged from cover on the extreme right and charged into camp. Lieutenant Hills (now Major-General Hills, C.B., V.C.) in command of two guns of Major Tombs's (the late Major-General Sir Harry Tombs, K.C.B., V.C.) troop of horse artillery, immediately, and single-handed, charged the head of the enemy's cavalry, hoping by this act of devotion to give time to his gunners to unlimber

and open on the advancing horse. With his own hand this gallant young officer cut down two troopers, but would have paid for this chivalrous act of bravery with his life had not his commanding officer, Tombs, who, from his tent, saw him on the ground, with one of the enemy's sowars about to kill him, dropped Hill's opponent with his revolver at a long shot of thirty yards. The latter got up and engaged another sowar on foot, who was cut down by Tombs, after Hills had received a severe wound on the head; the former officer thus twice saving his subaltern's life. Both these gallant officers, worthy members of that noble regiment the Bengal Artillery, received the Victoria Cross for their heroism. Meanwhile great confusion had been caused by the inroad of the sowars, who, however, were driven back with severe loss. All this time the cannonade from the city and from the field guns raged fast and furious while a heavy fire of musketry was maintained upon our batteries and pickets. A column was therefore formed to dislodge the rebels, consisting of 700 men from the newly-arrived 8th and 61st Regiments, with eight guns, reinforced *en route*, by two companies of the 60th Rifles, the whole under Brigadier-General Chamberlain. As this column swept up the Subzee Mundee suburb, Major Reid, commanding the Sirmoor battalion, was instructed to move down and co-operate with such infantry as could be spared from the main picket. The insurgents were cleared out of the gardens without difficulty, though the denseness of the vegetation rendered the mere operation of passing through them a work of time. At some of the enclosures, however, a very obstinate resistance was made, and the insurgents were not dislodged without considerable loss. Eventually everything was effected that was desired, success being greatly insured by the admirable and steady practice of Major Scott's battery, under a heavy fire, eleven men being put *hors de combat* out of its small complement. By sunset the engagement was over, and the troops returned to camp, drenched through with rain, which, for several hours, had fallen at intervals with great violence. The British loss was 42 killed and 169 wounded, while the enemy must have suffered greatly. Our men buried or burnt 250 dead Pandies, and large numbers were removed by their comrades into the city, so that it was computed their loss fell little short of 1,000. Hence, perhaps, the quiet of the four succeeding days, the enemy contenting themselves with sustaining the fire from their batteries.*

* An officer of the Guides, describing this sortie and the final repulse of the rebels within their walls, says:—"The attack was a general one on our line of pickets, the

On the morning of the 14th July, the rebels again swarmed out, 9,000 or 10,000 strong, and made an onslaught on the British position. On the preceding day they had fired a salute of 21 guns in honour of the sack of Agra, and for the reverses we had sustained there, and now vowed, it was said, to follow up this advantage by carrying the British batteries. Their attack was made, as usual, on the ridge on our right flank, and for many hours they kept up an incessant fire of artillery and musketry. As the fire from the ridge failed to drive them off, a column moved into the Subzee Mundee about three in the afternoon, and, after a sharp struggle, forced them to withdraw their field artillery, and to retire into the city. Our men pressed them so closely as to suffer from the grape fired from the city walls, and it was found on this, as on subsequent occasions, as noted by Colonel Norman in his official report to Government, that the grape thrown from large guns and howitzers ranged freely up to 1,000 or 1,100 yards, and then inflicted mortal wounds. The column of attack, of which General Chamberlain took the command, consisted of that noble regiment, the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, Major Coke's corps of Punjaub Rifles, 6 horse artillery guns, and some details of the Guide Cavalry and Hodson's Horse. The British loss this day was very heavy, considering the numbers of the besieging

new General Sahib, as they call him, from Bareilly, having sworn to smoke his hookah in Hindoo Rao's house in the evening. The fight was very stubborn for some time, and immense numbers of the enemy were killed. At last, after some few hours of it, the mutineers showed signs of having had enough, and a general advance was ordered on our side; at this time I was on the right, and received an order to accompany some light field guns down towards one of the gates of the city, into which the enemy were flying by thousands. I took two companies of the Guides, and was shortly joined by some more of our side, in all about 300 men. We advanced steadily down a road in front of the guns, and when within about a quarter of a mile of the city walls, the mutineers in crowds crossed the road down which we were advancing; seeing us, they gave us volleys and volleys of musketry, which took fearful effect on us, standing, as we were, exposed in the middle of the road. We replied, however, to their fire with musketry, and our light field guns opened on them with grape-shot, and did good execution; having crossed the road they ran towards the city. We again advanced till within 150 yards of the city walls, and there found the mutineers in thousands rushing through the gate into a place of safety again. Our musketry and guns opened and they replied; three of their guns from the city walls opened upon our small force with grape shot, and with cruel effect. The grape came with a peculiarly nasty whisking sound, in a continued pour through and through us. I can compare it to nothing but a sleet storm, except that the sleet was uncomfortable and unusually large. We stood under this for nearly twenty minutes. How a single man escaped it is a wonder. A great number of our poor fellows were killed and wounded, as also were the artillery men and the poor horses. After the enemy had all got safely into the city we retired, still, however, under the hail of grape. At last we reached a place of safety, and never was I so glad to get my head into a sheltered spot; I never expected to come out of that fire alive. The enemy not appearing inclined to come out again, we returned to our picket about 4 o'clock, having been about seven hours fighting."

army; 208 officers and men were killed and wounded, among the latter being Chamberlain, whose arm was shattered by a bullet—the seventh time in which he has been mentioned in the *Gazette* or despatches, as “wounded in action.” His wounds received in his country’s cause have been so many that it may be said of him as of Coriolanus :—

“The blood he hath lost,
Which I dare vouch is more than he hath
By many an ounce, he dropp’d it for his country.”

The enemy’s dead were lying thick in many places, and their loss was estimated at 1,000. For hours carts were seen carrying the corpses into the city. An old temple, called by the European soldiery the “Sammy House,” some way down the slope of the ridge towards the city, and within 900 yards of the walls, and which had been some time held by the besiegers, was the scene of severe fighting. Occupied by a party of Guide Infantry, it defied all efforts at capture, and next morning 80 dead bodies of mutineers were counted round its walls. The following is an interesting account of the action by the author of *The Punjab and Delhi in 1857* :—“On the morning of the 14th it was clear that the rebels meant to give us a day’s work. Out they streamed from the Lahore gate through the Kissengunge suburb, and advanced upon the Subzee Mundeepicket. This flank, however, had been within the last few days considerably strengthened. A guard of the 75th had taken possession; a strong breastwork had been run up on the crest of the ridge; while a fresh battery had been mounted to command the approach from this point. On came the rebels, as usual, under cover of the gardens and the ruined houses; but our men now had shelter also, and orders had been given that not a man should move from under cover of the breastworks. Here, strengthened by another body of the 75th and some of Coke’s Rifles, they maintained the defensive, and at the same time did considerable execution whenever any Pandies came from under cover and ventured too near. The fighting had gone on for some hours in this manner; the men were beginning to fret at the restraint; they panted for the order to be ‘up and at them,’ when about four o’clock in the afternoon, to their great joy, permission was given to clear the Subzee Mundeepicket. A column was formed, consisting of detachments of H.M.’s 75th, the 1st Europeans, Coke’s Rifles, and 6 guns from Scott’s battery, the whole under Brigadier Chamberlain.



The order once given to advance, first over the breastwork sprang Chamberlain himself, and the day's work began in earnest. At the sight of our advancing column the rebels, as usual, took to their heels; a pursuit ensued down the main street, through the by lanes, over garden walls—wherever a Pandey skulked our fellows followed; and, if a truthful one, the list of casualties sent in to the king that day must have been a more than usually heavy one. A thorough clearance of Subzee Mundeel was made.

“Well had it been had the pursuit ceased here; but as the rebels scampered on in hundreds for the Lahore gate, our men pressed on in full career, until unhappily they were carried away, and never stopped until they came within musketry range of the city walls. Here they began to fall fast, and a retreat was ordered. No sooner did they retire than the rebels poured out again, though prudently keeping within cover of their own guns. At this moment, Hodson, ‘who always turns up in moments of difficulty,’ arrived with some of his Horse; a dashing charge sent the rebels again flying, and our column was drawn off without further loss. Yet dearly did we pay for the over-daring advance; a return of 15 killed and 150 wounded made a sad gap in our little body of effectives. The loss most heavily felt in camp was that of Brigadier Chamberlain himself, who had the bone of his left arm splintered by a grape shot; for, as Adjutant-General of the army, men had already learned to look to him as the life of the force.”

Soon after this affair General Reid—who had succeeded Sir Henry Barnard as Commander-in-Chief, on the death of that officer from cholera on 5th July—was forced, by increasing debility, to resign the command of the besieging force. But for his recent wound, it is more than probable, as is stated in Rotton's *Siege of Delhi*, that Neville Chamberlain, in whom the whole force had entire confidence, would have been selected. As it was, the choice of the General fell upon Brigadier Archdale Wilson, of the artillery, an old and tried soldier, though not the senior officer with the force. The action of the 14th July was the last during the siege in which Brigadier-General Chamberlain took part.* His very severe wound incapacitated

* An officer writes in a letter of the fighting on the 14th July:—“At 8 o'clock, the Pandies came out in great force, and made the same attack as on the 9th, namely, all along our front; until about two o'clock the fight went all along the line, sometimes fiercely, and at other times very slackly; on the left, however, just below Hindoo Rao's, in a little fakir's temple, the firing was tremendous, as the whole day

him from sharing in the heavy fighting that took place almost daily, and this must have been a severe privation to a man of his temperament, and debarred him from taking part in the perils of the assault, in which his friend John Nicholson met his death, and won for himself a niche in that noblest of all temples of fame, the grateful hearts of his fellow-countrymen, as one of those who, having sacrificed his life *pro patria*, will rank beside Nelson and Wolfe and Abercrombie, and that glorious and imperishable roll of heroes who have fallen in the hour of victory. When Nicholson arrived in camp, on the 12th August, with large reinforcements, he found his friend, as he expressed it, "on his back and unable to move;" and, on

the mutineers came up in great force to this place and tried to force it, in order to get at one of our batteries close by; they brought up light field guns, too, which they placed within 150 yards of the temple, and fired round shot and grape into it incessantly. At about 10 o'clock I had to go down with two of our companies and reinforce the temple, there being in it then some of the Goorkhas of the Sirmoor battalion, and some of H.M.'s 61st. Shortly after I reached the place the enemy came up in such force we were completely surrounded, there being infantry on three sides, and cavalry and guns on the fourth. I was unable to send for more men, as not a soul could have gone ten yards from the temple without being killed; so to stay and fight was our only chance. Their cavalry I knew could not do much, and their infantry I did not care for; but their guns advanced to within 100 yards of us, and fairly knocked the temple, outhouses, and the front wall, which had been strengthened with sandbags, about our ears; every ball that struck the walls wounded three or four men, and we were in such a cloud of dust and splinters of stones we could hardly see to fire. Had the enemy had one particle of pluck, and rushed in at us not one of us would have lived to tell the tale; as it was, they came so close that they pelted us with stones. By keeping up a very sharp fire, and owing to the admirable coolness of the men, we at last drove the mutineers back to 200 yards. Till about half-past one o'clock the fighting went on thus. Just then I got a small reinforcement, and, whether it was this, or knowing that we were going to advance at two o'clock, I don't know, but the light guns that had been battering us to pieces quietly retired; and at two o'clock we had a general advance, and drove the enemy like so many sheep into the city. We all got up within 200 yards of the walls, and were much punished by the grape shot again. The consequence was, as we advanced they retired, and though we killed a number of them as they ran, still the loss was almost counterbalanced by ours, which was very great, owing to the heavy showers of grape and canister shot. Our musketry was most ineffectual during the advance. I suppose it was owing to the heavy fire on us during this time. Well, we drove the enemy into the city; then, instead of holding our position for a time, or retiring quietly, owing to some stupid fellow saying the retire had been ordered, and also owing to two of our light field guns galloping off as hard as they could, instead of retiring quietly, all our infantry and cavalry got panic-stricken, and a force of about 400 Europeans and 500 Natives were to be seen in all the delights of a run away. I don't know what possessed the men; but they would hear nothing and mind nothing; the officers did all they could to stop them. 'Too-too, too-too,' went the bugles for the halt, but halt they would not; the consequence was the mutineers again rushed out and peppered us well for about 300 yards. Our guns were stopped, and then the infantry, and at last order was restored to a tolerable extent. The enemy still advanced, and we retired, but in order; when we were about half a mile from the city we made a stand, and as the mutineers came up, our guns opened and we drove them back. This brought us to sunset; and as the city folk appeared to have had enough of it, we came back to our pickets, all of us having had quite enough of it too. The officers of all the regiments out were much punished; the Sirmoor battalion, three wounded, not severely; we had three, including myself, not severely; the Europeans had two or three. Brigadier Chamberlain's arm was badly smashed by a bullet."

the 6th September, when the siege train arrived, Chamberlain only commenced to sit up in his bed. We have some particulars of the state of his health in his wounded condition, in a letter written on the 25th October to Sir Herbert Edwardes, giving particulars of the death of their mutual friend. He says:—"Under these circumstances," speaking of his being confined to his bed, "I was, of course, only able to associate with him when he was off duty, but out of kindness to my condition he never failed to pass a portion of the day with me, and frequently, though I would beg of him to go and take a canter, he would refuse, and lose the evening air. My recovery, after once being able to sit up, was rapid, and by the time our first battery opened, I was able to go in a doolie on to the ridge and watch the practice. He would frequently insist upon escorting me, and no woman could have shown more consideration, finding out good places from which to obtain the best view, and going ahead to see that I did not incur undue risks; for, he used to say, no wounded man had any business to go under fire."

Then he describes the wound and death of the youthful hero. Neville Chamberlain, in turn, now nursed him "like a woman," and when, at the early age of thirty-six, Brigadier-General Nicholson expired, his old Punjaub friend and comrade, "who," in the words of the chaplain, "had soothed the dying moments of the departed hero, and ministered to his wants while living, now that he was dead and concealed from his sight, stood as long as he well could beside the coffin as chief mourner." At such a time one realises the vanity of the bauble called military glory.

"Nothing can we call our own but death,
And the small model of the barren earth
Which serves as paste and cover to our bones."

After the capture of Delhi, Chamberlain, still suffering so much from his wound as to be incapacitated from taking the field with the Delhi force, removed into the city, where he remained some months. For his distinguished services he was nominated a C.B. and aide-de-Camp to the Queen; and if we consider the importance of the services he had rendered to the state, or the number of honourable scars he bore on his body, no officer was more worthy of being an aide-de-camp to her Majesty. As soon as Chamberlain's health permitted, he returned to Lahore and organised a column of Punjaubees, with a view to operate in Rohilcund, and clear Bareilly of Khan Bahadoor's mutinous rabble. This levy was, in the

following March, placed under the command of Colonel Baird Smith, C.B., chief engineer at the siege of Delhi, and did good service in Rohilcund. Not for long was the gallant Chamberlain unemployed at his favourite pastime of fighting, even though it might be only "a little war."

In the latter part of 1859 the Cabul-Khail Wuzerees murdered Captain Meham, when the Punjaub Government determined for this, and previous acts of plundering on our border, to despatch a force into the country. Accordingly Brigadier-General Chamberlain assembled troops from the more distant forts at Abbottabad and Dera Ismail Khan, as well as from the nearer cantonments at Campbellpore, Peshawur, and Murdan, and, on the 15th December, marched for Kohat with a force of 3,916 men of all ranks, exclusive of 1,240 horse, and 1,216 foot levies employed to keep open the communications, hold posts, and furnish escorts. On the 19th he was at Thull,* on the left bank of the Koorum river, and the following morning crossed that stream and encamped near the village of Billund Khail, in the territory of the Ameer of Cabul. The place selected by the enemy to make their stand was a high range of hills called Maidanee, to which they had removed their families, flocks, and herds, and had prepared for its defence by storing grain and raising breastworks.

Maidanee is about eight miles west of Billund Khail, and its general features are described by Chamberlain "as two parallel ranges contiguous to each other, terminating at either end in a gorge, and enclosing a long narrow valley; the inward slopes of both mountains being tolerably easy and covered with grass and bushes, but the outward sides or faces rugged and precipitous. The two gorges, which are the water-channels, are the means of entrance to the valley, the one facing the east being termed Guniob, and the other to the south, Zukha."

From information supplied by Captain Henderson, the Deputy Commissioner (who, with Captain James, the Commissioner, accompanied the force), it appeared certain that the easiest and nearest approach was from the Guniob side, but Chamberlain decided to reconnoitre the Zukha entrance before settling the plan of attack. Accordingly, the force was halted at Billund Khail the next day (the 21st December), and the Brigadier-General, escorted by a strong detachment of cavalry, carried out the reconnaissance. The distance from camp was found to be about 16 miles,

* Thull, which was the base of Sir Neville Chamberlain's operations in his expedition against the Meeranzyes up the Khorum valley in 1855, is 66 miles S.W. of Kohat and 40 N. of Bunnoo.

and the gorge, from as much as could be seen of it without going under fire, was found to be difficult. In returning to camp, Chamberlain also rode some little distance up the Guniob ravine, and was able thereby to verify the advantages derivable from adopting that approach. At 6 o'clock the following morning, a portion of the troops* marched upon Guniob, and after winding through low hills and ravines for about seven miles, came in front of the first position occupied by the Wuzerees. The Guide Infantry, supported by the Peshawur mountain train and the 4th Sikh Infantry, at once ascended the range of hills to the left, whilst the 1st Punjaub infantry, supported by the Huzara mountain train and 3rd Punjaub Infantry, crowned the range to the right. The left column acted under the Brigadier-General's own orders, and the command of the right column devolved upon Major Lambert. The orders for both were to advance along the ridges, and, in doing so, to keep parallel to each other. The 4th Punjaub Infantry acted as reserve, with orders to follow up the bed of the ravine (which ran between and separated the two ranges) so as to close that passage and be ready to afford assistance to either side if required. Major Lambert's column was the first in action owing to its having the easier hill to ascend, and the constant training of the Huzara battery over the mountains of that province rendering it much more efficient than the Peshawur train. From some cause the Wuzerees had neither raised breastworks on this side, nor apparently expected to be assailed from it, so that, being taken by surprise, they offered little or no resistance to the right column. This enabled Major Lambert to outflank from his side, with the mountain guns, the breastworks held on the opposite range, and to this circumstance Brigadier-General Chamberlain attributed the little loss sustained by the left column. On the left, breastworks had been raised at several points, and at first they were bravely defended. Chamberlain says: "The charge by a small body of Wuzerees upon the Guide Infantry whilst ascending to the attack of the first breastworks, was as gallant a charge as I have ever seen, and elicited the admiration of all who witnessed it. It soon, however, became apparent that they were deficient in firearms; and opposed to our arms and discipline, sword and shield and pistol had no chance. Threatened in flank, and pressed in front, they were driven from ridge to

* Detachment Guide Infantry, under Lieutenant Kennedy; 4th Regiment Sikh Infantry, under Major Rothney; 1st Regiment Punjaub Infantry, under Major Lambert; 3rd Regiment Punjaub Infantry, under Lieutenant Ruxton; 4th Regiment Punjaub Infantry, under Lieutenant Jenkins; 4 pieces of the Peshawur mountain-train, under Captain de Bude; 3 pieces Huzara mountain train under Captain Butt.

ridge at trifling loss to ourselves, and after two hours' tough climbing, we were in possession of the heights above their tents and property, and such of their cattle and flocks as they had not had time to get off remaining below in the valley at our mercy."

The Brigadier-General now sounded the halt, as it was past noon, and, in the absence of knowledge of the hills in advance, or the enemy's line of retreat, and the troops having then been six hours on foot and having still to return some miles to camp, a further advance was deemed unadvisable. The reserve were now employed setting fire to the encampments and property, in which they were zealously assisted by bodies of the foot levies who had followed in rear, and, in the course of two hours, everything was either destroyed or carried away. On this point Chamberlain says:—"To have thus to carry destruction, if not destitution, into the homes of some hundreds of families, is the great drawback to border warfare; but with savage tribes to whom there is no right but might, and no law to govern them in their intercourse with the rest of mankind save that which appeals to their own interests, the only course as regards humanity as well as policy is to make all suffer, and thereby for their own interests enlist the great majority on the side of peace and safety." The work of destruction completed, the Brigadier-General commenced to retrace his steps towards camp, which during the day had been moved to a small open space on the Guniob ravine, about five miles in advance of its former position near Billund Khail. No attempt was made at molestation during his retirement, and the force reached their tents at dark, wet through, rain having fallen during the latter part of the day.

The rain having cleared during the night, it was determined to follow up the advantage of the previous day. After the soldiers had cooked an early meal, and the tents had dried sufficiently, all the infantry (except the Guides) and the two mountain trains returned to Maidanee; whilst the camp, escorted by the Guide Infantry, field-guns, and cavalry, changed ground to Shewa on the Koorum, ten miles below Billund Khail. After passing the mouldering remains of the enemy's encampments, and on nearing the Zukha exit from the valley, Captain Henderson obtained information which made it probable that by crossing over the range to their right, and descending into a small valley named Durnami, (occupied by the Hassan-Khail Wuzerees, who had declined to assist the Cabul-Khail) they might be able to come up with some of the flocks and herds belonging to the latter tribe, as they had fled by that route. Captain Henderson,

therefore, pushed on with some of the levies, whilst Chamberlain followed in support with a proportion of the infantry and Huzara mountain train, the remainder of the infantry and mountain guns moving straight to camp through the Zukha gorge, taking *en route* one of the Cabul-Khail encampments which had escaped destruction the previous day. Captain Henderson's foray proved most successful, and, but for night coming on, many more flocks and herds would have fallen into his hands. That night the column bivouacked in the vale of Durnami, and on the following morning commenced their return towards camp, more flocks and herds falling into their hands. Some high ranges, which intervene between Durnami and Shewa, rendered it necessary to make a long *détour* viâ the Rittoo river, and it was three in the afternoon before they reached the tents. Overtures having been received from the Cabul-Khail for permission to come in to make terms, the force halted four days at Shewa, to enable their chiefs to attend. Advantage was taken of this period to place strong escorts at the disposal of Captains Johnstone and Pollard to enable them to map the country in the neighbourhood of camp.

Terms having been arranged with the Cabul-Khail, the next tribe that had to be settled with was the Toree Khail Wuzeerees, who border upon the Bunnoo district, as they also had harboured robbers who harried the adjacent border. Their lands lay to the south of the Rittoo river, and, therefore, a place on that stream called Speem Wahm, distant about ten miles from Shewa, was the most convenient site for the camp while the column was engaged coercing them. Before making this move, on the morning of the 28th, a detachment moved out, under command of Major Rothney, to surprise a small section of the Cabul-Khail, who had separated themselves from the rest of their tribe, and were secreted in some very steep hills a few miles to the south-west of the camp. The difficulty of the route caused more delay than was anticipated, and the Wuzeerees becoming aware of the movement had time to get off with most of their cattle. Early the next morning the main portion of the column* marched under General Chamberlain's orders to Speem Wahm, the remainder of the force, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel H. Lumsden, moving up the river towards Billund Khail, for the purpose of securing the communication with the rear for supplies and fodder. The Toree Khail having agreed to the terms required of them, coercion was not needed, but

* Four pieces Peshawur mountain train; 50 sabres 2nd Punjaub Cavalry; 1st, 3rd, 4th and 6th Punjaub Infantry.

the force halted three days at Speem Wahm to enable the tribes to bring in their hostages. The delay was turned to account by the surveyors in mapping the country.

On the 2nd January 1860, the camp moved back to the Koorum river to a spot called Kureera, a little below Shewa, where they were joined by Major Reynell Taylor, the Commissioner, from Bunnoo. "We had now settled," says the Brigadier-General, "with the Wuzeerees located on the right bank of the Koorum, but there remained the Gungee-Khail and Omerzai, and Etee, or Huttee, Khail branches, inhabiting the rugged spurs of the Wullai and Kaffir Kote ranges, on the left bank of the Koorum." During the 3rd instant, a halt was made to enable the engineers to blast a passage through a defile, so as to admit of laden camels passing, and, early on the 4th, Chamberlain marched with a detachment for Chuppuree, leaving the Peshawur mountain train, and 1st and 4th Punjaub Infantry encamped at Kureera, so as to keep the defile in the rear open. After a march of full 20 miles through defiles, and up the bed of a large ravine called Zungurrah, they reached the high valley of Chuppuree and pitched their tents near the only spring of water. Major Taylor had informed the tribes of the intended visit, and called upon the chiefs to meet him there, but promised that life and property should be respected if no opposition was made. With the example of the Cabul-Khail before them, resistance was considered inadvisable. During the 5th and 6th the force remained halted to enable the civil officers to settle with the tribes, and arrangements having been made for the capture and surrender of the actual murderers of Captain Meham, the object for which the expedition had been undertaken was accomplished. As the 3rd Punjaub Infantry had previously been under orders to relieve the 2nd Belooch regiment at Dera Ghazee Khan, and the 6th Punjaub Infantry had marched from Dera Ismail Khan to join the force, these two corps were directed to proceed to their destinations direct through the hills, viâ Bunnoo, which would have the further advantage of exhibiting to the border tribes generally the complete success of the expedition, and the ability of the Government to exact reparation. Accordingly, on the 7th January, the 3rd and 6th Punjaub Infantry, accompanied by Major Taylor, marched by the Burghoo Muttoo ravine towards Bunnoo, while the remainder of the detachment, under Chamberlain, retraced its steps by the route by which they had advanced. Owing to the lateness of the hour, and the march being long and tedious, over stones and boulders, the column had to pass the night in

the Koranga ravine, a few miles short of the Koorum. Next morning the General moved to Thull, and Colonel Lumsden and Major Lambert's detachments, which had been halted respectively near Billund Khail and Kureera, having been directed to move, the force again became reunited on the confines of the Kohat district. On their return towards Kohat the column halted one day at Gundiawar, in Upper Meeranzye, to enable the Deputy Commissioner to settle some outstanding cases with the Zymookht Afghans, an independent tribe. Three more marches brought the force into Kohat on the 14th January, when it was broken up, just a month from the date of its starting.

The expedition was a conspicuous success, and the Brigadier-General, while reporting "that the spirit and conduct of the troops was most excellent," adds, "the map made by Captains Johnstone and Pollard will be sent direct by those officers when completed. To have added thus much to our knowledge of this portion of the border, is of itself worth the outlay involved by the expedition."

But no long time elapsed before Brigadier-General Chamberlain was again called into the field to read a lesson to another and far more powerful Pathan tribe, the Mahsood Wuzeerees,* whose hills are conterminous with the border of the Dera Ismail Khan district. It had become the custom of these freebooters to harass our villages, and carry off some 1,000 head of cattle annually. No "Illyrian or dark Suliote" is more ready to carry fire and sword into the neighbouring plains than these robbers, to whom the worst type of the Highland cateran—in the bad old days of the ascendancy of that cattle-lifter and highway robber—was mild in comparison. Twice in 1855, and again in 1857, the Indian Government had meditated vengeance, but circumstances did not admit of it until now when the hands of Government were free to pay off old scores and settle accounts with them once for all. In March 1860, within three months of Chamberlain's return from coercing the Cabul-Khail Wuzeerees, their cousins, the Mahsoods, committed an act of aggression which drew down upon them condign punishment. On the departure of the Newaub of Tonk from his petty principality, to present himself at Lahore, Brigadier-General Chamberlain sent a small force of the 5th Punjaub Cavalry, under command of a native officer, to guard his territories. Suddenly a body of

* The Wuzeerees are one of the most powerful of the Pathan, or Afghan, tribes on our north-west-frontier, and, including their numerous Khails, (clans) number not less than 30,000 warriors.

3,000 Mahsoods swooped down from the hills upon the lands of the Newaub, who was particularly obnoxious to them as the Lord Marcher of those border lands, and began to plunder and harry the land, according to their custom. The native officer acted with great gallantry and attacked the marauders, cutting up some 300 of them.

On hearing of the outrage, Brigadier-General Chamberlain at once assembled a force at Dera Ismail Khan, and took the field with 5,000 soldiers and native levies, (no Europeans being employed in either this or the previous campaign), Lieutenant-Colonel Lumsden being his second in command, and Major Reynell Taylor the political officer. The hills were entered on the 17th April, the force carrying 16 days' provisions, conveyed on the backs of camels, and forming an enormous convoy, and after some heavy marching over difficult country never before traversed by a hostile army, General Chamberlain encamped at Palooseen, when the Mahsoods made a determined and well-conceived attempt to surprise his camp. Hearing that the enemy had been seen in some neighbouring villages, the General had marched with the greater part of his little army, leaving Colonel Lumsden, with about 1,300 men, to protect the camp and baggage. It was almost impossible to procure any information, and such as was gained by the political officers with the force was unreliable, for the Mahsoods had no traitors among them, and were filled with the assurance that they should be able to repel the invader. Hence Colonel Lumsden was compelled to exercise extra caution, and fortunate it was that so experienced an officer had been placed in command of the camp, or a disaster would have ensued. He contracted his camp, placed outlying and inlying pickets, and made preparations either for a surprise or a hasty march.

The leading spirit of the Mahsoods was one Runjode Singh, formerly a jemadar in the police battalion at Dera Ismail Khan, who, during the events of 1858, had, after an unsuccessful attempt at mutiny, fled into the Mahsood Wuzereeh hills. Acquainted with all our ways, this traitor endeavoured to persuade them that if they would only attack our camp when the reveille sounded, and the men were engaged in unpitching and packing tents and camp equipage, their victory was certain. To those who hesitated, he pointed out that the main body of the British force had gone to distant villages, leaving a small party only to guard the supplies. He appealed to the bigotry of some, the avarice of others, the patriotism of all, and finally, he persuaded 3,000 men to follow him on an enterprise which, he

felt, must succeed against any ordinary enemy. These 3,000 followers, fully armed and equipped, silently crawled to their place of rendezvous, just below a ridge in the rear of the British camp, but Lumsden's men were on their guard. During the night of the 22nd April the pickets, on the sound, or fancied sound, of an approaching enemy, occasionally fired a few shots. The first of these awoke Lumsden, who dressed and went outside his tent; nothing, however, was visible, and all seemed calm and peaceful. He accordingly retired, but lay ready for action in his clothes. No sooner had the bugles sounded on the morning of the 23rd, than a volley was heard from his pickets, followed by a rush of some 500 men, who overpowered the first obstacles. Instantly Lumsden was out of his tent, when his glance fell first upon two chieftains standing on the top of the ridge close to him; and almost in less time than it takes to record the fact, they had both fallen to the deadly aim of his rifle. The men animated by their leader's voice, had begun to fall in in small knots, and the advancing enemy was first checked, and in less than ten minutes driven out with the loss, in killed alone, of 132 men, amongst whom Runjode Singh was conspicuous.

"The presence of mind," says a writer in the *Calcutta Englishman*, "and ready tact which Colonel Lumsden showed in the emergency, have given birth to an enthusiasm amongst those under his orders which will not soon die away. For ourselves, we are content to allow the action to speak for itself, merely expressing our opinion that it was a deed in every respect worthy of one who was described by Lord Dalhousie to be 'as fine a soldier as ever drew a sword.'" In this affair the British loss was 37 killed and wounded.

Chamberlain returned to the camp at Palooseen, and a few days later the column marched to force the Burara Pass. Here there was some severe fighting, the Mahsoods showing much determination; but the pass was forced with a loss to the British troops of 29 killed and 92 wounded. The next exploit was the storming of the Mahsood town of Kaneegoum, which stands 7,000 feet above the level of the sea; this was accomplished with trifling loss, the enemy suffering severely. On the 8th May, General Chamberlain continued his march and reached Dootunea, his rear-guard being engaged with the enemy. The column remained unmolested during their brief halt here, and, on the 10th, marched to Mukeem. The Wuzeerees made a fierce attack on the baggage and rear-guard when threading the Pass of Dootunea, but were beaten off with loss. Mukeem was

their largest town, and, as they made no overtures of submission, on the 11th May the place was carried after a feeble resistance, the Mahsoods again suffering heavily. The houses were burnt and the towers blown up, and General Chamberlain marched on the 12th to Kuzmak, where he halted for a day, and thence descended the Kuzmak Pass, down which a practicable road for guns and camels had been made by the enemy. The Mahsoods closely followed the rear-guard, and encounters were frequent. The column now marched on its return to Bunnoo, on the road receiving supplies from the Toree-Khail.

The expedition thus brought to a completion was not less successful and well conducted than that of January. British troops penetrated into an unknown territory further than they had ever done before, defeated and humbled a great tribe which had never been chastised, and added to our prestige in the eyes of other clans which had long witnessed the successful defiance by their neighbours of our power. The damage inflicted in this expedition on the Mahsoods is estimated at 140,000 rupees, a loss which it would take a savage tribe years to recover; the veil was completely lifted from the country, which Major Walker succeeded in mapping most accurately and fully. For their distinguished bravery, six native soldiers were decorated with the Order of Merit, and the following act of gallantry by Captain (now General) Keyes, a noted frontier officer, deserves special notice. When in command of the infantry reserves in the action at Barura, he met a body of Mahsoods, who, flushed with a slight success, were rapidly descending a hill towards our position. Advancing several paces in front of his men he met them alone, and cut down their leader with his own hand. The rest turned and fled, and the reserves, pursuing them over the crest of the hill, the key of the enemy's position was gained.

The Mahsoods made overtures to Dost Mahomed for protection, but with no result. For some time they were placed under strict blockade, and ultimately, disappointed of aid from Cabul, with their strongholds and crops destroyed, and their flocks driven away, they were compelled to acknowledge their defeat. In a military point of view the campaign was a brilliant success. General Chamberlain had penetrated into an unknown territory farther than had ever been done before, terrified into submission a powerful tribe which had never before bowed to the European conqueror, and added to our prestige in the eyes of other clans.

Once more we find Brigadier-General Chamberlain taking the field, when the rest of India was enjoying the blessings of peace.

This, known as the Umbeyla campaign, was also called "a little war," and yet 36 British officers, and nearly 1,000 men, were killed or wounded during its continuance, while before its conclusion no less than 25,000 men were in motion west of the river Jhelum. The scene was the Mahabun, to which the late General Sir A. Wilde successfully conducted an expedition in 1868, supposed by some Indian antiquarians,—General James Abbott amongst the number—to be the hill Aornos, which cost Alexander more than two years of fighting, and a large proportion of his army, though learned men differ on this point. The Mahabun is situated in a bend of the Indus, isolated from the remainder of the chain of hills, on one side by the Chumla valley, and on the other by the plains of Eusofzye, the proposed base of operations. The ostensible cause of the war was the insolent conduct of a body of Hindoostanee Wahabee fanatics, who had taken up their residence at the town of Mulkah, on one of the lower spurs of the Mahabun. This colony* had, before 1858, resided at Sitana, within sight of our frontier, from which they were expelled in that year, in consequence of their depredations on our villages, by a force under Sir Sidney Cotton, but the punishment had not created a sufficient impression; and as they resumed their practices from Mulkah, a force consisting of 5,600 men of all arms was assembled on 12th October, 1863, at Nowakilla, in Eusofzye, under General Chamberlain's command. On the 19th October the General broke up his camp, and, having misled the enemy into the belief that he intended to enter the Chumla valley, by the Darun defile, marched for the Umbeyla Pass, which was some 9 miles in length, and both intricate and difficult. The enemy fortunately had failed to occupy any of the formidable defensive positions with which the pass abounded, and the only fighting that took place was borne by the advanced column, which crowned the heights

* This colony was the most fanatical and hostile to the British power on the border. Writing in 1856 Mr. (now Sir Richard) Temple says:—"The Syuds of this place are the remnants of the followers of that extraordinary adventurer, Syud Ahmed, who, gathering the handful of Ghazees (warlike devotees) from various parts of India, raised a formidable rebellion in Peshawur. After winning and losing Peshawur and Eusofzye, the Syud was eventually slain at the mouth of the Kaghan glen by Sheer Sing, the son of Maharajah Runjeet Sing. Most of his adherents, chiefly foreigners to the Punjab, dispersed, and the remainder settled at Sitana. These Sitana people are evil-intentioned and ill-conditioned; but their power of mischief has as yet proved insignificant. They endeavour to rouse the bigotry of the surrounding Mohammedan tribes, and especially of the Swatees. The king of Swat, indeed, was elected to his present position from among these very people. They endeavour to intrigue with Wahabees and such like fanatical religionists among the Mohammedan population in various parts of India. More than once correspondence relating to them has been intercepted, but nothing tangible has been elicited."

on both sides of the gorge according to the approved method of mountain warfare.

The army * had now reached and occupied the most formidable gorge of the pass, at that point which forms a watershed, whence one stream flows to the rear to join the Cabul river, and another to the front to traverse the Chumla valley and fall into the Indus under the Black Mountain. But neither guns, commissariat, nor baggage had arrived, nor were they fully up until four days afterwards. Those four days were sufficient to complete the combinations and assemble the forces of the tribes on the selected route, and the two miles of that march, unfinished on the 21st October, remained so until the 16th December, two months later.† Pending the arrival of the baggage, on the 22nd October, General Chamberlain sent out a party of cavalry, under Colonel Probyn, to reconnoitre in the plains beyond, sappers to improve the road by which the force was to reach them, and the 20th Regiment Punjaub Infantry, under Colonel Brownlow, to occupy the pass in front during both operations. The cavalry, avoiding the village of Umbeyla, which practically, though not geographically, belonged to Bonair, took the southern side of the plain, and proceeded as far as Kagah without resistance, finding the road practicable for troops of all arms. On their way they perceived large bodies of the tribes assembled at the Bonair Pass, who, however, professed peaceable intentions unless an attempt should be made to enter their pass or country. The time occupied in the reconnaissance, however, was sufficient to change their resolution, and, on the return of the cavalry, Colonel Probyn found himself opposed by a considerable body of the enemy, posted on strong ground. On their commencing to fire he charged them vigorously, and, cutting his way through their ranks, made his way to camp. The sappers and the 20th Native Infantry then became engaged, and Colonel Brownlow was followed in the dark and difficult ravine by a large body of the enemy, who not only fired continually, but constantly closed with the rear guard, sword in hand. Two miles of this work brought him to the pickets of the camp, which, in their turn, becoming engaged, a heavy night attack

* The troops consisted of the 71st Highlanders, 101st Bengal Fusiliers, half-battery of Royal Artillery, under Captain Griffin; the Huzara and Peshawur mountain train guns, 100 sabres of Colonel Probyn's famous regiment of Horse, 100 of the Guide Cavalry, four regiments of Punjaub Infantry, one of Goorkhas, and the 32nd Bengal Native Infantry.

† See *The Umbeyla Campaign*, by Major Fosbery (vol. xi. Journal of R. U. S. Institution) to which, and to General Sir John Adye's work *Sitana*, we are indebted for our account.

followed. "To have advanced now," says Fosbery, "would have necessitated an abandonment of the line of communication by the Umbeyla Pass to the mercy of the Bonair tribe; while, to take the line of the Chumla valley, after abandoning it, would have been to place the force between the Bonair tribe and their allies on the one hand, and the tribes of the Mahabun on the other, with an unknown country whose physical difficulties would be greatly increased by the hostility of these tribes in rear." Under these circumstances Chamberlain decided to maintain his communications with his base, and suffer himself to be attacked.

The General, accordingly, took up a position on the crest of the pass, and pushed up outposts on his flanks on either side, giving orders that these posts should be strengthened by stockades or breastworks as far as possible. He also ordered up the troops necessary for keeping open his communications, and, placing his guns in position, remained for a time on the defensive. The following is a description of the position he had taken up. The small portion of the pass occupied by the force (about 200 yards in width at that point), and filled with huge rocks in every direction, was dominated on both sides by almost precipitous hills, the distance between which, 1,500 feet up their sides, was only 800 yards. From below, the ridges immediately commanding the camp were plainly visible, and on these it was proposed at first to establish outposts, but on reaching these points, it was discovered that they, in their turn, were dominated by strong positions further up in the hills, and it thus became necessary to push post after post into the mountains on either hand, until the process was only stopped at the "Eagle's Nest," on the left flank, and the "Crag Picket" on the right, by the impossibility of adequately relieving or supporting the troops at greater distances. As it was, no relief from below could reach the Crag Picket in less than forty-five minutes, nor the Eagle's Nest in less than one hour from the time of leaving the camp below, and as these posts were invisible from thence, assistance when required had to be sent for, which practically doubled the distance. Roads too had to be made to connect these posts and breastworks for their defence, and the work entailed great fatigue on a large proportion of the force. But whilst the inefficiency of his carriage, together with the unforeseen difficulties of the pass, had so far thrown out the General's calculations, as to place him in an almost purely defensive position, the dangers of the position were augmented by the nature of the defences constructed. The slight stone walls barely covered their defenders from the enemy's fire, and

flank defence was almost entirely neglected. "These little posts," says Major Fosbery, "were often constructed rather with regard to the immediate presence of materials and natural form of the ground, than to its defence; and the garrisons who occupied them suffered accordingly." The Eagle's Nest picket lost half its garrison from the enemy's fire during four hours from these causes alone, and the Crag Picket, though strongly garrisoned, was twice taken by the enemy, simply because no flanking fire on any one of its faces was provided for. The moment such fire was obtained by a trifling outwork, the hillmen ceased to attempt its capture. The Pathans were no ordinary enemy, and to contempt of death, characteristic of most hill tribes, added the fanaticism which makes these clans so dreaded. In some instances they actually clutched the muzzles of the guns, cutting desperately at the gunners; on other occasions they have been known to leap fearlessly over the breastworks, sword in hand, and sell their lives dearly among the British bayonets.

On the 25th October, the enemy attempted the extreme right of the camp, but were discovered by that keen-eyed and experienced frontier officer, Colonel Keyes, who, soon after daylight, took the initiative with the 1st Punjaub Regiment, and drove them along the crest of the ridge from one position to another, until they finally took post at a place known afterwards as the Conical Hill. As they were in great force, and he had but 200 men, Colonel Keyes halted on the ridge opposite, at a distance of about 650 yards, and sent to camp for reinforcements. These, consisting of mountain train guns, European marksmen, and a Goorkha regiment, did not arrive, owing to the distance, until nearly two o'clock. The range of the enemy's position having been then ascertained by means of rifle shell, and fuzes cut and adjusted accordingly, marksmen were placed in position, and given their distance; the guns, masked by sections moving in front of them, were dragged by hand into position, when, the sections suddenly wheeling back, the guns and marksmen opened at once on the enemy on the top of the hill. The effect was almost instantaneous. The hillmen, completely taken by surprise, began to waver, when Colonel Keyes, at the head of his regiment, dashed across the plain, stormed the position, and drove the enemy pell-mell in the direction of Laloo, capturing a standard. The men of Colonel Keyes' regiment—the old Coke's Rifles, so distinguished at Delhi—performed a sort of war dance round the captured standard, to the music of the "sirinai," an instrument

resembling the bagpipe, and their European comrades loudly cheered them as they marched into camp.

Though beaten, however, the enemy were not discouraged and, on the following day, the Bonair people threatened the Eagle's Nest and pickets on the Goroo mountain in great force; the General, therefore, reinforced these posts, placing the left defences under Colonel Vaughan. High above the Eagle's Nest picket, placed on the extreme right of the line of defence, stood a large "sunga," or stone breastwork, which commanded that work, whilst its entire face was subject to enfilade. To its left and at a lower level, was a line of troops, posted amongst broken ground, whose left flank rested on a knoll, on which were placed the mountain train guns. Major Fosbery described the fighting that ensued:—"The enemy gave a great shout, and, waving their swords and standards, rushed down to the attacks, their marksmen dropping into every place of shelter, and firing rapidly to cover the advance of the sword and spear men, who came up to the attack with great boldness; but between the base of the slope and the rocks on which the picket was placed, was a little plain, some 80 yards in width, and here they became fully exposed to the fire from the work, which was so close, accurate, and deadly, that four hours' fighting left them foiled, with a loss of some 300 killed or wounded. The European marksmen alone are said to have put *hors de combat* 180 men, losing 7 of their own number, whilst an English officer and 40 other men lay killed or wounded inside the post—being nearly half the number originally employed for its defence. This action necessitated a far stronger occupation of the slopes of the Goroo mountain, and still further weakened the force in the valley below. Breastworks were now built across the ravine at the two extremities of the camp, batteries constructed, and guns placed in position for their defence, and stone walls run up for a considerable distance into the hills on either flank, to cover the troops employed." *

The enemy now established a series of small posts on inaccessible points of the hill outside the defences, and, by their accurate and constant fire, caused several casualties. On the 30th, a large accession of force was received by the enemy, including the Akhoond of Swat,† a spiritual leader, whose

* The British loss was 130 killed and wounded, including Lieutenants Richmond, 20th Regiment, and Clifford, 3rd Punjaub Infantry, killed, and Lieutenants Drake and Barron, wounded.

† The Akhoond of Swat, always an implacable enemy of the British Government, died about two years ago, at a great age; and no one has yet arisen to take his place among these border tribes.

position as regards these tribes is compared, by Sir Neville Chamberlain, to that of the Pope of Rome towards Catholic countries. They now planned a simultaneous attack on the right, left, and centre of the position; but that on the left, or Eagle's Nest, was abandoned on the failure of the other two, which were, however, planned with judgment, and delivered with great energy. The Crag Picket had hitherto been only occupied by Colonel Keyes as a post of observation, and, on the night of the 29th, had only 12 men in it. The enemy, seeing its importance, and the command which its possession would give them, approached it towards morning, overpowered and drove out the feeble garrison, and occupied the summit of the rocks with some 250 men, the remainder waiting on the ridges in the neighbourhood to take advantage of the confusion which their fire must produce at daylight in the posts below. The nine survivors of the picket, however, retreated only as far as the rocks at the base of the crag itself, and, opening fire on the enemy above, who were busy strengthening their position, called loudly for support. Colonel Keyes, taking with him Major (then Lieutenant) Fosbery, and ten of his own men, proceeded to join them, directing his Adjutant, Lieutenant Pitcher, to bring up more men as fast as they could be got together. By dawn he had with him some 75 men at the foot of the rocks, on whom the enemy poured a continuous and heavy fire, hurling down at the same time huge stones, which caused several severe hurts. As soon as it was daylight, and his left flank was covered by Colonel Brownlow's corps, who moved out into the ravine below, Colonel Keyes divided his force into two parties, gave the order to fix swords, and sounded the charge. Then every breast was filled with

"The stern joy which warriors feel
In foemen worthy of their steel;"

and the Pathan levies, with a wild shout of "Allah! Allah!" (in the name of God) rushed at the crag, scrambling like cats from rock to rock, by ways through which but one man could pass at a time, in the face of a hot fire and heavy shower of rocks and stones. This daunted some of the men, and Lieutenant Pitcher, who was leading at the time, being stunned by a heavy stone, Colonel Keyes and Lieutenant Fosbery, with only about 25 men, arrived at the summit where they became engaged in an exciting hand-to-hand conflict. Colonel Keyes was severely wounded, but the place was won, and Lieutenant Fosbery, for his great gallantry, received the V.C. The

struggle was severe, the enemy losing 60 killed and wounded, besides three standards, and the rest of their force were so much discouraged by the action as to retire from that flank altogether.

Meantime an attack had been made on the front of the camp, which was repulsed by the 71st and 101st Regiments, aided by the fire of the guns in position, and a dashing charge made by the 5th Goorkhas, who suffered severely. Their dead, when brought in, were found to have been shockingly mutilated by the enemy, "and from this time," says Fosbery, "it came to be an understood thing, that in this war, quarter would neither be asked nor granted on either side. A story is told of an officer who, seeing a stir upon the hill-side amongst the European troops sent out to the scene of an action fought two days before, and a large group assembled about some object on the ground, ascended a rock above them to learn the cause. A curious sight presented itself. In the centre lay the mutilated body of a slain comrade, and at its head stood a non-commissioned officer with a Testament in his hand. Man after man came up, and to each was administered a solemn oath that from that day out they would neither save nor spare, but pay that debt to the uttermost. That oath was afterwards well kept, and many a tall Pathan, recreant Sepoy, and fanatic Moslem read his fate in the stern eyes and pale compressed lips of those who had sworn to give no mercy." From this time the enemy made their more important attacks on a Friday,* an arrangement which proved welcome to the force.

Sir Neville Chamberlain now changed his base of operations from Roostum Bazaar to Pemouli, and the Pass of Kanpore was made practicable for the communication to replace that of Umbeyla, which it was proposed to abandon. Preparations also were made for transferring the whole force from the ravine itself and the heights of the Goroo mountain to a position on the south side of the pass at the head of this road. Strong covering parties were sent out to cover the working parties and sappers employed, but a Friday (November 6) intervening during

* The following is the reason given by Major Fosbery for this arrangement:—"Before dying, it behoves every good Mussulman to repeat a short prayer, failing which his soul is exposed to vexatious delays and inconveniences on its road to paradise. An exemption to this rule is, however, permitted should his death take place on his Sabbath, our Friday. In their wars with one another, the sword or small matchlock ball was seldom so instantly fatal as to preclude the performance of this rite. Our bullets, shrapnel, shot, and shell were, however, on trial, found to be less considerate, and many a pious Mussulman pined in the cold, outside that heaven he had died to win. There was but one remedy, and in future they fought their more considerable actions on their Sabbath only."

the continuance of these operations, the detachments, who were engaged at a considerable distance from camp, from which also they were separated by deep and all but impassable ravines, were surrounded by the enemy, and retreated with the loss of their leader, Major Harding, who, refusing to leave his wounded at the mercy of the enemy, paid for his chivalry with his life. Such noble conduct illumines the page devoted to deeds of slaughter, and shows how war brings out the best as well as the worst instincts of our nation.*

Ensign Murray, of the 71st, and Lieutenant Dougal, of the 79th, and 35 men were killed, and 37 wounded. Amongst the latter were Oliphant, of the 5th Goorkhas, and W. Battye, of the Guides, brother of that Quentin Battye who died at Delhi, and of the noble soldier who fell gloriously at Futtehabad, during the first campaign of the present Afghan War. The conduct of these and other officers on the summit of the hill, alone saved the covering parties from a more serious disaster; and it was not until late at night that all returned to camp. Thence could be seen bodies of the enemy, with torches, following on the line of the retreat, slaying the wounded, and plundering the dead. "This was the first success" says Fosbery, "which the enemy were able to obtain, and it encouraged them proportionably."

After this, however, there was again a pause, during which the hillmen received reinforcements from Bajour and the more distant tribes, and their parades on the level ground near Umbeyla became imposing by their strength, and picturesque from the numbers of gaily-coloured silk standards which they carried, and the costumes of the different mountain men. On the night of the 12th November they attacked the Crag Picket, which had been greatly enlarged, and now contained 160 men, under the command of Colonel Brownlow, who had before so successfully defended the Eagle's Nest. Judging by the attitude of the enemy that an attack was imminent, that officer had strengthened the position during the last few hours of daylight, by throwing up traverses to intercept the heavy enfilade fire from the opposite ridge, 400 yards distant, and, by dusk, had every man in his place, and was prepared for the coming attack. Presently Captain Hughes' guns from the position in rear, threw a couple of shell into the enemy's watch fires, which they at once quitted, and descended into the ravine below. Here they

* Not less noble was the conduct of the native officers, such as Subahdar-Major Meer Ali, and others. In the fighting, on the 26th October, nine native officers were wounded, and one remained by the side of his wounded commanding officer and saved his life.

were sheltered from the fire of the work, and nothing but a dull murmur told the defenders that a numerous enemy lay within 80 yards of their slight defences. Suddenly was heard the war-cry "Allah! Allah!" from 3,000 throats, and they rushed from their shelter and charged the breastwork. But they were received with equal spirit and greater discipline. Colonel Brownlow waited their approach, and then suddenly poured into the mass a fire so close and deadly, that nothing living could face it, and perforce they retired. In half an hour they renewed the attack, and were repulsed as before; again and again they attempted to storm the works, the fire from which mowed them down as they came to close quarters. At last, making a most determined simultaneous attack on both sides of the weakest angle of the post, and hurling large stones on its defenders, whom they confused and overwhelmed by the suddenness and vigour of this new mode of attack, they got at the wall itself, pulled it down, threw the stones on the defenders within, and were masters of one corner. Many men of the garrison commenced to retreat, but Colonel Brownlow, calling for volunteers, of whom only four or five answered the appeal, turned the invaders out, rebuilt the wall, and held it for the remainder of the night. The guns also, 250 yards in rear of the Crag Picket, threw shell over the top of the rock into the ravine beyond, and Colonel Brownlow repulsed every attack and maintained his position with success until the morning. The posts were so close that the Pathans would call out to their countrymen in the British ranks, and ask them why they fought against their own kinsmen.

"From camp to camp
The hum of either army stilly sounds,
That the fixed sentinels almost receive
The secret whispers of each other's watch;
Fire answers fire, and through their paly flames
Each battle sees the other's umber'd face."

Colonel Brownlow's men, who had been 48 hours on continuous duty, were relieved soon after daybreak by Captain Davidson and men of the 1st Punjaub Native Infantry. The enemy almost instantly made a new attempt, stormed the position before the men were fairly in position, killing Davidson, who refused to leave his post, and a large number of the new garrison with him. The place had therefore to be retaken, at the point of the bayonet, by the 101st Bengal Fusiliers, under Colonel Salusbury. But pending their arrival, the advance of the enemy

was stopped by the fire of the mountain train guns, and the heroic behaviour of three or four officers, notably Lieutenants Pitcher and Young, who, collecting a handful of men, charged them so vigorously as to save the main pickets, and give time for the arrival of reinforcements. Colonel Keyes, though still suffering severely from his wound, showed the greatest coolness, and held the breastworks successfully, at a time when everything was in the utmost confusion. Colonel Salisbury, on his arrival, led his fine regiment with the dash for which he was distinguished, and the Crag Picket was speedily stormed. Slight skirmishing followed this affair, but, on the 18th November, the arrangements for the movement having been completed, General Chamberlain decided on retiring his left flank and concentrating his whole force in rear of what was before called the "right advanced pickets."

Drawing off by degrees his men and material from the slopes of the Goroo mountain, by 10 a.m. on the morning of the 18th November his force occupied, without molestation, a strong position on the southern side of the pass, thus having changed their base of operations, line of communication, and military position at one and the same time. The enemy mistook this change of position for retreat, and, swarming up the ridges in front of the new position, overpowered some small advanced breastworks, held by 140 men of the 14th Ferozepore Regiment, under Major Ross. Two companies from the 71st and one from the 101st, were sent out, and the posts were retaken; but advancing a second time in force, the enemy recaptured the breastworks, and the troops fell back on the main defences. In this desperate fighting four officers were killed—Captain Smith, of the 71st, Lieutenants Chapman, Adjutant of the 101st, and Moseley, of 14th Native Infantry, and Jones, a volunteer from the 79th Highlanders. On the 20th November, the enemy, consisting of tribesmen from Bajour, Swat, Bonair, and other secluded valleys, mustered in great strength, and for four hours made repeated and desperate attempts to retake the Crag Picket, held by 100 men from the 101st Fusiliers and 100 from the 20th Punjaub Infantry. The little garrison were at length driven out and this post fell, for the third time, into the possession of the enemy. In this affair two officers were killed, together with a large number of men, and Majors Rogers, of the 20th, and Delafosse (who, with Colonel Mowbray Thompson, was one of the two survivors of the Cawnpore Massacre) displayed the greatest bravery while trying in vain to rally their men. Sir Neville Chamberlain now ordered out the 71st, which advanced

in line steady as on parade, led by Colonel Hope, who exclaimed, drawing his sword, "71st, you have to take that post; follow me!" There was no hurry or excitement as the Highlanders, incited by the example of Sir Neville Chamberlain, who also led them to the attack with all the ardour of the time when he was the most dashing *sabreur* of the army in Afghanistan, advanced like a wall up that tremendous ascent, and without a halt or check, carried the works at the point of the bayonet. Sir Neville Chamberlain and Colonel Hope, who was the first to enter the Crag Picket, were both severely wounded (the former in the arm and the latter in the thigh), and thus the force was deprived of the services of its two senior officers; but the post was carried and held.

On this day, which witnessed the last great effort of the enemy, the late Major Hugh James, Commissioner of Peshawur, arrived in camp from England, and Sir Neville Chamberlain received a telegram from the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, authorising him to abandon his position and retire on Pemouli, but this, in spite of the heavy losses the force had sustained, he refused to do. Major James supported him in this determination, representing to the Government that though matters were very serious, retreat could only make them worse, and, forthwith set himself to sow disunion* amongst the tribes. The British force now, with but small interruption, awaited its reinforcements, the enemy during the same time also receiving great accessions of strength. Indeed the excitement spread along the whole border, and attacks were made on British posts at other points by tribes who had long been neutral or friendly.

* Fosbery describes the manner in which he worked on the suspicious nature of these simple hillmen:—"Major James had with him a body of native levies, who formed a means of communication between ourselves and the enemy. Some of these levies he assembled in front of his tent, and, producing a huge bundle of letters, told them they must take them to the enemy's camp. Then, seeming to reconsider the question, he took out a certain number, saying, 'Ah! well; I won't write to so and so; he has so little influence; or so and so, for his followers are so few;' and making some disparaging remark about each chief named, he burnt the letters addressed to them to the number of about one half. The rest he charged the spies to give to the remaining chiefs, with a request to take them away from the Council fire, and read them quietly. His orders were carried out, and whilst one half were away reading their letters, the others, jealous of their distinction, cross-questioned the spies, and discovered from them the remarks which had been made on themselves by the Commissioner. On the return of the other chiefs they were called on to show their letters, and these were found to contain nothing beyond a few ordinary compliments. 'Ah!' said the others, 'that won't do. Where's the letter promising you money for deserting our cause?' These of course, never existed, and the poor men had none to show; but the neglected chiefs could not be persuaded to believe it, and such mutual distrust was engendered that the Bonair tribe never again united to attack us; so that the attack which entailed the fall of the Crag Picket, proved to be their last." Thus the wiles of the diplomatist effected what the sword of the soldier had failed to accomplish.

On the arrival of all his reinforcements, when the force reached a strength of 9,000 men, General Garvock, who succeeded Sir Neville Chamberlain, when the latter was disabled by his wound, commenced a forward movement, in anticipation of the enemy's proposed attack on camp, of which he had received intelligence. Taking two brigades, he drove them along the ridges of the southern range, and took the Conical Hill by storm, as also the village of Laloo, which he burned. He then bivouacked for the night. Meanwhile, large bodies of the enemy had entered the valley, and taking advantage of the absence of the greater portion of the British army, made a strong and well-sustained attack on the advanced positions. Colonels Brownlow and Keyes, however, resisted all their efforts, and mortars, which were brought into play for the first time, searched out with their fire the ravines which had before sheltered their parties almost within stonethrow of the works. At length Colonel Keyes made a brilliant charge and drove them pell-mell into the valley below, whence they did not return. On the 16th December, the force descended from the hill, and, burning the village of Umbeyla, offered battle to the enemy, who, no longer sheltered in their fastnesses, shrank from an encounter on the level ground; after a furious charge of 250 Ghazees, who were exterminated to a man, the action and the Umbeyla campaign together came to an end. In this campaign, which only lasted two months, and attracted but little notice in England, the losses of the force—which never exceeded 9,000 men—were 19 officers and 238 men killed, 47 officers and 670 men wounded. The 1st Punjaub Infantry, which marched up to Umbeyla only 337 of all ranks, lost 43 killed and 97 wounded; the 20th Punjaub Infantry, numbering 331 strong, had 32 killed and 102 wounded; and the 14th Sikhs, which mustered only 270 men, lost in the engagements of the 13th and 18th of November, 44 killed and 66 wounded.

For his services in the Umbeyla campaign, Sir Neville Chamberlain was created a K.C.B., and, on the 5th August, in the following year, was raised to the rank of Major-General. On his resignation of the command of the Punjaub Irregular Force, in April, 1865, preparatory to his return to England, the Governor-General, Sir John Lawrence, issued a complimentary general order, in which he recorded his appreciation of the General's distinguished services, of the value of which no one was capable of forming a better estimate than the Viceroy. On the enlargement of the Order of the Star of India, in May, 1866, Neville Chamberlain was made a Knight Commander; but more honourable than these decorations are the scars of eight

wounds, earned by that dauntless courage which caused him to expose his person in whatever quarter blows were thickest.

Within recent years other honours and rewards have been showered upon this successful soldier. He has been raised to the highest grade of the Orders of the Bath and Star of India, and holds the post of Commander-in-Chief of the Madras army. When the British Government resolved on a policy of action with respect to Afghanistan, Sir Neville Chamberlain was summoned by Lord Lytton to join him at Simla, and his lordship requested him to take charge of a mission to Shere Ali, the ill-fated ruler of Afghanistan, Major Cavagnari being appointed his first assistant. The circumstances under which the Ameer's Master of the Horse (Meer Akhor), who commanded at Ali Musjid, refused leave to the mission to pass that fortress, is a matter of too recent history to need repetition. Lord Lytton was guided by Chamberlain's advice in the preparation of the scheme for the invasion of Afghanistan by three columns, which has been successful as a military measure, and, during the absence in England of Sir Edwin Johnson, Sir Neville officiated as military member of the Viceroy's council. Sir Neville Chamberlain's services have been so varied and distinguished, and he acquired high renown when so very young an officer, that we are accustomed to regard him as one of the old school, and so he is, so far as experience goes; but he is still young, being not yet 60, and years have not chilled that fiery valour which causes his name still to be one to "conjure with" among the martial races of our North-West frontier.

GENERAL SIR JAMES HOPE GRANT, G.C.B.

On Home Service—The China War of 1842—Proceeds from China to India—The Sutlej Campaign—The Punjab Campaign—The Indian Mutiny—The March to Delhi—The action of Budlee-kee-Serai—Brigadier Grant's services during the siege and storm of Delhi—Assumes Command of a Column—The March on Cawnpore—The Relief of Lucknow—The Battle of Cawnpore—The Pursuit of the Rebels—The siege of Lucknow—Grant's Oude Campaign—The Actions of Baree and Nawabgunj—Pursuit and dispersion of the rebels—The China War—The landing at Pehtang and Action at Sinho—Capture of the Taku forts—The advance on Peking—Surrender of Peking and Conclusion of Peace—Return to England—Sir Hope Grant's Death and Character.

SIR JAMES HOPE GRANT (or Sir Hope Grant, as he was usually called), who died on 6th March, 1875, was one of the few cavalry officers who have attained the command of an army in an important campaign—at least, during the present reign. That he did uniformly well, and inspired confidence in those in authority over him, is attested by so competent a witness as Lord Clyde, who, when before Lucknow, in command of a large army, exclaimed, "I always feel safe when Hope Grant is at work. Whatever orders I give him I can rely on his carrying out to the letter"—no ordinary commendation from so exacting a chief.

Sir Hope Grant was born in the year 1808, and was the youngest son of Francis Grant, Esq., of Kilgraston House, Bridge of Earn, in the county of Perthshire. He was not the only member of his family who earned distinction. With weapons differing widely from a cavalry officer's sword—a brush, palette, and maulstick, and on fields more peaceful than those of battle—the fair fields of a painter's canvas—his brother, Sir Francis Grant, won his way to the proudest position, socially, to which a painter can aspire—that of the Presidency of the Royal Academy.

Hope Grant received his commission as a Cornet in the 9th Lancers in 1826, and passed through the grades of Lieutenant

(1828) and Captain (1835), without seeing service. But from the year 1842, when he participated in the concluding operations of the China war, down to the end of 1860, a period of eighteen years, few soldiers in her Majesty's service were present at more hard-fought fields. When Hope Grant joined the 9th Lancers, the regiment was stationed in Scotland, but they arrived at York in April, 1827. During the five succeeding years that the 9th were stationed at home, the uniform good conduct of the corps in quarters, and its appearance and discipline were frequently commended. In April, 1830, soon after the accession of King William the Fourth, the regiment was stationed at St. James's Park, and was inspected by his Majesty on the 22nd July, who expressed his unqualified approbation of its appearance, and conferred upon it the distinguishing title of the "Queen's Royals," in honour of his consort, Queen Adelaide. In the winter of that year, the 9th was detached to various parts of Hants, Wilts, and Somerset, to assist in quelling disturbances, and protecting agricultural and other property against incendiarism and other modes of destruction to which the lower classes were addicted in consequence of the wide-spread feeling of exasperation against the Tory party, for their obstinate rejection of Parliamentary reform. The several troops returned to Hounslow in 1831, and, in the following year, embarked for Dublin. At this period the colour of the uniform was changed from blue to scarlet. After remaining in Ireland nearly three years, the regiment returned to England in May, 1835, and in the spring of the following year, marched to Edinburgh and Glasgow, whence they returned to this country, and, after being stationed in the midland counties, proceeded in April, 1839, to Ipswich. They were employed in escort duty with her Majesty at Hounslow in 1840, and in May, 1842, embarked for India. These details of the early service of the subject of this memoir will interest some, as recalling the young officer of Lancers who was so popular in country quarters, not only for his geniality, but for the great proficiency he had acquired as an amateur performer on the violoncello.

When reinforcements were demanded by Sir Hugh Gough, to enable him to bring the China war to a close, Captain Grant was selected by Major-General Lord Saltoun to act as his Brigade-Major, and embarked for China in the *Belleisle*, troopship, in company with the late Lord Clyde, who then commanded the 98th Regiment, which formed a portion of the reinforcements. Sir Hugh Gough resolved to advance on Nankin itself, the ancient capital of the empire, as the most

certain way of bringing the "celestials" to terms. On the 6th July, accordingly, the fleet, consisting of upwards of seventy sail, under the command of Admiral Sir William Parker, passed up the great river Yang-tze. On the 16th, the military and naval Commanders-in-Chief reconnoitred the approaches to Chin-Kiang-foo, and as no soldiers were seen on the walls, or other preparations for defence were visible, it was at first thought that little resistance would be offered. When, however, some of the officers landed on Golden Island, opposite the entrance of the Great Canal, and climbed to the top of the Pagoda in the centre of the island, they discovered three large encampments on the slope of the hills to the south-west of the city. The British land-force consisted of about 7,000 men, besides a body of seamen and marines under Captain Richards, R.N. On the evening of the 20th July, all preparations for the attack were completed, and, on the following morning, Lord Saltoun's brigade was the first to land, and, gallantly attacking the Chinese encamped outside the walls, soon drove them over the hills. The two other brigades, under Generals Schoedde and Bartley, accompanied by Sir Hugh Gough and Sir William Parker, escalated the walls, and, forcing open a gate with gunpowder, effected an entrance into the city. In consequence of the great heat, and the number of dead bodies in the streets and houses, cholera broke out among the inhabitants, and the troops had to be removed outside the walls.

The expedition then sailed for Nankin, situated some 200 miles from the sea, and the troops were landed for the assault on this great city, but the Emperor, the "brother of the sun and moon," being advised of the true state of affairs, a treaty of peace was signed on 29th August, and the army was withdrawn from the celestial empire. On the termination of hostilities, Major Grant—he obtained his Majority on 22nd April, 1842—served as Assistant Adjutant-general at Hong-Kong, and, on Lord Saltoun returning to England, rejoined his regiment in India, and was present at the decisive battle of Sobraon, fought on the 10th February, 1846, which terminated the campaign of the Sutlej. In 1847, Major Grant married Helen, a daughter of Benjamin Taylor, Esq., of the Bengal Civil Service, who survives him. The wonderful vitality and martial spirit of the Sikhs was shown from the circumstance that, notwithstanding the loss of some 250 guns during the short campaign of 1845-6, they were enabled, before three years had passed, to take the field with a scarcely less numerous train of artillery, and to arm their entrenched camps with powerful batteries of guns of

position. Hope Grant took part in every action of the campaign of 1848-49, with the exception of the affair at Sadoolapore. He was in command of his regiment when it joined the grand army concentrating at Ferozepore, under the command of Lord Gough. The division of cavalry, under Brigadier-General Cureton, was divided into two brigades, which consisted of three splendid regiments of British horse, the 3rd Hussars, 9th Lancers, and 14th Dragoons, with five corps of regular, and five of irregular, native cavalry. Major Grant's regiment, mustering 700 sabres, formed a portion of Brigadier Pope's command.

Lord Gough arrived at Ferozepore on the 5th November, and crossed the Ravee on the 16th, when the campaign may be said to have opened—no less than seven months after the murder of the two British officers at Mooltan. Shere Singh, with about 15,000 Sikhs, had taken up a good strategic position at Ramnuggur, on the Chenaub, of which he occupied both banks. His main force was posted on the right bank, protected by twenty-eight heavy guns, sufficiently covered from any fire that could be opened from the opposite bank. On the morning of the 22nd November, Lord Gough marched down to Ramnuggur, and resolved at once to attack the Sikh force on the left bank of the Chenaub, and drive it across the river. After a slight skirmish, the fire of a troop of our horse artillery showed the position of the Sikh guns, which opened a heavy cannonade of shot and shell on the British force. The order was given to the artillery to limber up and retire, but one gun, having stuck fast in the sand, the 14th Dragoons charged the heavy masses of cavalry and infantry that had crossed the ford to take possession of it. The troops, becoming entangled in the dry sandy bed of the stream, were cut up by the enemy's fire, and many valuable lives were lost. The whole sad business, in its conception and execution, reminds one painfully of the still more famous charge of the light cavalry at Balaclava. After Sir Joseph Thackwell's action at Sadoolapore on 3rd December, Lord Gough crossed the Chenaub with his entire force on the 4th, without meeting with any opposition. The 9th Lancers and 14th Dragoons, under Major-General Gilbert, with the cavalry of Thackwell's force, were sent in pursuit of the Sikhs, but soon returned. A period of inaction now ensued, and, throughout the month of December and a portion of January, the British army remained motionless between the Jhelum and the Chenaub.

Lord Gough marched on the 12th January to attack the Sikh army, which, numbering 30,000 men, with 60 guns, had taken up a very strong defensive position on ground where our

cavalry, in which arm we were strongest, were totally unable to act with any effect. On the 13th January was fought the memorable battle of Chillianwallah, when with only two weak infantry divisions, and having barely two hours of daylight, Lord Gough hurled his soldiers—suffering from thirst, hunger, and fatigue—against the enemy's lines, though covered with a thick jungle that concealed the position of the guns. Pope's cavalry brigade, consisting of the 14th Dragoons, 9th Lancers, with two native cavalry regiments, was posted on the right, in prolongation of Brigadier-General Colin Campbell's infantry division, while three troops of artillery, and a field battery attached to the brigade were planted in the rear, and could not therefore open fire from a single gun. The operations of Pope's brigade were not successful, and one regiment did not add to its renown in the charge that ensued—but this corps was not the 9th Lancers.*

At the final overthrow of the cause of the Khalsa at Goojerat, on the 21st February, 1849, Major Grant again commanded his regiment, and earned approbation by the soldierly manner in which he handled them. After the Sikh artillery had been silenced by the tremendous cannonade rained upon them for two hours and a half, the infantry carried the villages in front of them at the point of the bayonet, and the time had arrived for the cavalry to act. A body of Sikh horse, together with 1,500 Afghan cavalry, under Akram Khan, son of Dost Mahomed, had the temerity to advance against the flank and rear of Sir Joseph Thackwell's cavalry division. That distinguished General forthwith despatched against them a portion of the 9th Lancers, and

* The following account of the share taken in the battle of Chillianwallah by the cavalry brigade, of which Major Grant's regiment formed part, is from the pen of Mr. Marshman; and though the 9th is not mentioned therein, this is a feature in its favour, when the three other corps are particularised in so unenviable a manner:—"This strong cavalry brigade was intrusted to Brigadier Pope, who had been an active officer in his youth, but was now unable to mount his horse without assistance. He was moreover of a fanciful and irritable temper, and obstinately wedded to his old-fashioned notions of cavalry manoeuvres. He advanced his four regiments, formed in a single line, and though the forest was dense, not a skirmisher was sent forward to explore the way, and no reserve. As the line advanced, first at a walk and then at a trot, it was broken up by trees and clumps of brushwood into numerous series of small sections doubled behind each other. In this state of things a small body of Sikh horse, intoxicated with drugs, rushed in a mass upon the centre, wounded the Brigadier, and caused a sensation of terror among the native cavalry which it was found impossible to counteract. Just at this crisis some one in the ranks of the 14th Dragoons, whose name has never been ascertained, uttered the words, 'Three about.' The regiment at once turned to the rear, and moved off in confusion, and as the Sikh horse pressed in its track, galloped headlong in disgraceful panic through the cannon and waggons posted in its rear, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of its commander, Colonel King, and of the chaplain of the force, the Rev. Mr. Whiting, to rally the fugitives. The Sikh horse entered the ranks of the artillery along with the flying dragoons, and captured 4 guns."

a regiment of Scinde horse, which had been disciplined under the eye of Sir Charles Napier, and had long and most efficiently contributed to the defence of the province. Led by Captain Malcolm,—a “*preux chevalier*” of the order that furnished a Hodson at Delhi—and backed by the 9th, the whole not numbering more than 700 sabres, the Scinde horse charged the Afghan cavaliers, who, mounted on gaily-caparisoned horses and well armed, were foemen not unworthy of crossing swords with these picked troopers. The shock was irresistible, and the Afghan and Sikh horse were soon broken, when the whole of the British cavalry was sent in pursuit. “Onwards they rushed,” says Marshman, “dispersing, riding over, and trampling down in their resistless career the flying and scattered infantry of the Sikhs, capturing guns and waggons, and converting their discomfited enemy into a shapeless mass of fugitives. It was not till half-past four, when they had advanced 15 miles beyond Goojerat, that they drew rein, by which time the army of Shere Singh was a wreck, deprived of its camp, its standards, and 53 pieces of cannon.”

Sir Joseph Thackwell, with his cavalry, bivouacked for the night on the ground he occupied, proposing to renew the pursuit the next morning, but he was recalled to the camp, and the enemy were thus enabled to escape across the Jhelum. However, a strong column, under Sir Walter Gilbert, left the camp in pursuit on the following day, and, after a hot chase, the entire remnant of the Sikh army, 16,000 men, with 41 guns, surrendered on the 12th March. In the general promotion after the war, Hope Grant received the brevet rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and a C.B.-ship in recognition of his services.

For a period of eight years not a shot was fired in India. During this time the second Burmese war was carried to a successful issue, but in this Hope Grant took no part. There seemed no prospect of his having the opportunity of achieving distinction, for no enemy appeared to menace our hold of India from without, while within our borders Sikh and Mahratta appeared disinclined to provoke a repetition of the lessons learnt at Maharajpore and Goojerat. During this time of profound peace Grant received a letter from his old friend and future chief, Sir Colin Campbell, then Brigadier-General in command at Peshawur, in which the writer said:—“I have now one foot in the grave, and am just remaining to scrape together enough money to close the remainder of my days at home.” But the veteran was destined to live to win a peerage, the baton of a Field-Marshal, and a grave in Westminster Abbey, the three proudest distinctions a British soldier can gain. In

November, 1857, the correspondents met near Alumbagh, before the city of Lucknow, when the veteran said to Grant that "he would as soon have thought of becoming Archbishop of Canterbury as of commanding a great army in the field." Such are the uncertainties and chances of life in the British army, of which scores of examples may be adduced.

When the Indian Mutiny broke forth like a tempest over the land, for a time almost sweeping away every trace of British power between Delhi and Allahabad, Colonel Grant was stationed at Umballa, where he commanded his old regiment, having, meantime, attained his regimental Lieutenant-Colonelcy on the 29th April, 1850, and his commission as full Colonel on the 28th November, 1854. On Sunday, the 10th May, 1857, took place the mutiny and massacre of Europeans at Meerut, and on the following day was enacted, on a larger scale and accompanied with greater atrocities, the insurrection of the native troops and the massacre at Delhi. To avenge these unspeakable horrors, and restore the flag of England, torn down from the magazine at the imperial city of the Moguls, General Hon. George Anson, the Commander-in-Chief, hastened from Simla to Umballa, where he assembled the following troops:—H.M.'s 9th Lancers, some 450 sabres, under Colonel Hope Grant, C.B.; H.M.'s 75th Regiment, about 800 bayonets, under Colonel Herbert; 1st Bengal Fusiliers, about the same strength, under Major Jacob; six companies of the 2nd Bengal Fusiliers, about 550 men, under Colonel St. G. D. Showers; Captain Turner's and Captain Money's troops of horse artillery; one squadron of 4th Cavalry, under Colonel Clayton; and the 60th Native Infantry, under Colonel T. Seaton, C.B. The whole European force, which alone was reliable, numbered 450 cavalry, rather more than 2,000 infantry, and twelve guns. At this time Colonel Halifax, of H.M.'s 75th Regiment, was Brigadier, and Major-General Sir Henry Barnard, who had served with distinction in the Crimea, was in command of the Sirhind division, to which the Umballa brigade was attached.

General Anson lost no time, but, having collected supplies and transport, on the 17th May commenced his march towards Delhi with his force. Death soon began to make fearful havoc in the already attenuated British ranks. General Anson died of cholera at Kurnaul on the 27th May, when Sir Henry Barnard arrived from Umballa, and assumed command. Brigadier Halifax, who was in command of the leading detachment, was also taken ill, when the Commander-in-Chief sent Grant forward to relieve him. He accomplished the journey, 60 miles, in 24 hours, "the

last 30 miles," he says, "at a gallop—hard riding in India during the hot weather." His first act was to try by drum-head court-martial some villagers of a place called Rhye, who had cruelly treated a party of the Delhi fugitives; and, on their being convicted, 25 of them were hanged on the spot. A few days afterwards he was joined by Sir Henry Barnard, who—learning that Brigadier Archdale Wilson, of the Bengal Artillery, was hard pressed by the rebels, whom he had beaten in a severe action (the first of the war) at Ghazee-ood-deen-Nuggur, on the 30th May—acting on the advice of Grant, moved on to Alipore, about 10 miles from Delhi, where he was joined, on the 6th June, by Brigadier Wilson, who had marched 21 miles almost without a halt. By this accession of strength the column was increased by a battalion of the 60th Rifles; 2 squadrons of the 6th Dragoon Guards (Carabineers); the Sirmoor Regiment of Goorkhas; Major (the late General Sir Harry) Tombs's battery, and Major Scott's half battery of artillery, with some sappers. Sir Henry Barnard's little army now numbered in round numbers, 600 British cavalry, 2,400 infantry, with 22 field guns; and, a little later, when it was joined by the siege train, from Phillour, of 21 guns, with a weak company of European artillery, and 100 recruits for the same branch of the service, it formed quite a respectable force, and one which, by its deeds of valour and patient endurance, has earned imperishable renown.

On the 8th June, the Delhi Field-force fought its first action. On the morning of this day, Captain Hodson, who had been appointed to the charge of the Intelligence department of the army, went out on a reconnoitring expedition, and reported that the rebels had taken up a very strong position at an inclosed building called Budlee-Kee-Serai, about 5 miles from Delhi. Preparations were at once made to dislodge them, and, soon after two o'clock on the morning of the 8th, the troops were on the move. The force brought into the field was divided into three brigades, and consisted of 1,900 infantry and 170 cavalry, with 14 guns, under the two brigadiers, Showers and Graves, and 350 cavalry and 10 guns, under Brigadier Hope Grant, a small column remaining behind as a rear-guard and to protect the siege train. The following were Sir Henry Barnard's dispositions. While Brigadier Grant crossed the Jumna Canal, and, proceeding some distance down its banks, recrossed and attacked the enemy in rear, as soon as he heard by the guns that the main attack had commenced, the 1st and 2nd brigades, advancing along the main trunk road, were to attack on the right and left respectively.

As the main columns advanced, the enemy opened fire from their heavy guns in position, to which the field-pieces responded ; but it was seen that the duel was unequal, and as the men were falling fast, Sir Henry Barnard called upon the 75th to charge the enemy's entrenchment with the bayonet. This was done in gallant style. The 75th, supported by the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, led by Brigadier Showers, charged home with a ringing British cheer, and the batteries were quickly carried. Brigadier Graves was some little distance in the rear with his column, but on coming up he led his men to the attack by a slight flank movement, and assisted in completing the capture of the guns. Brigadier Grant's cavalry brigade was somewhat late in the field, but arrived in time to see the batteries carried, and, charging the broken ranks of the enemy, completed their rout. He says, in his published journal of the *Incidents of the Sepoy War* :—" I was ordered to march with 3 squadrons of the 9th Lancers and 10 guns by a by-road to the right, cross the Western Jumna Canal, about a mile higher up, advance along its wooded banks, where I should be quite concealed from view, recross the canal six miles higher up, and fall on the rebels in flank and rear. The three squadrons of the 9th Lancers were under Colonel Yule. The artillery force was commanded by Major Mackenzie,* and consisted of Turner's six 9-pounders and Tombs's four light 6-pounders, from Meerut. The latter battery was incomplete, owing to want of transport. At one o'clock on the morning of the 8th June we began our march, advanced as quickly as possible as far as our foremost picket, took the turn to the right, and crossed the canal. The road along its banks was excellent, but was so narrow that, had we been attacked, our guns would have been useless. We therefore marched across the fields, and for about a mile our progress was easy; but then we came to a swamp which extended over a wide district of country, and had been formed by the bursting of the canal bank. It was some time before we overcame this difficulty; and, when we were still two miles from our destined point of attack, the guns of the main body, which had proceeded by the direct road, began to open fire, the preconcerted signal for us to commence operations. I therefore resolved to take to the canal road, by which means we were enabled to proceed at a merry trot, recrossed the canal, and quickly came upon the rear of the enemy. Then the ground once more became very difficult, and intersected with ditches. Turner's heavy 9-pounders stuck

* Major Murray Mackenzie was wounded on the 30th June, from the effects of which he shortly afterwards died at Simla.

fast, but Tombs's light guns managed to make their way to the front, and opened upon the rebels with great effect. The 9th Lancers behaved gallantly, charged into the midst of the enemy, captured a 9-pounder, which the mutineers were endeavouring to withdraw, sabred its gunners, turned the gun upon a village where the enemy had taken refuge, and dislodged them from it. Colonel Yule killed three men with his own hand."

The great feature of the fight was the splendid charge of the 75th, under Colonel Herbert; nothing could have been finer than the brilliant style in which they captured the guns that had dealt death and destruction into their ranks. The celerity with which the Sepoy artillerymen worked their guns, and the fatal accuracy of their aim, afforded a sufficient proof of the mistaken policy that had trained so many of the *élite* of the native soldiery in this arm of the service. Our experience was bought at a heavy price, but it has borne fruit, and all danger of such a recurrence is now obviated, as the entire artillery force, save some mountain train batteries, is worked by Europeans. Such was the battle of Budlee-Kee-Serai; but the fighting was by no means over yet, and the 8th of June is a memorable day in the annals of those warriors who are privileged to wear the Delhi medal.

The rebels had taken up a second position on the ridge about two miles further on, and from this it was absolutely essential to dislodge them before the investment of Delhi could commence, as it overlooked, and in a measure commanded, the city. The British troops were exhausted, but, after a short halt, it was determined to advance. The road separating, the force was divided into two columns, the first, under Brigadier-General Wilson, having to fight its way through gardens with high walls and other obstacles, while Brigadier-General Graves, accompanied by Sir Henry Barnard, proceeded to the left with the second brigade. Sir Henry soon found that the rebels had posted themselves strongly on the ridge overlooking the cantonments, with guns in position, which were quickly brought to bear on his advancing column. Upon this he determined upon a rapid flank movement to the left, in the hope of gaining the ridge under cover of the cantonments, and so taking the position in flank. This operation was crowned with success. The enemy hastily got their guns into position to meet the new attack, while Graves's brigade, consisting of the 60th Rifles and the 2nd Europeans, advanced gallantly under the immediate eye of the General, and, supported by Captain Money's troop of horse artillery, carried the guns in flank, the rebel

artillery deserting their charges. Thus Brigadier-General Graves, who had commanded the Delhi garrison previous to the massacre, and who, from this very spot, known as the "Flagstaff Battery," had taken a last look at the city so basely betrayed by its defenders, now had the proud satisfaction of once more surveying it with British soldiers at his back.

During this time General Wilson, with Showers's brigade, and the rest of the cavalry and artillery, under Hope Grant, had been fighting his way along the right. The rebels maintained a harassing fire under cover of the walls and gardens which lined the road, and in the by-lanes of the Subzee Mundee suburb, but the column gallantly forced a passage, clearing all before them; the ridge on their extreme right was gained, and then they met at Hindoo Rao's house their comrades of Graves's column, who, after mastering the Flagstaff tower, had fought their way along the crest of the ridge. Thus the British swept the whole of the rebel position clear of its late defenders, and captured eleven guns. The object of the day's arduous fighting was attained, and the force was at once placed in position * before Delhi. The British loss during the 8th June was 47 killed, including Colonel Chester, the Adjutant-General, and 144 wounded. Even yet the fighting was not over. The enemy opened from guns brought out of the city, and the

* The position taken up by General Barnard was the most favourable for siege operations that could have been selected, and has been thus described:—"It lies about two miles from Delhi, separated by a long ridge of hill that rises in broken ground on the banks of the Jumna to our left, and smoothing down at its highest point, extends to our extreme right, where batteries are placed. It is crossed towards the left by the Grand Trunk road from the north-west, marked here and there by telegraph posts, from which still hung many broken pieces of wire; a little further to the right, on the ridge of the hill, stands the tower called the Flagstaff, and still further along, an old mosque, both occupied by pickets of our men. To the extreme right is a hill called the General's Mound, on which are placed our heavy batteries. Its top is crowned by a building called Hindoo Rao's house, from an old Mahratta chieftain who lived there. All these points are connected by a road which runs along the summit of the hill. Part of the slope towards our camp is occupied by the ruined huts of the mutinous regiments and the houses of their unfortunate officers. Behind the camp is a small river, which separates us from the plain, commanded by three of our heavy guns. It flows into the Jumna on the north side of Delhi, and is of great advantage to us, as its banks, which are faced with stone, are too steep to allow the enemy to bring their horse artillery over to attack our rear, now that the bridges are destroyed in that direction. Our left flank is covered by the Jumna, which is now much swollen by the rains. To our right is a mound on which are placed three heavy guns, and about three quarters of a mile beyond this is the suburb called the Subzee Mundee ('vegetable market'), full of country houses, inclosures, and gardens, in which a number of desperate fights have taken place between our men and the enemy. Our encampment is perfectly safe from everything but their shells, which fall into our camp almost every evening without doing any great harm." This description of the British position was written in the early part of the siege, and additional batteries were brought to bear on the city at a subsequent date.

troops, who were about to take a little food and rest, were again turned out, and captured one of the guns.

On the following day, the 9th June, the rebels made a sortie which was brilliantly repulsed by the Guide cavalry, which had only arrived in the British camp on that day, having marched 750 miles in 28 days. In this affair Quentin Battye was slain, his last words being the well-known quotation from Horace. Besides the Guide Corps, consisting of cavalry and infantry, under Captain (now General Sir Henry) Daly, Major (now General) Sir Charles Reid joined the army with his Goorkhas, who, throughout the siege, held the advanced post of Hindoo Rao's house, and lost 320 men killed and wounded out of 490. From this time the enemy commenced an almost daily series of sallies, which would well-nigh lead one to reverse the respective positions of the contending forces as besiegers and besieged. So small indeed was the British army available for service, owing in part to losses in action, but chiefly to sickness, that very frequently the entire force was turned out to meet these attacks, and even the pickets were withdrawn.

On the 12th June, the rebels attacked with about 4,000 or 5,000 men, but they were soon driven back, and, having brought out no guns, suffered severely. They received large reinforcements about 16th June, and on the 19th, poured out in great numbers from the Lahore gate, evidently with the object of making an attack on the British rear, which was under the especial charge of the cavalry commanded by Hope Grant. They made a long circuit, and were lost sight of, when the troops, after being under arms for some hours, were recalled to camp. Late in the afternoon the alarm was again sounded, and it was found that the rebels had worked round, and were within a mile and a half of the rear of the camp. Grant soon made his dispositions. The enemy, to the number of 3,000, had taken up a strong position, and were well supplied with guns, with which they opened fire on the advance of the cavalry. He says in his official report :—"I immediately proceeded with a squadron of H.M.'s 9th Lancers, 2 guns of Major Scott's, 2 of Captain Money's, and 2 of Major Turner's, under command of Lieutenant Bishop, to prevent the near approach of the enemy to our camp. When this force got to the right of the Ochterlony Gardens, a heavy fire of artillery was opened upon it, to which our guns replied. The troops from camp now began to arrive, and the action became general. The enemy had taken up a position about half a mile in rear of the Ochterlony Gardens, and thence opened a very severe fire of round shot, grape, and

canister. I advanced our guns right up to them, and our artillery replied to their fire with the greatest spirit. As long as it was light we succeeded in driving the rebels back, but in the dusk of the evening the enemy, who were in great numbers, very nearly succeeded in turning our flank, and for some time two guns were in great jeopardy. It now became very dark, but I succeeded, with Lieutenant Martin, of the 9th Lancers, in getting a few men together, and we charged into the enemy. The guns, I am happy to say, were saved; but a waggon of Major Scott's battery was blown up. Our fire reopened, and the enemy were driven back to the town." Meanwhile, two squadrons of the 9th Lancers, one troop of the Carabineers, and the Guide Corps proceeded in support of Major Tombs's and Major Turner's guns on the left flank. At this time Colonel Yule was killed, and Captain Daly very severely wounded in the shoulder; but the enemy were beaten, and retired to the town.

Sir Henry Barnard, in his official report to the Adjutant-General, spoke in high terms of the gallantry of the small body of cavalry and artillery, numbering not more than 250 sabres and 12 guns. He said:—"Under no circumstances did officers and men merit greater praise," while of the manner in which the subject of this memoir handled his force, he wrote:—"My thanks are due to Brigadier Grant, C.B., who, on this, as on all occasions, evinces the highest qualifications for a cavalry officer."

Hope Grant had more than one narrow escape of his life on this eventful day. Early in the action a grape-shot tore a pistol out of his holster-pipe. Later, in the evening, seeing two of his guns in danger of capture by the enemy, who became very bold as the darkness came on, Grant collected a few of the Lancers together and charged the enemy. He says in his journal:—"A Sepoy within five yards of me fired at my horse, and put a bullet through his body, close to my leg. It was singular he did not aim at me, but in all probability he thought it best to make sure of killing the horse, and that then, to a certainty, the rider would fall into his hands. I felt that my poor charger had received its death wound, yet he galloped on fifty yards through the throng of rebels, and then dropped down dead. I was in rather an awkward predicament—unhorsed, surrounded by the enemy, and, owing to the darkness, ignorant in which direction to proceed—when my orderly, a native Sowar of the 4th Irregulars, by name Rooper Khan, rode up to me and said, 'Take my horse, it is your only chance of safety.' I could not but admire his fine conduct. He was a Hindoostanee Mussulman, belonging to a regiment the

greater part of which had mutinied, and it would have been easy for him to have killed me and gone over to the enemy; but he behaved nobly, and was ready to save my life at the risk of his own. I refused his offer; but, taking a firm grasp of his horse's tail, I told Rooper Khan to drag me out of the crowd. This he performed successfully and with great courage. There were likewise two men of the 9th Lancers who behaved with great gallantry, Thomas Handcock and John Purcell. They stuck to me during the fight without consulting their own safety; the latter had his horse killed under him about the same time that I lost my own; and Handcock, seeing me dismounted in the midst of my foes, earnestly besought me to take his charger. He was the same night wounded, and lost his arm. The enemy, however, did not persist in his attack, and by degrees the firing ceased. I don't think I ever felt so beat before. The weather was fearfully hot." It should be added that Hope Grant offered the brave Sowar some money, but could not prevail upon him to accept it. He, however, got the man promoted, and Sir Henry Barnard awarded him the 2nd class of the Order of Merit.

It was not until half an hour before midnight that Brigadier Grant returned to camp, and by 3.30 a. m. on the following morning, he had marched again with a force and captured a gun and two waggons, but did not encounter the enemy.

The 23rd June, the centenary of the battle of Plassey, was signalled by a most determined attack on the British position. The rebels had been informed by their holy men that, on that day, the 100 years of the Englishman's "raj" would terminate, and they determined that the prophecy should be fulfilled. So from five in the morning till late in the day the deadly struggle was continued all along the line, but with the ultimate result of strengthening the British position. Every attack was repulsed, and the "Sammy House" (as the soldiers called it), a small temple in the Subzee Mundee, was captured, and a picket was there established. Reinforcements soon after poured in. Brigadier-General Chamberlain arrived from the Punjaub to fill Colonel Chester's place, and the besieging force, notwithstanding the great number laid up with sickness, owing to the terrific heat and drenching rains, numbered about 6,000 men of all arms. No further heavy fighting took place during the remainder of the month, and, on the 4th July, the rebels received a large addition to their numbers, in the arrival of the mutineers from the stations of Bareilly, Moradabad, and Shahjehanpore in Rohilcund.

On the 5th July, Brigadier Grant proceeded out of camp in

support of a column sent under Major Coke to intercept the rebels, who had marched out of Delhi to attack Alipore, but he returned without being engaged. On the same day the English army lost its second Commander-in-Chief. Sir Henry Barnard expired on that day, sincerely mourned by the whole force; and his successor, General-Reid, who suffered from feeble health, after nominally retaining the command for a week, resigned it into the hands of Brigadier-General Archdale Wilson, an officer of distinction, but, perhaps, too cautious, and deficient in that British characteristic of bull-dog tenacity which was essential in command of the army before Delhi, where the destinies of the empire hung in the balance. However, he had a foil in such ardent spirits as Chamberlain, Nicholson, and others. Of Wilson's capacity for the command of the army before Delhi, Hope Grant entertained a high idea, describing him as "an energetic officer, with a sound head, who knew his work."

On the 9th July, there was some severe fighting; the rebel cavalry, making a dash into camp, cut down some men, and Major Tombs and Lieutenant Hills, of the artillery, were engaged in personal conflict with the enemy, and gained the Victoria Cross for their valour, the former saving the life of his subaltern. On this occasion Grant turned out in pursuit with his cavalry, but the enemy escaped.* In the heavy fighting on the 9th July, and again on the 14th, in which Brigadier-General Chamberlain was badly wounded, almost the whole force was engaged for the entire day, but the fighting ended as usual in the complete repulse of the rebels. All July and during the early part of the month of August, our army remained strictly on the defensive, and repulsed some very heavy attacks. General Wilson quietly awaited the advent of reinforcements before making any attempt to besiege the town by regular approaches. Sir John Lawrence, at Lahore, was straining every nerve to raise new levies of Punjaubees, and despatched to Delhi

* Sir Hope Grant says in his journal:—"As we were following up the rebel raid, and when we had arrived to within a short distance of the Ochterlony Gardens, we saw some eighty Sowars leisurely taking the same direction as ourselves. They were dressed exactly like our own men, and I could not believe them to be a hostile force; but to make quite sure, I sent my aide-de-camp, Augustus Anson, to ascertain their identity, and he brought me back word that they were a detachment of our own cavalry. Captain Hodson also rode up, accosted them, and marched with them for some distance, under the impression that they belonged to one of the Hindoostanee regiments in camp. They entered into most friendly conversation with him, and told him, I think, that they were a party of the 9th Irregulars. All of a sudden, however, they put spurs to their horses, galloped off like wildfire, giving us the slip completely; and we then discovered for the first time that they were some rebel cavalry."

every available soldier, both European and Pathan, until his province was almost denuded of the former. The strength of our army before Delhi on the 31st July, was scarce 5,000 effective men of all ranks; 1,060 were sick and wounded, while 340 had been already sent away. In the 23 actions that had been fought up to that date, the small force had lost, in killed, 22 officers and 296 men, and in wounded, 72 officers and 990 men.

We know now how critical was our position as the dominant power in those latter days of the month of July. At one time it was proposed and debated by the highest authorities, not only to raise the siege of Delhi, but to yield up Peshawur to its old ruler, Dost Mahomed, so that the three European regiments stationed in that province might be released for service elsewhere. In this step it was thought lay the only chance of saving the thousands of helpless women and children cooped up in the forts in the upper provinces. Reviewing the arduous struggle of that time, Sir John Lawrence expressed himself in May, 1858, in his official Punjaub Mutiny Report:—"In that extremity the only chance for the British of even preserving existence would have been to collect the Europeans into one solid mass." Providentially the extremity never arose. As to the proposal for relinquishing the siege of Delhi, General Wilson wrote as follows to Mr. Colvin, the Lieutenant-Governor of the north-west provinces, on the 31st July:—"It is my firm determination to hold my present position, and to resist any attack to the last. The enemy are very numerous, and may possibly break through our entrenchments and overwhelm us, but the force will die at their post. Luckily, the enemy have no head and no method, and we hear dissensions are breaking out among them. Reinforcements are coming up under Nicholson; if we can hold on till they arrive, we shall be secure. I am making every possible arrangement to secure the safe defence of our position." There is no doubt the position at this time was most critical. The rebels had received, and were continuing to receive, large accessions of strength, while the constant heavy fighting and severe sickness, caused by the great heat and constant outpost duty, reduced the thinned ranks of the besieging army until they, in turn, almost became the besieged. Grant says in his journal:—"We could not have mustered more than 800 men had we been required to strengthen our advanced posts or to resist any attack on our rear. Moreover, until the arrival of our long expected siege-train, we could not carry on operations against the town with any vigour or prospect of success. On the other hand, the rebels in the

town were every day becoming stronger. After the fall of Delhi a return was discovered, from which it appeared that the mutineers' force amounted to 40,000 men, exclusive of the male adult population, principally Mohammedans, who must have numbered 70,000 or 80,000 men, armed to the teeth, and capable of fighting even more desperately than the Sepoys. It was manifest that, until we were reinforced, we were in extreme jeopardy, and Brigadier-General Wilson recognised the imperative necessity for caution." The Kumaon battalion, with a large convoy, reached the camp on the 1st August. Brigadier-General Nicholson, who had succeeded his friend Chamberlain in the command of the Punjaub movable column, arrived on the 8th, having pushed on in advance of his brigade, which arrived a few days later, consisting of H.M.'s 52nd, the remaining wing of H.M.'s 61st, Bouchier's field battery, a wing of the 6th Punjaub Infantry, and some Mooltanee Horse. The remaining wing of the 8th Foot, three companies of the 24th, with three horse artillery guns and two and a half regiments of Punjaub infantry, had also been sent on by Sir John Lawrence, and other reinforcements were daily arriving. As no more European troops could be expected, General Wilson forthwith made preparations for carrying the rebel stronghold that had so long defied the arms of England. The prospect was further brightened by a signal victory gained at Nujuffghur, by General Nicholson, the very day after his brigade arrived in camp. In his masterly arrangements this gallant officer gave promise of that genius for war which received a still brighter illustration on that memorable day when he stormed the breach, and fell at the moment of victory. Two squadrons of the 9th Lancers shared in the glories of Nujuffghur, but Hope Grant did not accompany them.

On the 4th September arrived the long-expected siege-train, including 40 heavy guns and howitzers, and 10 heavy, and 12 light, mortars; and, exclusive of the Cashmere Native Contingent, the strength of the force now consisted of nearly 10,000 fighting men.* The means of the engineers were very restricted, —not in officers, for there were such celebrated men as Baird

* The following was the exact strength of the Delhi force from an official return made on the 23rd September, 1857:—Artillery, including natives, 1,350; Engineers, 722; H.M.'s 6th Dragoon Guards, 123; 9th Lancers, 391; 4th Irregular Cavalry, disarmed, 78; Detachment 1st Punjaub Cavalry, 147; 2nd ditto, 114; 5th ditto, 107; Hodson's Irregular Horse 462; 8th Regiment, 322; 52nd Regiment 302; 60th Rifles, 390; 61st Regiment, 402; 75th Regiment, 459; 1st European Fusiliers, 427; 2nd ditto, 370; Sirmoor battalion, 212; Kumaon, 312; Guide Corps, cavalry and infantry, 585; 4th Sikh Infantry, 414; 1st Punjaub ditto, 664; 2nd ditto, 650; 4th ditto 541; wing Belooch battalion, 322. Grand total, 9,866.

Smith and Alexander Taylor among them, but in rank and file, of whom there were only 120 regular sappers. Some companies of Sikhs had, however, been rapidly raised and partially trained, and a body of coolies had also been collected, and worked remarkably well. The front to be attacked consisted of the Moree, Cashmere, and Water bastions, with the "curtain" walls connecting them; they presented features of great strength, having been in recent years altered and improved by our own engineers. The height of the walls was twenty-four feet above the ground level, while outside was a ditch sixteen feet deep and twenty feet wide at the bottom. On the evening of the 7th September, No. 1 advanced battery was traced about 700 yards from the Moree bastion, and was armed on the following day. It was in two portions, the right armed with five 18-pounders and one 8-inch howitzer, and the left portion for four 24-pounders. This battery was under the more immediate command of Major (now General Sir James) Brind, who commanded the siege artillery. Nos. 2, 3, and 4 batteries were traced, completed, and armed with surprising rapidity, notwithstanding every attempt of the besieged, who saw with amazement and fear that the day of reckoning was quickly approaching, and strove with all their might to avert their doom. No. 2 battery, under Majors Campbell and Kaye, was in two portions, about 600 yards from the city; one portion, for nine 24-pounders, was located at Ludlow Castle, and the second, 200 yards to the right, was armed with seven 8-inch howitzers, and two 18-pounders. No. 3 battery, for six 18-pounders, under charge of Major Scott, was constructed in the boldest manner, within 180 yards of the Water bastion. No. 4 battery, for ten heavy mortars, was completed in the Koodsee Bagh, under charge of Major Tombs.

Notwithstanding a ceaseless fire of musketry from advanced trenches and some light guns in the open, all the British batteries were completed and opened fire on the morning of the 11th. After a terrific and continuous cannonade, the three bastions so fiercely assailed were silenced, and, on the morning of the 14th—the engineers having, on the previous night, reported practicable the two breaches near the Cashmere and Water bastions—the assault took place. Hope Grant, as a cavalry officer, took no part in the siege operations and the subsequent storm, and therefore, in a memoir of his services, it would be out of place to describe them in detail. He, with his cavalry brigade, was, however, not idle at a time when the fate of British India hung in the scales, and a reverse in the operations then progressing would have been fatal, it may almost be said,

to every man, woman, and child speaking the Anglo-Saxon tongue in that portion of our wide-spreading empire. In spite of the immense disparity of numbers, and the almost impregnable position held by the rebels behind their walls, with an arsenal containing a large store of ordnance of every calibre, the assaulting columns were successful, though at a terrible loss in officers and men, conspicuous among the former being the heroic Brigadier-General Nicholson, who was intrusted with the command of the first column, and met his mortal wound, at the early age of thirty-five, while advancing beyond the Moree bastion, towards the Lahore gate. It was a loss that dimmed the lustre of even such a victory. Many days' hard fighting ensued, and the city had to be conquered inch by inch, but, at length, by the 21st September, the whole of Delhi, including the Jumma Musjid, was in the hands of General Wilson, who, on that night, proposed the health of her Majesty Queen Victoria in the Dewan-i-Khas, the beautiful white marble durbar hall in the King's palace, where once stood the famed peacock throne, bearing the inscription, "If there's an Eden upon earth, it is this, it is this." Here, in the palace of the Great Mogul, the health of the Queen was toasted amidst the applauding shouts of the victorious soldiery, who had won back to the Crown the imperial city. The loss of the British was very heavy, and numbered 66 officers and 1,178 men killed and wounded ; * that of the rebels was never known, but must have been enormous.

We must turn to the part taken in the operations of the 14th September by Hope Grant and his cavalry brigade, which comprised the 9th Lancers, the 6th Carabineers, Guide cavalry, Hodson's Horse, and portions of the 1st, 2nd, and 5th Punjaub Cavalry. These were concentrated by the side of Brind's battery on the right, so as to prevent any flank movement on the assaulting columns, and in support of Major Reid's column of assault. The brigade gradually moved down towards the city walls, and a portion came close under the Moree bastion, where they suffered heavy loss from the grape and musketry of the rebels. Their post was perhaps the most trying of the whole force on that day, for, without any of the thrilling excitement of the assault, they were compelled to hold their ground for some three hours, a stationary target for the enemy, constantly losing men, yet unable to avenge the deaths of their comrades, until, at length, the lodgment fairly effected in the city by the other columns, they were enabled to retire from their exposed position.

* Our loss during the siege, commencing from the 30th May, was 60 officers and 952 men killed, and 189 officers and 2,606 men wounded.

Grant says in his journal:—"I had been ordered by General Wilson to take 600 cavalry, viz. 200 of the 9th Lancers and 400 Sikhs, and to proceed to the battery in front of the ruined mosque on the ridge, there to await further orders, or until the success of the assault had been assured. I found a dip on the slope nearest the town which would effectually shelter about 200 men from fire. At this place I posted the 9th Lancers, leaving the Sikh cavalry at the back of the ridge. In about half an hour I received an order from General Wilson to advance, intimating that the Moree bastion had fallen, and that no further annoyance was to be apprehended from the fire of the adjacent works. I marched the men down, and formed them up under the walls—a position of great importance, covering the whole of our batteries, which, with the exception of those in front of Hindoo Rao's house, where a small force of infantry was retained, were left unprotected. A strong body of the enemy, consisting of about 5,000 men, with artillery, had established themselves in Kissengunge, which completely outflanked our batteries at Hindoo Rao's house, and which was very strong. Early in the morning a force, consisting of the Goorkhas under Reid, Rajah Singh's men, detachments from the 60th Rifles, and various other corps, was ordered to attack this position, and to capture the heavy guns posted there. The ground was very difficult, Reid was severely wounded, and the attacking force was beaten back with the loss of four guns belonging to the Rajah. The rebels, elated with success, seemed determined to carry everything before them. Between Kissengunge and the town numerous houses and gardens were interspersed, from whence a galling fire was opened upon us by the mutineers, who, after repelling the attack made on them in the morning, were evidently confident of being able to dislodge us without difficulty. Their numbers increased every moment, so I ordered up Captain Tombs's troop of horse artillery, and opened fire on the detached houses at a range of 200 yards, which had the effect of forcing them to fall back some distance. A little in front of them was a battery of our own, armed with two 18-pounders, but unmanned, of which they were evidently very anxious to gain possession. It was a matter of great importance to us to prevent this, and a few gunners dismounted, crept up to the ditch unperceived, scrambled over, spiked the guns, and returned unmolested—a gallant deed. I now saw Brigadier Nicholson on the top of the Moree bastion, leading on his brigade. He called out to me that the fighting was going on well for us in the town, and that he was on his way to attack

the Lahore gate and bastion, about 500 yards further on. Forward he went; but the gate was defended so obstinately that he could not dislodge the enemy; he himself was mortally wounded, shot through the body, and his brigade was obliged to retire. A few men of the 9th Lancers, who had learned to serve guns, were dismounted; they scrambled up the breach in the Moree bastion, and directed the abandoned guns with great effect against the rebels, who were at this time advancing to attack us. But the failure at the Lahore bastion left its defenders at liberty to assume the offensive. They turned a 24-pounder gun against us, and with grape inflicted a terrible loss on our men, who were not more than 500 yards distant. Tomb's troop lost 27 men out of 48, and 19 horses. Two guns of a battery, under Lieutenant Campbell, suffered in proportion; the 200 men of the 9th Lancers had 42 men and 61 horses killed or wounded, and the Guide cavalry, which was in support, 15 men and 19 horses. The conduct of all my force, both Europeans and natives, was admirable, the unflinching coolness and steadiness of the 9th Lancers being especially conspicuous. Nothing daunted by their numerous casualties, these gallant soldiers held their trying position with a patient endurance; and, on my praising them for their good behaviour, they declared their readiness to stand the fire as long as I chose. My own horse was wounded, and I was struck by a large grape-shot, which fortunately glanced off, though bruising me severely." Grant now sent a request to General Wilson for infantry, and first, 80 of the Guides, and then, 280 men from Chamberlain's small force, were sent to him, when the adjacent gardens were cleared, and the position made more secure. When the enemy's fire had ceased, Grant withdrew his cavalry to Ludlow Castle for the night. General Wilson reported in his official despatch that Grant had admirably handled his cavalry.

On the day following the storm of Delhi Grant paid a visit to Nicholson, who was too far gone at first to recognise him, but on his mentioning who he was, thanked him with a feeble voice. The scene Grant witnessed is eminently suggestive of what constitutes "military glory." As he entered the small darkened tent, lit only by a single candle, it was some time before his eyes, dazzled by the bright sunlight, took in the features of the scene. Soon he made out, lying on a small pallet bed, the noble form of the fast dying hero, whom he had seen so lately in the heyday of youth and manly beauty, rejoicing in his strength and confident in his fortunes, as he led his triumphant soldiers from the Moree bastion to assault that

Lahore gate, before which he was destined to receive the fatal wound which was to end his dream of glory, and quench the bright hopes of an eager, ambitious nature. He lay now alone, save for the presence of a native servant, and suffering agonising pain from the wound in his chest. The earthly honours and the applause of men, on which this brilliant military genius had set such store but a few hours before, were now revealed to him in their true worth, and nought was left to cheer those bitter hours but the consciousness of duty performed to the last. Friends would come to cheer him, but he knew them not in the hours of delirium, while their presence was irksome when consciousness restored him to a sense of suffering. Tenacious of life, but unrepining at the hard fate which snatched it from him just when the fruits of victory were in his grasp, his was, indeed, a sad, albeit a "glorious" end. The name of John Nicholson will live in our island story as long as there are English hearts to kindle at the mention of brave deeds, but, none the less, it is pitiable to think of the cost at which such triumphant deaths are won. Grant says:—"I had seen him upon the walls of Delhi the day before, vigorous and animated, leading on his men gallantly. Everything was now changed for him, ambition, the hopes of rising to greatness, all was vanishing from before his eyes. He was like a noble oak riven asunder by a thunderbolt." Nicholson lingered in great agony till the 23rd. His loss, great as it was in the succeeding campaign, would have been almost irreparable to the small Delhi army, had it happened at an early period of the siege. But, happily, England in her hour of need has never had occasion to say with Brutus of his friend Cassius:—

"It is impossible that ever Rome
Should breed thy fellow."

Many days elapsed before Delhi was finally cleared of rebels, who, after the capture of the town from the Cashmere to the Cabul gate, still held the Lahore bastion, which was not carried until the 20th. On the morning of that day, which witnessed the evacuation of the city by the rebels, Hope Grant moved with a strong force of cavalry to the right of the city, to the elevation on which stands the "Eedgah," from thence overlooking the camp of the Bareilly and Nusserabad mutineers, under the rebel General Bukhtawar Khan, quondam Subahdar of artillery. It was soon perceived by unmistakable signs that the camp was being evacuated, and, soon after, a loud explosion took place, which told practised ears that the rebels were blowing

up their ammunition previous to flight, and scouts, coming breathlessly in at the moment, confirmed the fact. Captain Hodson got leave from Hope Grant to report to General Wilson, galloping, on his way, right along the front of the city. Having obtained from the General permission to reconnoitre the rebel camp, he started with his second in command, McDowell, and seventy-five troopers, and rode right round the city to the Delhi gate, clearing the road of stray rebels as he went along. Hodson, finding the camp all but empty, and the Delhi gate open, brought away with him three guns left by the enemy. Next day, the 21st September, he asked and obtained permission to go after the king, whose capture at Hoomayoon's tomb he successfully accomplished at the cost of much fatigue and some fighting. Early the following morning he again started with 100 of his men, and captured three princes of the royal house of Delhi, who were known to have taken a prominent part in the atrocities attending the Mutiny, and shot them with his revolver under circumstances which have been often described and much discussed.

During a great portion of the siege, owing to the paucity of artillerymen, Grant, at General Wilson's request, detached a party of sixty men from the 9th Lancers, and ten from the Carabineers, to assist in working the siege guns. This they did with such spirit and smartness as to call forth the commendation of the artillery officers, including Major (now Sir James) Brind, Captain (now Sir Edwin) Johnson, and the commanding General.* Of the assistance rendered throughout the siege, General Wilson says:—"His activity in carrying out the details has been admirable, and his vigilance in superintending the outpost duties has been unsurpassed."

After the capture of Delhi, columns were sent in pursuit of the flying rebels, and scoured the country, cutting up the enemy wherever encountered—though the latter sometimes turned on their pursuers, and fought as rats will fight when they see there is no hope of escape. Colonel Greathed with his column

* General Wilson said in his despatch:—"I should neither be fulfilling the repeatedly expressed wishes of the artillery officers attached to this force, nor following the dictates of my own inclination, if I failed to acknowledge the valuable assistance which has throughout the operations before Delhi been most cheerfully given by the non-commissioned officers and men of H.M.'s 9th Lancers and 6th Dragoon Guards in working the batteries. Without it, owing to the comparatively small number of artillerymen, I should have been quite unable to man the batteries efficiently, or to keep up the heavy fire which, aided by these men, I have happily been able to do. To these regiments therefore, and to Brigadier Grant, who so readily placed a certain number of his men at my disposal for such purpose, I tender my best thanks."

defeated the enemy on the 28th September at Boolundshuhur, and marching *viâ* Allyghurh and Hattress to Agra, on the 10th October was suddenly attacked by the enemy before that place, but repulsed them with loss, capturing twelve guns. After this action, Grant—on the requisition of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces to General Penny, who was now in command of the district (General Wilson having gone on sick leave to Mussoorie)—proceeded to Agra, and, on his arrival, found that Greathed had pushed on in the direction of Mynpoorie. He now posted after the column, and, on overtaking it, assumed command on the 18th October. The column at this time consisted of some 1,600 infantry, 500 cavalry, including the 9th Lancers and three troops of horse artillery. Halting at Mynpoorie on the 20th, Grant reached Bewar on the 21st, and recovered the treasure, about £23,000, left there when the Mutiny broke out in May. The fort, with all the buildings it contained, was blown up, and Grant then marched on Goorshai-gunj, which was reached on the 22nd, after a long march of twenty-four miles. On the following day the troops made another forced march to Kanouj, where a portion of the Delhi fugitives, on their way to Futteyghur, had established themselves. On discovering the approach of our troops, a body of 300 of them, with five guns, endeavoured to escape in the direction of Oude. Grant sent Major Ouvry with 200 of the 9th Lancers, some of the 15th Irregulars, and two guns, in pursuit, and, on hearing sharp firing, himself followed with a second squadron and four more guns. The enemy had attempted to form on crossing the Kalla Nuddee (Black River), and fired on Grant's cavalry. On his guns opening, they fled, when the Lancers pursued them across country, and, as the Ganges was in their rear, about 200 of them were cut up, the remainder escaping into the fields. All the guns were captured.*

On the 26th October, Hope Grant, accompanied by Colonel Greathed, arrived at Cawnpore, where reinforcements were

* "One morning," says Grant in his journal, "when I was having breakfast by the roadside, a coolie put into my hand a quill which he had ingeniously fitted into a hole made in his cudgel, the aperture being so carefully closed up with a piece of wood that it was scarcely perceptible. Inside the quill was a small roll of paper, on which was written a despatch traced in Greek characters, so that, had it fallen into the hands of the mutineers, they would have been unable to have discovered its meaning. I had almost forgotten my Greek, and I employed several young gentlemen lately from school to decipher the missive. It proved to be from Sir James Outram, written from the Residency at Lucknow, and requested that aid might be afforded to his force as speedily as possible, as they were running short of provisions, and would not be able to hold out much longer." After this Grant made forced marches to Cawnpore.

being concentrated with the object of relieving Havelock and the beleaguered garrison of Lucknow. As the column passed like a ship through the sea, the rebels closed in their rear, and communications between the upper and lower provinces were interrupted. From Agra to Cawnpore the road was quite closed, but from Agra upwards and Cawnpore downwards it was open. Grant marched into Cawnpore with 1,550 infantry, 620 artillery, 400 cavalry, and 190 sappers and miners. On reporting himself to General Archdale Wilson, in command of that station, that officer reinforced him with 390 men of the 93rd Highlanders, under Colonel Hon. Adrian Hope, detachments of the 55th Regiment, and 5th Fusiliers, and some fifty artillerymen; so that his column was made up to 3,060 men, and twenty guns—a considerable force in those days, but not a man too many to effect the relief of Lucknow and withdrawal of the garrison, the duty assigned to it.

Grant crossed the Ganges on the 30th October, pushed on in easy marches without meeting any opposition until he arrived at Bunnee, where the bridge was destroyed. As the stream was low he was enabled to cross his troops at a ford, and, advancing a distance of four miles, encamped on an open plain. He had intended to march that morning to Alumbagh, about ten miles from Bunnee, and forty-nine from the Ganges, but, during the previous night, received an express from Sir Colin Campbell, written from Cawnpore, where he had arrived from Calcutta, directing him to halt in the best position he could find until Sir Colin joined him. It thus happened that, on this morning, the 3rd November, Grant marched at 7 a.m. instead of 4, his usual hour, and most fortunately, as the event proved, for a large body of rebels had taken post at the village of Buntheera, about two miles in advance, intending to allow the main column to pass, and then to loot the convoy, which was of immense length, extending over two miles of ground. Grant now attacked the rebels, drove them out of the village, and captured their only gun. He then encamped on the plain, and, on the 9th November, was joined at Buntheera by Sir Colin Campbell, who brought with him a detachment of 9th Lancers and Punjaub Irregulars, and the naval brigade under Captain Peel, R.N., with six 24-pounders, two howitzers, and four large mortars.

Grant rode out to greet his old friend and shipmate in the *Belleisle* when going out to China, and reminded him of his letter from Peshawur, when he said that he had "one foot in the grave," upon which Sir Colin replied that he would "as soon have thought of being made Archbishop of Canterbury as

Commander-in-Chief in India." Sir Colin Campbell now assumed command, Grant being in command of the division, with the rank of Brigadier-General.

The supplies brought for the troops at Lucknow were forwarded, under a convoy commanded by Brigadier Adrian Hope, to Alumbagh, where the small garrison had been holding out since the 25th September, when Outram and Havelock made their memorable advance, and then the transport animals and wheeled carriage were sent back to Cawnpore, and, on 12th November, Sir Colin Campbell marched with the main body for Alumbagh. On approaching within two miles of that position the enemy were found in great force in an entrenched position, about 1,400 yards on the right flank of the advance guard, under Adrian Hope, on which they opened fire with some guns. The Commander-in-Chief first attacked them on their left, and Grant on the right, but an intervening swamp saved them from receiving more than a distant fire from the guns, though Lieutenant Gough, with a party of irregular cavalry, managed to kill some of them as they retired, and captured two guns. Alumbagh was now reached, and, on 14th November, Sir Colin Campbell marched to relieve Lucknow.

Advancing through fields of grain nearly due east over a plain in which occasionally the heavy guns stuck fast, he commenced the operations by an attack on the Dilkhoosha palace. This was carried after some heavy firing, and then the division moved on the Martinière, where the enemy had guns in position, which was also captured by him after the British heavy guns had pounded it from the Dilkhoosha plateau. There was a rest on the 15th November, but on the following day the division advanced straight across the ford and, passing through the suburbs, stormed the Secunderbagh after a severe struggle. Grant says in his journal:—"I was riding beside Sir Colin, close to one of the guns, when a musket shot killed a gunner, passing completely through him and striking the Commander-in-Chief with great force on the thigh. We thought at first he was wounded, but he escaped with a severe bruise." The next position attacked was the Shah Nujeef, which, after being battered for three hours by heavy artillery, was stormed at dusk after one of the sternest struggles of the war. Sir Colin Campbell and General Grant, with their respective staffs, took up their quarters in the Shah Nujeef, where occasionally round shot plumped in from the rebel batteries. The fortified work, formerly used by the officers of the 32nd Regiment as their mess house, was now shelled, and then carried by storm by a

party of the 90th Regiment, led by Captain (now General Sir Garnet) Wolseley, who, pressing on, carried the Motee Mahal, and soon after a junction was effected with the Residency. Grant says in his journal:—"Shortly after we entered the Motee Mahal, General Havelock came from the Residency to meet us, and I had the satisfaction of being the first to congratulate him on being relieved. He went up to the men, who immediately flocked around him and gave him three hearty cheers. This was too much for the fine old General, his breast heaved with emotion and his eyes filled with tears. He turned to the men and said, 'Soldiers, I am happy to see you; soldiers, I am happy to think you have got into this place with a smaller loss than I had.' Hearing this, I asked him what he supposed our loss amounted to. He answered that he had heard it estimated at 80, and was much surprised and grieved when I told him that we had about 43 officers and 450 men killed and wounded. We went together to Sir Colin Campbell at the mess house, where Sir James Outram also joined us. This was a happy meeting, and a cordial shaking of hands took place."

Sir Colin Campbell says in a private letter written at this time to H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge:—"My old friend Grant, of the 9th Lancers, who now, as a Brigadier, commands the division under my immediate supervision, is quite invaluable from his thorough knowledge of the people he is among, the enemy he has to deal with, his great experience of war in India, his ready appreciation of ground, and the manner in which he is able at a glance to make his disposition. If your Royal Highness is in want of an Inspector-General of Cavalry for India, he is just the man for it, and with the rank of Major-General would perform the duty most admirably. It would also be a most fitting reward for his very distinguished and gallant service throughout this and former campaigns." Grant received the commendations of Sir Colin Campbell for the assistance he had rendered throughout the operations thus happily concluded. In his cautious temperament he had much in common with his countryman, the Commander-in-Chief, who was much abused by some critics, who nicknamed him "Old Kubahdar" (take care) for what they considered over-caution and want of enterprise. Grant belonged to the school of Sir Colin Campbell and Sir Archdale Wilson—cautious commanders who would leave nothing to chance, but made sure of their communications before advancing, and of their outposts each evening before retiring to rest; a point on which Sir Colin was especially careful, and

would himself go round and see that all was safe unless he had his trusty friend, Hope Grant, with him. If these officers erred on the side of caution, the opposite school—represented at Delhi by Sir Neville Chamberlain, who was condemned for venturing too close to the walls, notably on the 9th July, the day he was severely wounded, and, in other parts of the extended seat of hostilities, by other officers—was accused of going to the other extreme, and spoken of as being too reckless. These strictures and recriminations, however, always arise in any war where the operations are of a chequered nature, according to the bias of the critic, and it is impossible to bring the views of the rival schools to a practical test. However this may be, Sir Colin Campbell was more than satisfied with his lieutenant, and reported that “his activity in carrying out the details has been admirable, and his vigilance in superintending the outpost duties has been unsurpassed.” Lord Canning echoed these sentiments in his General Order thanking the officers and men of the relieving army.*

The evacuation of the Residency was accomplished with admirable judgment, and Sir Colin Campbell, leaving Sir James Outram with 3,500 men to defend the Alumbagh position, crossed the Ganges, and arrived at Cawnpore in time to save General Windham's hardly pressed force from destruction. On the 30th November, when the Commander-in-Chief was encamped at a point about two miles below Bunnee bridge, heavy firing was heard in the direction of Cawnpore, and a messenger arrived in hot haste from General Windham requesting Sir Colin Campbell to advance to his relief. A forced march of thirty-five miles brought the army within four miles of Cawnpore, and, on the following day, they crossed the Ganges by the bridge of boats. The Commander-in-Chief pitched his camp on the ground formerly occupied by the old barracks, but the right was thrown so far forward that the rebels were able to pitch shot and shell into it at long ranges. “The enemy,” says Grant in his journal, “had discovered which was Sir Colin's tent, though it was a common bell one, and in no ways calculated to attract attention. He had desired me to pitch mine alongside his, and though shot and shell constantly fell around us, wounding his orderly's horse and two bullocks, and passing

* In his General Order, dated 23rd November, 1857, his lordship says:—“To Brigadier-General Hope Grant, who immediately commanded the division employed, his lordship in council tenders his warm acknowledgments for the admirable manner in which he performed the arduous duties of his command. This well-tried officer had already greatly distinguished himself in the operations before Delhi, and has received the public thanks of government.”

throughout the tent of one of his aides-de-camp, he would not move an inch ; but it is surprising how used one gets to these little occurrences. We brought up a 24-pounder, and succeeded in silencing the fire of the enemy." The Commander-in-Chief's first care was to despatch the ladies, children, and sick to Allahabad under a strong escort, which was accomplished on the night of the 3rd December, and on Sunday, the 6th, Sir Colin Campbell took the offensive against the enemy, who numbered 25,000 men and 36 guns.

In the ensuing operations, which were skilfully conceived and carried out by the Commander-in-Chief, Brigadier-General Grant, after the rebels had been driven from their positions by the impetuous attack of the columns of infantry, pushed on with the cavalry and horse artillery, and took the rebel camp, in which he found three 8-inch and two 5-inch mortars, together with a vast amount of stores and clothing, which had been looted by the rebels when they captured the Assembly Rooms. Pursuing the enemy for a distance of fifteen miles up to the Kalla Nuddee, he captured a great many guns, which were brought back to camp at nightfall ; during the day one of his aides-de-camp was killed. He says in his journal :—"We bivouacked on the ground where the battle had been fought. The night was cold, we had no tents, and little to eat. Sir Colin was the most thorough soldier of us all. When his force was required to sleep in the open air, a very common occurrence, he always made a point of stopping with the men. His courage and judgment were unsurpassed. Cool and good-humoured in action, always in his place when most wanted, he could not fail to win the confidence of those under him."

On the 8th December, Grant, under instructions from the Commander-in-Chief, marched against Bithoor, the residence of Nana Sahib, with discretionary power to change his course to a ferry twenty-five miles up the river, called Serai Ghât, if he ascertained on the road that the rebels had conveyed any guns in that direction. The force placed at his disposal consisted of Brigadier Adrian Hope's brigade, about 2,800 men, with 11 guns. "At one p.m. on the 8th December," he says, "I began my march. On the road I learned that 5 brass guns and a 24-pounder had been conveyed by that route. I therefore resolved to make for Serai Ghât, and at nightfall started afresh, and a little before daylight arrived at Surajpoor, about three miles from the ferry. Having collected all encumbrances which were not absolutely necessary for my further expedition, I placed them in a safe position, with an escort of 100 infantry, 2 guns,

and a squadron of cavalry, and, with the remainder of my force, advanced by a cross-country road in the direction of the river. As I approached it, I halted the main body, and, with a detachment of cavalry, went out to reconnoitre." Having learned that the guns of which he was in search were on the banks of the river, Grant sent back for his main body, and, on the arrival of his cavalry and guns, pushed on over some bad swampy ground until within range of the enemy. The guns, consisting of Captains Middleton's and Remington's batteries, opened a concentrated fire, which, he says, "told with such terrible effect upon the enemy, crowded into a mass with their guns, bullocks, and baggage, that they gave way, and retreated as fast as possible along the river bank, where it would have been difficult to have pursued them in force, owing to the marshy state of the ground. However, the irregular cavalry managed to overtake and cut up some of them. My gallant regiment, the 9th Lancers, was in support of our batteries. We captured fifteen of the enemy's guns, with the finest bullocks I ever saw, belonging to the Gwalior contingent. They occupied a very cramped position, the ground around being marshy, so much so indeed that we had some difficulty in taking possession of our capture. I was struck with a grape-shot in the foot, but again, most wonderful to say, without being wounded. At the time I was close to Remington's battery, but the shot must have been a ricochet."* The Gwalior contingent, the finest fighting force the rebels possessed, were thus defeated and finally dispersed, with a loss of thirty-six guns—all they possessed.

On the 11th December Grant proceeded to Bithoor, where was the palace of the infamous Nana Sahib, which was burnt; in a well here he discovered a quantity of gold and silver and articles of great antiquity. On the 24th December he started for Mynpoorie, and, on the following day, was joined by the Commander-in-Chief, with whom he marched to Poorwah, and

* In a private letter to Grant, dated 10th December, Sir Colin Campbell says:—"Most heartily do I congratulate you upon the great and important success you have obtained over the rebels, and in the capture of all their guns, fifteen in number. It is impossible to over-estimate the advantage to our interests, military and political, which will result from the taking of the only guns remaining with the Gwalior contingent. All the discontented chiefs, with their rabble of villains, will lose hope and heart at once on learning the result of your pursuit and attack of the body of men protecting the guns that had been left to them, with the loss of the latter. All this is matter for real rejoicing, and will cause great satisfaction in Calcutta. Your note reached me about 2 a.m. this morning. I lost not a moment in sending information by telegraph to the Governor-General, which he would receive about breakfast-time, and afford him intense satisfaction. The mail for England is to close at Calcutta this evening, so that the manner of the disposal of the guns of the Gwalior contingent, with the last few days, will be known at home within a month from the present date. I hope to greet you as Major-General Sir Hope Grant before the end of April."

thence to Goorsaigunj. Finding that the bridge over the Kalla Nuddee had been broken by the rebels, who had taken up a position on the road in rear of it, in order to prevent the British advance to Futteygurh, Sir Colin sent on Hope's brigade, which drove them away. The bridge was repaired, but on 2nd January, 1858, when the Commander-in-Chief rode down to the river, the enemy, who had gathered meanwhile in strong force, with several guns, opened a heavy fire, upon which he sent his troops across the bridge, and quickly drove them out of the village, capturing their guns. Grant says in his journal:—"Sir Colin had been struck in the stomach by a spent rifle-shot, which nearly doubled him up, but did not otherwise injure him. By a like shot, when talking to him and Mansfield, I was hit in the side with such force that for some moments I could not speak. Happily I was only bruised. I took the cavalry at a trot round to the left, and came upon large bodies of rebels retreating in hot haste. The 9th Lancers charged and cut down a number, but several jumped into the deep ditches on the roadside, and fired at us as we passed. One Sepoy took a deliberate pot shot at me, when within but a few yards of him, but providentially he missed me."

On the following day the forces marched for Futteygurh, and took possession, without opposition, of a strong mud fort, and the town of Furrackabad, a few miles distant, was also occupied. As the Commander-in-Chief was now engaged in his preparations for the final capture of Lucknow, Grant received ten days' leave of absence to see his wife at Umballa. Leaving Furrackabad on 14th January, in company with his aide-de-camp,* he posted to Umballa in fifty-two hours, and, on the conclusion of his brief but happy visit, returned to camp on the night of the 24th. On that day week Grant marched in command of the main body towards Cawnpore. Being an ardent sportsman, on the line of march he indulged in a day's pig-sticking and fox-hunting at a place near Kanouj, thus agreeably varying the monotony of chasing rebels over the country. On arriving at Soorajpore, he received a message from the Commander-in-Chief, who had preceded him a few days, directing him to join him at Cawnpore. Accordingly he started off with his two aides-de-camp and Lieutenant Roberts,† his Assistant Quartermaster-General, and rode into Cawnpore, twenty-seven miles distant. On his arrival, Sir

* The late Colonel Hon. Augustus Anson, M.P. for Bewdley, who served as his aide-de-camp during the siege of Delhi, and throughout the Indian Mutiny and China campaign of 1860.

† Now Major-General Sir Frederick Roberts, commanding the army in Afghanistan.

Colin Campbell informed him of his intention to run down to Allahabad, to confer with the Governor-General, and directed him to cross the Ganges and assume command of the whole force between Cawnpore and Bunnee, where Sir James Outram's command commenced. Accordingly, on the 8th February Grant crossed the Ganges, and proceeded to Oonao, where he had a force of 3,500 men under his command. Receiving an order from Major-General Mansfield, chief of the staff to the Commander-in-Chief, to make a *dour* (or rapid expedition) to a place called Futtehpore Churassie, about twenty-five miles north of the Cawnpore road, on the banks of the Ganges, he marched on the 15th February with a strong brigade of all arms,* and, making his way across country, reached his destination in two days, but found that Nana Sahib, whose quarters he proposed to beat up, had decamped. After destroying the fort and buildings, he marched to Bangurmow and Sultangunj, and on the 23rd February arrived at Meeangunj, a town surrounded by a loopholed wall, and held by the rebels, who had made preparations to resist. Grant reconnoitred the place, and finding on one side an excellent position within 350 yards, where the heavy guns could be brought up, and a part of the wall in which was a postern gate which could be breached, ordered up two 18-pounder guns, and placed the 53rd Regiment, with the 38th in support, in rear of the guns behind a village. The cavalry, with four horse artillery guns, he sent to cover the Lucknow road, and placed a battery on the right of the breaching guns to keep down the musketry fire from the walls of the town. In the space of fifty minutes the two heavy guns made a practicable breach, and he then ordered the 53rd Regiment, which had been formed into two columns, to advance to the assault. "This duty," he says in his despatch, "was performed most admirably by the 53rd; they approached the town through some lanes to the left, rushed in at the breach, stormed the town, and took it; six guns were also taken. Numbers of the enemy were killed, and numbers tried to make their escape through the gates; but we were everywhere prepared for them, and altogether there must have been 500 killed and 400 taken prisoners. The cavalry, artillery, and infantry, on all sides, did their duty, and gave me the greatest satisfaction." The British loss was only twenty-one killed and wounded, among the latter being Captain Jones, R.N., a volunteer.

* The 34th, 38th, and 53rd Regiments of Infantry, 2 squadrons of 7th Hussars, Anderson's and Turner's troops of horse artillery, 5 heavy guns and mortars, and a company of sappers.

The Commander-in-Chief, in forwarding this despatch to the Governor-General, expressed his opinion "that Sir Hope Grant in this, as in all other affairs in which he has been engaged, displayed great energy, zeal, and ability, and that he well deserves the approbation of his lordship," who, on his part, was not slow in recording "his concurrence in the high opinion expressed by the Commander-in-Chief of the merits of that officer." The many brilliant services performed at Delhi, and in the subsequent operations, now received a more substantial reward than mere thanks. Grant was created a K.C.B., and, by a General Order, dated 20th February, 1858, the Queen directed his promotion to the rank of Major-General, for "his eminent services in command of the cavalry division at the siege of Delhi, and in that of a division at the relief of Lucknow under Sir Colin Campbell; also in the subsequent operations at Cawnpore, when the rebel army sustained a total defeat." Soon after he received the substantial reward of a "distinguished service pension" of £200 a year.

Sir Hope Grant marched on 25th February from Meeangunj, and on 1st March joined the Commander-in-Chief at Buntheera. Sir Hope now assumed command of the cavalry division of the army for the subjugation of the province of Oude. On the 2nd March Sir Colin marched with a division of infantry, 3 troops of horse artillery, and 1,300 cavalry, under Grant, for Dilkhoosha, which was occupied. Sir Hope was entrusted with the charge of the outposts, and, while placing some guns, was struck by a spent bullet. In the ensuing operations for the capture of Lucknow he acted as second in command to Sir James Outram, who conducted the trans-Goomtee operations,* with 6,000 men and 30 guns, Brigadier-General Walpole commanding the infantry, and Brigadier Hagart the cavalry brigade.

On the 15th March, the day after the capture of the Kaiser Bagh, Sir Hope Grant was ordered off to Seetapore, with 1,100 cavalry and two troops of horse artillery, but was recalled the same day, after making his first march, as it had been discovered that the enemy were still in force in the city. On the 19th March, Sir James Outram attacked and captured the Moosabagh, situated on the right bank of the river, but, unfortunately, the enemy escaped in great numbers, thus protracting the war considerably. Sir Hope Grant says in his journal:—"Brigadier Campbell, with a brigade of infantry, some guns, and 1,500 cavalry, took up a position on the left front, in readiness to

* These operations have been described in detail in the memoir of Sir James Outram.

pitch into them on their retreat; and I was ordered with my guns to assist, from the left bank of the Goomtee, in dislodging the enemy from the Moosabagh, and, with my cavalry, to fall upon any who crossed over to my side. The rebels opened fire upon my men at a long range, but my orders were not to advance until a simultaneous attack had been made by all Outram's troops. His force, however, did not arrive until nearly two hours after I had taken up my position, and Outram had scarcely commenced firing when the enemy found it too hot, and bolted, and continued their retreat unmolested by Campbell's brigade. With his large force of cavalry and artillery there was a splendid opportunity for cutting off the large masses of fugitive rebels, yet nearly all were allowed to escape."

On 22nd March, Sir Hope Grant marched with a strong brigade of all arms to a town called Koorsie, about 25 miles from Lucknow, on the Fyzabad road, when two squadrons of the Punjaub Cavalry, led by Captain (now General Sir Samuel) Browne, and a party of Watson's Horse, under Captain Cosserat, had a smart action with the rebels, in which the latter officer and Lieutenant Macdonald were killed; and Captain Browne charged five times, killing 200 of the enemy, and capturing 13 guns and a mortar. After this Sir Hope returned to Lucknow, and was placed in command of the garrison;* but he was not to remain long in cantonments. Under orders from Sir Colin Campbell, who started for Allahabad on the 9th April, he marched, two days later, with a strong column of about 3,000 men for Baree, 29 miles from Lucknow, on the Seetapore road, where the enemy had congregated under the Moolvie, Mansoob Ali, who was one of the guiding spirits of the Oude rebels. On the 13th April, Sir Hope came up with the enemy, about 6,000 infantry and 1,000 horse, posted on the banks of a stream, with hills on either side. The rebels first tried to cut off the baggage, which extended over a line of nearly 3 miles, but were repulsed by a troop of the 7th Hussars; the infantry were now ordered to advance on the village, which was gallantly stormed, and then the enemy were driven from some higher ground after making a feeble resistance. Continuing his march through Burassie, Manidabad, and Ramnuggur (6 miles from Bittoulie), on

* The Lucknow garrison consisted of D'Aguilar's and Olpherts' troops of horse artillery, Gibbon's and Carton's batteries of foot artillery, four garrison batteries, one company of engineers, and three companies of Punjaub and Delhi Pioneers; 2nd Dragoon Guards, the Lahore Light Horse, 1st Sikh Cavalry, and Hodson's Horse. H.M.'s. 20th, 23rd, 38th, 53rd, 90th, and 97th Regiments; 1st Madras Fusiliers, Headquarters of 27th Madras N.I. and 5th Punjaub Infantry.

the 21st April, in response to an order from Sir William Mansfield, he turned towards Lucknow. On his way he paid a visit to an Oude Rajah, who made offers of submission, but whose conduct had been suspicious throughout the Mutiny. Taking with him two squadrons of cavalry, he entered this chief's fort, which was situated in an almost impenetrable jungle, and, after much search, discovered 3 guns, one of them, a 9-pounder, "most skilfully facing the road by which we had travelled, double shotted with grape and round shot, ready primed, and having a slow-match fixed and lighted." On the following day Sir Hope sent Brigadier (now General Sir Alfred) Horsford with a force, and the fort was levelled with the ground and the jungle burned. He now rode into Lucknow with his staff, and, on 29th April, proceeded to Bunnee, where his field-force, now made up to a strength of 4,500 men, had marched from Nawabgunj. After visiting some places, Sir Hope arrived on 10th May (the 1st anniversary of the outbreak of the Mutiny) before Doondeakeira, a fort of great extent and enormous strength, surrounded by an almost impenetrable jungle, belonging to Ram Bux, a rebel who had killed several of the Cawnpore fugitives. The place was deserted, and had apparently been denuded of all means of defence, but, on a search being instituted, 3 guns, one a French 32-pounder howitzer, were found in some deep dry wells. On the 12th May, Sir Hope arrived at Nuggur, and, hearing that the enemy had taken up a position in force at Sirsee, 5 miles distant, he started the same afternoon to attack them.

At 5 o'clock in the afternoon, he arrived in presence of the enemy—estimated at 1,500 infantry and 1,600 cavalry, with 2 guns—posted along a nullah, with broken ground around and a large nullah in their rear. Leaving his *impedimenta* in the rear under a guard, Sir Hope advanced against the enemy. First opening fire with his guns, he sent the Rifle Brigade and Sikhs in skirmishing order, with the 38th and 90th in reserve and covering the heavy guns. The rebels, attacked in this vigorous manner, soon broke and fled, leaving their guns and a large number of slain on the field. Sir Hope bivouacked that night, and, marching *vid* Nuggur and Poorwah to Bunnee, quitted the column—with directions to proceed to Jellalabad, and then cross the Goomtee—and rode into Lucknow with his staff. Here he learned from Mr. (now Sir Robert) Montgomery—who, on 3rd April, had succeeded Sir James Outram as Chief Commissioner, on the appointment of the latter to the office of military member of the Governor-General's council—that Beni Madhoo, a notorious rebel talookdar (landowner), was threatening the Cawnpore road with a

large force. Sir Hope joined his camp at Jellalabad on 24th May, and, leaving the infantry at Bunnee, marched with the cavalry and horse artillery to Nawabgunj, on the Cawnpore road; again hearing from the Chief Commissioner that Beni Madhoo was at Jessenda, 8 miles from Bunnee, he marched thither with his whole force, but it was a false alarm. On the 4th June he crossed the Sye and proceeded to Poorwah, where he exchanged formal visits with our faithful ally, the Rajah of Kuppoortullah, who had with him some 900 raw Sikh levies. Here he learned that the rebels were in force at Nawabgunj,* on the Fyzabad road, about 18 miles from Lucknow, and proceeded to beat them up with a strong column. On arriving at Chinhut, he left behind all his baggage, under a guard of 200 men, commanded by Colonel Purnell, 90th Regiment; and as the midday heat was very trying, resolved to cover the distance of 12 miles by a night march. At 11 p.m. on a very dark night, he set out with 3,500 men, and, halting for breakfast at daylight, near a stone bridge, about 2 miles from their position, crossed the bridge after silencing the rebel fire, and attacked the rebels, who were strongly posted on a plateau surrounded on three sides by a stream; striking in on their fourth side, which rested on a jungle, he turned their right, when a panic ensued. A body of zemindaree horse, however, defended 2 guns with unsurpassed valour, refused to yield ground, though decimated by showers of grape, at 500 yards range, and repeated charges of two squadrons of the 7th Hussars, led by Sir William Russell, supported by two companies of the 60th Rifles.

With the admiration of a soldier for a brave foe, Grant says in his journal:—"I have seen many battles in India, and many brave fellows fighting with a determination to conquer or die, but I never witnessed anything more magnificent than the conduct of these zemindarees; around the 2 guns alone there were 125 corpses." After 3 hours' hard fighting, the enemy, who numbered 15,000, fled, leaving 6 guns in the hands of the victors, and 600 men dead on the field. The British loss was 67 killed and wounded, exclusive of 33 men who died of sunstroke, and 250 who went into hospital sick from the same malady. Grant says in his journal:—"Singular to say, the sufferers generally died during the night. The men fell asleep in their tents and never awoke, apoplexy, resulting from exposure to the sun, being the immediate cause of death." This victory had a

* Called Nawabgunj Bara Bunkee, or the great Nawabgunj, to distinguish it from Nawabgunj on the Cawnpore road. Much confusion arises in identifying places in India, owing to the multiplication of the names.

most important effect on the rebels, who broke up into small parties.

Sir Hope Grant returned to Lucknow, leaving his force at Nawabgunj, to which he again returned on the 21st July, on receipt of orders from the Commander-in-Chief, directing him to proceed to the relief of Maun Singh, a powerful Rajah who had deserted the rebel cause, and was besieged by a large force of the enemy. Hastily marching from Nawabgunj on the 22nd July, he learned, when within a day's march of the Rajah's fort, that the rebels had decamped, some having joined the Begum on the opposite side of the Gogra, and two parties, each 4,000 strong, having gone to Sultanpore on the Goomtee. On the 29th July, Sir Hope entered Fyzabad, whence he hastened with his cavalry and horse artillery to the Ghaut of Ajudia, about 4 miles lower down the Gogra, where he arrived in time to sink some of the boats employed transporting the rebels across the stream. On the following day he received a visit from Maun Singh, which he returned on the 2nd August, escorted by 200 cavalry, at the Rajah's fort, 12 miles in a southerly direction. The place was surrounded by walls about 2 miles in circumference, having a palace in the interior; and Maun Singh showed his visitors two guns, which he said he had captured from the enemy, and 10 others of his own, which he said were at the disposal of his newly-made allies. Under orders from the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hope detached a brigade, on the 7th August, under Brigadier Horsford, to drive away the enemy from Sultanpore, but as the force was too small to cross the river in face of the rebel army—said to amount to 14,000 men with 15 guns—on the 19th August he marched in support of Horsford with the Rifle Brigade, a wing of the 53rd, and 8 heavy guns and mortars, which were dragged through the heavy ground, with much labour, by the elephants. On his arrival at Sultanpore, the engineers set to work constructing rafts, there being no boats available, and, between the 25th and 27th, the guns and entire force were successfully transported across the river, the cavalry swimming their horses—a work of no small difficulty, as the river was broad and rapid. The enemy made an attempt to prevent the crossing, and, on the evening of the 28th, attacked the camp, but were easily repulsed. At 3 a.m. on the following morning, Sir Hope advanced towards the enemy's position, but they had retreated during the night. The engineers commenced making a flying bridge across the river with some large boats, which was completed by the 5th September.

At this time Sir Hope received a despatch from the Chief of

the staff, saying that Sir Colin Campbell "is much pleased with all you have done, and more particularly with the manner in which you have crossed the Gogra in the face of the enemy with such very imperfect means." Sir William Mansfield also directed him to come to Allahabad, where the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief were staying, to be invested in company with himself, with the insignia of the Bath. This was a pleasant break in the hardships of campaigning, and Sir Hope set off, escorted by a detachment of Sikh Horse, and rode the distance of 70 miles in two days. Sir Colin Campbell performed the ceremony of investiture, and Lord Canning, who was accompanied by his charming wife, received the new knight with great kindness and made a flattering speech. But the Commander-in-Chief placed his friend under an additional obligation on this occasion. It would seem that the newly-installed knight, being engaged in campaigning since his promotion to the rank of Major-General, did not possess the full dress of his rank, so he had recourse to the wardrobe of Sir Colin, who lent him the necessary articles of uniform, though the fit would have horrified a West-end tailor, for Sir Hope was of very spare habit, and some inches taller than his good-natured friend.

Sir Hope Grant returned to Lucknow on 2nd October, and, on the 11th, again took the field to beat up the rebels in the direction of Tanda. A portion of his force had a brush with the enemy, and, on 23rd October, he returned to Sultanpore, whence, in compliance with fresh orders, he marched to Kandoo Nuddee; but the rebels, though strongly posted, fled on his approach, and two guns were captured by his cavalry. A few days later, Sir Hope was again in the field, to take up a position between Amethie and Puseedapore, in order to co-operate with Lord Clyde, who proposed to reduce the fort of Amethie. Meanwhile, he arranged to attack the fort of Rampore Kussia, on the 4th November, in co-operation with Brigadier (the late Sir Edward) Wetherall, but that officer assaulted the place on the previous day, capturing twenty-three guns, and Sir Hope, who rode up as fast as possible with his cavalry and horse artillery, found that, owing to his coadjutor's precipitation, the rebels, with the exception of 300 killed, had succeeded in escaping in an easterly direction. The fort, which resembled the usual mud structures of the country, was inclosed by a wall three miles in circumference, and surrounded with a thick jungle. Hence Sir Hope proceeded towards the fort of Amethie, after reconnoitring which he rode over to the Commander-in-Chief's camp, three miles to the east of the fort, to arrange for the attack.

However, on the following day, the Rajah submitted and reported the desertion during the previous night of the force under his command, numbering 2,500 of his own followers, and 1,500 Sepoys. This fort was also of immense extent, the inclosing walls being between 3 and 4 miles in circumference; of the thirty guns with which it was known to be armed, only sixteen could be found. From Amethie Sir Hope marched to Pursseedapore, in order to take up a position north of Shunkerpore, a fort belonging to Beni Madhoo, who, however, evacuated it on the approach of Grant's force, and crossed the Gogra with some 15,000 followers. On the occupation of the fort the following morning, everything was found to have been removed except one gun and an elephant.

Grant now proceeded to Fyzabad, where he found a force of 4,300 men assembled to attack the enemy, who were in force on the opposite bank. After the engineers had bridged the Gogra, Sir Hope crossed on the 27th November with the main body, a Sikh regiment acting in co-operation on the flank, and the enemy's position was stormed. He now followed in pursuit with the cavalry and horse artillery, and, after a ride of twenty-four miles, returned to camp across the Gogra, having captured six guns. On 3rd December he marched to Bungaon, thence to Muchligaon, where he captured two guns, but was too late to cut off the enemy, and next took possession of the fort of Bunkussia, belonging to the Rajah of Gonda, containing five guns and much stores. On the 9th the column arrived at Gonda, and, on the following day, crossed the river Takree on rafts, arriving, on the 16th, at Bulrampore, the rajah of which had been a firm and consistent ally of our rule. Sir Hope crossed the Raptee to visit him in his fort, about three miles on the other side, and was hospitably entertained. He then marched to the fort of Toolsepore, twelve miles distant, whence Brigadier Rowcroft, acting under his orders, had driven the enemy, under Bala Rao and Mahomed Hussain, capturing two guns. Continuing his march for Dulhurree, close to the Nepaul frontier, where he waited for Rowcroft's column, he pushed on for Pushuroa, and thus succeeded in preventing the escape of Bala Rao, who, with six thousand men and fifteen guns, had retreated to a half-ruined fort near Kundakote. Having made his dispositions, on 4th January, 1859, Grant moved forward to the attack, but the rebels were too thoroughly cowed to stand, and fled, leaving behind them 15 guns.

Sir Hope rode across country to have an interview with Lord Clyde, who placed the whole of the troops operating in Oude

under his orders, but, as the rebels had been driven across the Nepaul frontier—over which they were followed by Brigadier Horsford, who captured 14 guns—he returned to Lucknow towards the end of January. Soon after, Mohamed Hussain surrendered, and was brought into Sir Hope's camp, which was moved to Fyzabad, and then to Amorha, on the other side of the Gogra. As the rebels were reported in force near Bunkussia, having broken across the Nepaul frontier into Oude, he sent one column towards that place, and another by Rampore Thana to scour the jungles, following in the wake of the latter along the banks of the Gogra. On the 7th May Sir Hope arrived at Bulrampore, when he received letters from Bala Rao petitioning for pardon, and from Nana Sahib, abusing the Government, and asking by what right the Company had established themselves in the country and declared him an outlaw. It was now stated that the enemy were at the Serwa Pass, so sending a small column to Toolsepore, Sir Hope, on the 21st May, entered the pass, when the rebels opened fire from the hills on either side, and from two guns on the low ground, but, while a company led by three* officers of his staff, Captains Wolseley, Wilmot, and Biddulph, turned their right, the main body, after a toilsome march of 4 miles, took them in flank, and the 7th Punjaub Infantry captured their 2 guns, the only ones remaining to them. This was the last passage-of-arms in the great Indian Mutiny, and Sir Hope, having driven the fragments of the broken rebel force over the hills into the Nepaul territory, returned to Lucknow on the 4th June, and took up his residence at the Dilkhoosha Palace.

The name of Sir Hope Grant was mentioned in the vote of thanks, by the Houses of Parliament, to the army that had quelled the Indian Mutiny, and restored peace to that blood-stained country; and the late Earl of Derby, in moving the vote in the House of Lords on the 4th April, 1859, observed:—"Sir Hope Grant has, perhaps, been more constantly and actively engaged than any other officer who has taken a part in the suppression of the recent outbreak in India. He has, I believe, been mentioned more frequently than any other officer in despatches; always in the front, always in the post of difficulty. A complete narrative of the engagements in which he has taken part, would in itself furnish a history not very imperfect of the whole of the operations of the war." After recounting Sir Hope Grant's services, his lordship quoted Lord Clyde's despatch

* Now respectively Generals Sir Garnet Wolseley, G.C.B.; Sir Henry Wilmot V.C., C.B., Bart., M.P. for Derbyshire; and Colonel R. Biddulph, C.B., R.A.

of the 7th January 1859, in which the Commander-in-Chief says:—"Sir Hope Grant's despatches during the last six months have told the story of the admirable part taken by him in this war. I cannot say too much in his praise. He has the rare merit of uniting the greatest boldness in action to a firm and correct judgment, and the most scrupulous regard for his orders and instructions." Lord Granville, on the same day, also observed:—"The achievements performed by Sir Hope Grant and Sir Hugh Rose seem more like the prodigies of valour recounted in the pages of an ancient romance than actual historical events occurring in our own times."

But the gallant soldier was not suffered to rest long in peace. The home Government had determined to send an expedition to China to punish the imperial government, for the Taku forts resisting the passage of the British fleet under Admiral Hope, contrary to the provisions of the treaty of Tientsin. Lord Clyde had recommended Sir William Mansfield for the command of the army, which was principally drawn from India, but the Duke of Cambridge selected Sir Hope Grant, who was senior to Mansfield, and whose services were not less distinguished. Accordingly, on the 14th October, on Lord Clyde's invitation, he proceeded to Cawnpore, and, after conferring with the Commander-in-Chief, returned to Lucknow, which was visited in state by Lord and Lady Canning, in whose honour a full-dress parade of his division was held by Sir Hope on the 28th October. In December he proceeded to Calcutta, where he was joined by Lady Grant on her return from England.

On the 26th February, 1860, having previously been gazetted to the local rank of Lieutenant-General, he sailed for China in the *Fiery Cross*, accompanied by Lady Grant, and, on the 12th March, arrived at Hong Kong. On the 31st March he proceeded in the steamship *Grenada* to Shanghai, to confer with his colleague, General Montauban, who had been appointed by the Emperor Napoleon to command the French force of 7,000 men, which was to act in concert with the British army. It was decided to commence operations by a descent on Chusan. Accordingly, an allied naval and military expedition, under the command of Sir Hope Grant, rendezvoused at King-tang, at the mouth of the river Ningpo, whence it proceeded to Tanghai, the capital of Chusan, which was occupied, on the 21st April, without opposition. Leaving Brigadier Reeves in command, Sir Hope sailed thence on the evening of the 23rd April, and, after a visit to the sacred island of Pootoo, famous for its Buddhist monasteries, returned to Hong Kong. Towards the

end of May, all the arrangements for the campaign in the north were completed, and the army,* being organised into two divisions of infantry, under Major-Generals Sir John Michel and Sir Robert Napier, and a Cavalry Brigade, under Brigadier Pattle, sailed for the Gulf of Pechili. The fleet consisted of 70 ships of war, including gunboats and a squadron of the Indian navy; and the transports numbered 120 sail; altogether the expedition formed the best organised and equipped force ever despatched by this country.

Sir Hope Grant, leaving his wife at Hong Kong, sailed in the *Grenada* on the 11th June, for Shanghai, where he met his colleague, General Montauban, with whom a plan of operations was discussed. Montauban proposed that a landing should be made at a spot 25 miles south of the great fort, which had repulsed the fleet the previous year, and then march up along the coast and attack the forts with light guns, but Sir Hope Grant, fortified by the opinion of Admiral Hope, decided to proceed up the river Pehtang, 8 miles north of the Peiho, capture the town of Pehtang, and make it his base.

Sailing from Shanghai, Sir Hope Grant arrived on the 26th June, at Talienwan Bay, in the Gulf of Pechili, which was the rendezvous of the British force, Chefoo being that of the French. During his stay at Talienwan, Sir Hope had several conferences with his French colleague; and Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, the British and French special ambassadors, also met in council. Much delay was caused by the backwardness of General Montauban's preparations, but, at length, everything being ready, the combined expedition sailed, on the 26th July, and, two days later, arrived at Pehtang.

A landing was effected on the evening of the 31st July, and the town of Pehtang was occupied without opposition, the Chinese troops having evacuated the place. Sir Hope Grant took up his quarters under canvas in the fort, and General

* The army numbered 13,116 men of all arms, exclusive of some 5,000 garrisoning Hong Kong and Canton. The following were the troops who accompanied Sir Hope Grant to the north—1st Division, Sir John Michel commanding—2 battalion 1st Regiment, (Royals); 1 battalion 2nd Regiment, (Queen's); 31st Regiment; 2 battalions 60th Rifles; 15th Punjaub Infantry; Loodianah Regiment; Barry's and Desborough's batteries of Royal Artillery; Fisher's company (No. 10) of Royal Engineers. 2nd Division, Sir Robert Napier commanding—1 battalion 3rd Regiment (Buffs); 44th Regiment; 67th Regiment; 99th Regiment; 8th and 19th Punjaub Infantry; Stirling's and Govan's batteries of Royal Artillery; and Graham's (No. 23) company of Royal Engineers. Cavalry Brigade, Brigadier Pattle commanding—Two squadrons of the 1st, or King's Dragoon Guards; Probyn's Horse (1st Sikh Cavalry); Fane's Horse; and Milward's battery of Royal Artillery. There was also a battery of mountain guns manned by Madrassese, about 250 Madras sappers and miners, and a small siege-train, with Major Pennycuik's company of Royal Artillery. At the seat of war the British force had a strength of 11,000 men, and the French 6,700.

Montauban in the town. The interval between the 1st and 12th August was employed in landing the stores, and making reconnaissances, the first being undertaken by General Collineau on the 3rd, and the second, on the 9th, under Lieutenant-Colonel Wolseley, Assistant Quarter-Master General. On the 12th August the whole force—with the exception of the 99th and some French troops—moved from Pehtang, to attack the cavalry camps and fortified works fronting the town of Sinho, situated about midway between Pehtang and Taku. At 3 a.m., the 2nd Division, consisting of the 3rd, 44th, 67th, Marines, and 8th Punjaubees, with Milward's Armstrong battery, and some rockets, the whole under Sir Robert Napier, assembled in the streets of Pehtang, and commenced their march ankle deep in mud. Shortly after getting outside the town, they left the causeway and took a course to the right, through some very heavy ground, in which the artillery waggons stuck, and had to be left behind. Owing to the great obstacles against the progress of the men of the 2nd Division, it was not until about 7 o'clock that the road leading out of the town was sufficiently clear for the Cavalry Brigade—the King's Dragoon Guards leading, followed by Fane's and Probyn's Sikh Horse—to follow. The object of this movement to the right by the infantry and cavalry was to cover the advance of the 1st Division and the French, under Sir Hope Grant, and General Montauban, along the high road leading to the entrenchments. About 8 o'clock the troops of the 1st Division, headed by Barry's Armstrong battery, began to move out of Pehtang, and, two hours later, the main column of the French were crossing the bridge leading out of the town. About 11 o'clock, as the leading columns of the 1st Division were nearing the first entrenchment, a large force of Tartar cavalry suddenly came on the 2nd Division and Cavalry Brigade, and, in the course of a few minutes, a general action ensued. The Tartars behaved with great courage, and a party of them made an attempt to ride down Stirling's battery, while the guns were in action, but were driven back by Lieutenant C. M. Macgregor,* who, with great gallantry, charged at the head of a portion of Fane's Horse, and sent them to the right-about with the loss of about thirty of their number. Macgregor himself was wounded in four places, and several of his men were killed and wounded. The movement of the Tartars was considered so threatening, that the Brigadier actually formed square with the 67th and Marines, and the 44th were deployed in line

* Now Colonel Macgregor, C.B., C.S.I., chief of the staff to Sir F. Roberts in Afghanistan.

to protect Milward's battery, and, with the Buffs, opened a heavy fire with their Enfields, which speedily caused the enemy to withdraw. Shortly after the fight commenced on the right, the allied artillery were got into line about a mile to the left, and drew up in front of the first entrenchment, which was carried after a heavy fire. The whole at once advanced and attacked with the artillery the second series of works, which was also evacuated after a brief resistance. The town of Sinho was now occupied, and the French encamped inside the inner entrenchment. The division marched through the town, and encamped on a plain in its rear, where they were joined in the afternoon by Sir Robert Napier's division and the Cavalry Brigade.

About 2 miles to the south-east were two large encampments around the village of Tangkoo, which General Montauban was desirous of attacking at once, but his English colleague decided to postpone the advance until he had thrown a bridge across the canal which separated the roadway and village from the open firm ground to the south of the long narrow causeway, having ditches on each side of it, which led from the allied position to Tangkoo. The French General, accordingly, advanced alone with his infantry and guns along the causeway, and opened fire, but, after 2 hours' ineffectual cannonade, which was returned by the enemy with a similar result, withdrew his guns and men.

On the 14th the canals being bridged, and roadways made over the marshy places, Sir Hope Grant advanced with the 1st Division, under Sir John Michel, his right flank resting on the Peiho, to attack the enemy's entrenched position at Tangkoo, the French force being on the left. The artillery of the allied army advanced in line—12 French and 24 British guns—and opened fire on the works at a range of 900 yards, the enemy replying with 14 pieces. As their fire slackened, the allied guns advanced to within 450 yards, and soon the enemy's artillery were silenced, when the 60th Rifles, acting as skirmishers, advanced and planted the Union Jack within the entrenchment, the French tricolour appearing a few moments later over the battery. Within the vast area now occupied were five Tartar camps, all walled in, and having two deep ditches 150 yards distant from each other, on three sides, the river being on the fourth side; there were three gateways, two facing west, leading one to Sinho, the other to Pehtang causeway, and the third, on the eastern face, leading to the bridge of boats to Tangkoo and Takoo on the opposite bank. The troops were placed in

temporary occupation of the captured works, until the heavy guns and ammunition were brought to the front, and ten days' supplies collected at the dépôt at Sinho, the English and French engineers being engaged meanwhile in throwing a bridge of boats across the Peiho.

And now came up for consideration the question of attacking the Taku forts on both banks of the river. General Montauban had made reconnaissances on the right bank, and, being fired upon, had injudiciously thrown about 2,000 of his small division across the river, thus rendering them liable to a sudden attack in force without any compensating advantage. Sir Hope Grant objected to any line of action on that bank, and it appeared manifest to the merest tyro in war, to be an unwise proceeding to leave the north forts untouched, whilst operating by the right bank towards the works on the south side, where the forts were not only of greater strength, but their fire could not be brought to bear on the allies when engaged in attacking the northern forts, except from a small detached work further up the river on that side commanding the space between the two northern forts. Another point that had to be considered by Sir Hope Grant was the question of time. The season was already advanced, and owing to the delay at Talienwan, for which he was not responsible, the campaign had been opened a month later than was anticipated in England.*

* Lieutenant-Colonel Wolseley says in his *Narrative of the War with China in 1860*:—"If we had operated by the southern bank of the Peiho, as our allies wished, and supposing that everything had turned out in the very happiest manner, we could not possibly have been by the 1st September as far advanced in the work of the campaign as we actually were upon the evening of the 21st August, when in pursuance of Sir Hope Grant's plan of attack, we had stormed and taken the northern forts. For a soldier to comment upon the deeds of his superior officer, and to presume to award either praise or blame to his chief, is a breach of discipline. Yet it may be allowable here to record the opinion of all in the China army, that no man had ever evinced a more praiseworthy determination, more self-reliance on his own opinions, or a greater fixedness of purpose in steadily carrying out what he believed to be the correct and true line of operations, than Sir Hope Grant did upon that occasion. On the one hand were a number of civilians all murmuring at his tardiness, scoffing at his caution, daily and hourly repeating, 'What nonsense it is bringing up heavy guns,'—'Why don't we push on?'—'I would take the forts to-night if I had a couple of hundred men!'—'The enemy are bolting and only waiting until we attack to bolt altogether,'—such were the expressions in every one of these gentlemen's mouths. On the other hand, our allies were obstinate in their own opinions as to the necessity of taking the southern forts first, and even at the last moment their General formally protested against the line of conduct proposed and subsequently adopted by the English Commander-in-Chief. Under such circumstances nine generals out of ten would have been driven to some rash act, and yielded either to the impetuosity of those upon whom no responsibility devolved, or to the objections of our allies, urged, as they were, so strongly. Sir Hope Grant proved himself superior to all these circumstances, and could he have heard or known the manner in which he was lauded by every one in camp on the evening of the 21st August, he would have been well repaid for any annoyance which his determination may have cost him."

At length, by the 20th August, supplies for ten days had been collected at Sinho, the heavy guns had been brought to the front, and bridges or causeways had been constructed over the canals. On that day Sir Hope Grant reconnoitred the north fort, in company with Sir Robert Napier, approaching within 600 yards of it unmolested, and the same night the guns were placed in batteries. On the morning of the 21st August, 16 British guns and 3 mortars, and 4 French guns, opened fire on the nearest of the northern forts, which returned the compliment with spirit. At about 6 o'clock a magazine exploded in the fort, but the Chinese gunners, nevertheless, continued to work their guns with a spirit which commanded the admiration of their foe. Half an hour later, a second explosion occurred in the larger northern fort, against which the Armstrong field-guns and some gun-boats were firing. By 7 o'clock, the first-named work was silenced, and then the columns of assault moved to the attack, the British, consisting of the 44th and 67th Regiments, advancing straight to their front towards the gate of the canal on the rear face of the fort, and the French by the right, where an angle of the work rested on the river's bank. The assault was made with *élan* by the allied columns, who vied with each other to be first within the enemy's works.

Owing to the pontoon bridge employed by our troops being rendered useless by a shot, the storming party had to clamber, as they best could, across the two muddy ditches, having water nearly up to their armpits, under a heavy fire; while the French, with characteristic quickness, attacked at the south-eastern angle, where, owing to the face of the work being oblique to the line of the river's bank, the outer of the two ditches terminated half-way up the work. Thus they were the first to plant their flag on the crest of the breach, but, immediately afterwards, Ensign Chaplin, of the 67th, displayed the Queen's colour of his regiment on the top of the parapet; before this, however, Lieutenant Rogers,* of the 44th, and Burslem, of the 67th, with some men of their regiments, had forced their way within the gate. Thus fell the first fort, which was the key to the whole position; and the wisdom of the course adopted by Sir Hope Grant was soon verified by the surrender, without a shot being fired, of the other forts on both banks of the Peiho. The British loss in achieving this success was only 17 killed, and 184, including 23 officers, wounded, and that of our allies about 130.

* Now Lieutenant-Colonel Rogers, V.C., 90th Regiment.

On the 24th August Sir Hope Grant, accompanied by Lord Elgin, proceeded in the *Grenada* up the Peiho to Tientsin, whither Admiral Hope had preceded him, two days before, with the gun-boats. On arriving at this place—rendered famous as the scene of the signature of Lord Elgin's treaty of 1858—the army encamped on a large plain to the south of the city, the French, who had marched up the left bank, remaining on that side of the river. Sir Hope Grant and Lord Elgin occupied quarters in a very large commodious house in the suburbs belonging to the Chinese Salt Commissioner, and the house was so large that Baron Gros, at Lord Elgin's invitation, took up his quarters within its walls, while General Montauban resided in the joss-house occupied by Lord Elgin in 1858. Some futile negotiations, which had only for their object to hoodwink the diplomatists and delay the march of the army, now took place, but, on discovering that the Chinese Commissioners were not properly accredited, the negotiations were abruptly broken off, and the army resumed its march on Peking.

On 9th September Sir Hope Grant, accompanied by Lord Elgin, quitted Tientsin, where Sir Robert Napier's division was left in garrison, and on the following day reached Yang-tsun. Here the Chinese tried to delay the further march of the dreaded foreigners by mock negotiations, but Lord Elgin declared that he would sign no treaty before reaching Tungchow. On the 13th September Sir Hope Grant reached Ho-se-woo, which, like all the other towns between it and Taku, stands on the river's bank; here, as being about half-way between Tientsin and Peking, he established a dépôt for stores, and a large field hospital. On the 17th the main portion of the army, with 1,000 French troops, marched to Matow, twelve miles in advance, and thence, on the following day, towards Chang-kia-wan; Messrs. Loch and Parkes, of Lord Elgin's mission, having proceeded with an escort to Tungchow to arrange for the reception of his lordship, who had agreed to meet the Imperial Commissioners at that place to sign the convention, the army, meanwhile, halted within a mile and a half of Chang-kia-wan.

Sir Hope advanced at 5 o'clock on the morning of the 18th September, but, soon finding himself in presence of a large army covering a front of about five miles, halted. Shortly afterwards, Mr. Loch galloped in from the Chinese army, bringing letters from Mr. Parkes that all points had been satisfactorily arranged by the Imperial Commissioners; but, he added, Mr. Bowlby, the *Times* correspondent, Mr. De Norman, an *attaché*, and Lieutenant Anderson, of Fane's Horse, with

seventeen of the Sikh escort, had remained behind at Tungchow, and he, Mr. Parkes, had been so dissatisfied by the evident hostile intention with which large bodies of the enemy, computed at 20,000, were taking up position on the road, that he had returned to Tungchow to expostulate with the Chinese officials, leaving Colonel Walker, with the remainder of the escort, within the enemy's lines. Sir Hope Grant was averse from thus compromising the safety of the officers and escort, and, at 8 a.m., sent Captain Brabazon, R.A., of the Quarter-master-General's department, with an order directing all our people at Tungchow to return forthwith. This officer and our unhappy countrymen at Tungchow, with a portion of the Sikh escort, never came back, but met with a cruel death at the hands of the treacherous enemy; and Colonel Walker, with nine men of the escort, only escaped by riding through their ranks under a fire of round shot and musketry.

Sir Hope Grant at once made his dispositions, and, while General Montauban advanced on a village and works in his front, opened fire with his artillery upon the main body of the enemy's batteries and troops; presently Major Probyn charged, with his usual dash, on the large bodies of Tartar cavalry which were moving round towards his left flank and rear, and Sir Hope advanced his infantry and drove the enemy from their field-works. Sir John Michel meanwhile conducted the movement on the Chinese left, and swept round to the south of Chang-kia-wan, the 15th Punjaubees distinguishing themselves by the dashing manner in which they captured several guns. The enemy, who were commanded by Sang-ko-lin-sin, were defeated with the loss of eighty guns, and pursued two miles beyond Chang-kia-wan, where the force halted and destroyed the numerous camps in the neighbourhood. As a punishment for their treachery, Chang-kia-wan was given up to pillage, though, owing to the inability of the troops to remove the goods—for valuables there were little or none—the poor people from the surrounding villages were the chief gainers.

On the 20th September Sir Hope Grant made a cavalry reconnaissance in the direction of the enemy's camp, and, on the following day, the army moved out and formed up, facing the enemy about two miles distant from the town. According to the plan of operations agreed upon between the allied commanders, the French force, now increased to 3,000 men by the arrival of General Collineau's brigade, were to advance direct to Pale-cheaou (8 li bridge), a fine stone bridge over the canal

running between Peking and Tungchow, while the British infantry and artillery marched for a wooden bridge about a mile nearer the capital, and the cavalry made a wide *détour* to the left, so as to drive in the right flank of the enemy upon their centre, whose only line of retreat would then be over the canal by the two before-mentioned bridges. On advancing according to this plan, the enemy were found in great strength, and opened fire from hundreds of jingalls and small field-pieces, to which the allies replied with their rifled cannon. At this early period in the action, Sir Hope Grant nearly fell into the hands of the Tartar cavalry. Mistaking them for the French, he rode almost into their midst, and, upon turning to rejoin his troops, was chased by them until our guns drove them back when within 250 yards of the British line. The Chinese army retired at all points as the allied line advanced, and the cavalry on the left delivered a brilliant charge, knocking over the Tartar horsemen "like so many nine-pins." Sir Hope now moved in pursuit to the left with the cavalry, 3 guns, and some infantry, and burnt several camps, in one of which were found 18 guns, and all having tents standing. Resistance was only made at one of the camps, but it was quickly overcome, and the pursuit continued to within six miles of Peking, when Sir Hope marched to the wooden bridge over the canal, where he rejoined the 2nd Brigade. The French had, meanwhile, been equally successful; capturing all the camps near Pale-cheaou, they drove the enemy, with great loss, over that bridge—from which General Montauban derived the title which has been rendered so familiar to the world by the events connected with the battle of Sedan and fall of the French empire.

Sir Hope Grant would have wished to take advantage of the panic caused by his victory of the 21st September, and pushed on to Peking on the following day, but he was unprovided with heavy guns for breaching purposes, and was too cautious a commander to appear before the walls without siege guns, on the chance of making a successful *coup-de-main*, such, for instance, as Sir John Keane effected at Ghuznee; or under the expectation that the Chinese authorities would surrender the city. He resolved to wait for the arrival of his siege guns, which were on the way, and for Sir Robert Napier's division, which had been ordered up after the fight of the 18th, at Chang-kia-wan. The delay was utilised by reconnoitring the country up to the walls of Peking, and a bridge of boats was thrown over the canal. Lord Elgin was also engaged in a correspondence with Prince Kung, and, in his ultimatum of the

23rd September, demanded the release of Mr. Parkes and the other prisoners within three days, threatening condign punishment if any injury befell them, and also required the signature of the convention put forward at Tientsin.

But Prince Kung's answer of 27th September was evasive, and, at length, on the 3rd October, all the expected reinforcements and siege guns having arrived, the allied army broke up camp, and, crossing the canal by the bridge of boats, encamped on the paved road leading to Peking, Sir Hope establishing his headquarters in a mosque in the Mohammedan village of Chang-Chia-Ying, close to which, in a large inclosed tank, he had stored sufficient supplies for his troops up to the 20th October. A delay of one day supervened to allow the French convoy to arrive, and, on the 5th October, the combined forces, carrying three days' cooked rations, advanced in line of contiguous columns, and, after a short march of about five miles, bivouacked for the night at a strong position to the north-east of Peking. Early on the following morning the armies were again in motion, the enemy's cavalry pickets falling back as they advanced, until a halt was made for breakfast, when the Commanders-in-Chief finally arranged their plans. On marching Sir Hope Grant moved on the right, making a slight *détour* so as to attack, on the northern face, a line of ruined earthen ramparts, from forty to fifty feet in height, inclosing a vast space to the north of the Tartar city, in which, it was supposed Sang-ko-lin-sin, the Commander-in-Chief, was encamped with a large army; while General Montauban, moving direct to the left, entered these works at the salient angle. At the same time the British cavalry brigade were to make a wide sweep to the extreme right, with orders to take up a position on the main road leading out from the Tehshun gate, northwards towards Jehu, which would be the enemy's line of retreat from their entrenched position.

On advancing on these ramparts, however, it was discovered that there were no signs of the enemy, upon which Sir Hope immediately sent word to his French colleague—who was not in sight, the country through which he was advancing being of a difficult nature—that the Tartar enemy had disappeared, and intimated his intention of pushing on to Yuen-ming-yuen, the famous Summer palace of the Emperors of China, to which Sang-ko-lin-sin was said to have retreated. Soon after, the advanced guard came upon a considerable body of the enemy's cavalry, who fell back without fighting, and the British force found itself on the main road leading northwards from the

Anting gate of Peking. As nothing was seen or heard of the French army, and evening was closing in, the British troops bivouacked for the night within the line of ramparts close to the parade ground on which the Tartar army had been encamped, and Sir Hope Grant found shelter in one of the temples, of which there were several in the neighbourhood, some having Buddhist monastic establishments attached to them.

At daybreak on the morning of the 7th October, he caused 21 guns to be fired from the ramparts to intimate his position to his cavalry and the French commander, and sent Colonel Wolseley to scour the country with the view of finding the whereabouts of the latter. That officer, with unerring instinct, tracked them to the Summer palace, where plunder was to be had, and, after having an interview with General Montauban, returned to report to Sir Hope Grant the position of the allied army, who, officers as well as men, were engaged in looting the priceless contents of that Imperial treasure-house. Sir Hope Grant and Lord Elgin, guided by Wolseley, at once rode off to Yuen-ming-yuen, and the French General informed his English colleague that, on learning of his intention of marching on the palace, he had also made for it, on the way falling in with Pattle's cavalry brigade, which accompanied him to the large village of Haiteen, situated close to the palace, which he skirted to the east, while the French commander proceeded direct through it, and forcing an entrance through the gates, entered the sacred residence of the "Brother to the Sun and Moon."

Sir Hope Grant requested all the officers of his army who had secured any valuables in the Summer palace, to give them up for the benefit of a common fund, and he directed the sale of these articles by auction. The sum realised was about £8,000, which, with £18,000 in specie handed over by General Montauban, was divided into three portions, one for the officers, and two portions for the men, who received about £14 per private. Sir Hope Grant, as well as Sir Robert Napier and Sir John Michel, declined to receive their shares, but the army presented their commander with a fine gold jug, formerly in use by the Emperor of China, and he purchased some articles at the sale, including jade ornaments and a necklace of green jade and rubies. Sir Hope Grant and the army put on one side, for presentation to Her Majesty, two large enamel jars which had been given up by Major Probyn to the general fund. In thus disposing of the prize by sale, Sir Hope undoubtedly exceeded his powers, and Lord Russell, then Foreign Secretary in Lord Palmerston's Government, wrote to him,—in reply to a letter he had addressed

on 21st October to Lord Herbert, Secretary at War, explaining his reasons for taking the step,—that “he had taken a grave responsibility upon himself,” but added that Her Majesty had, under the circumstances, approved of the act. This precedent has been followed more recently by Sir Garnet Wolseley, who had a similar sale by auction of the valuables captured at Coomassie.

On the 7th October a letter was received by Lord Elgin from Prince Kung, promising the return of the prisoners, and, on the afternoon of the following day, Mr. Wade presented himself before the city walls, and received the surrender of Messrs. Loch, Parkes, a sowar of Probyn's Horse, and five Frenchmen. Upon the 12th, one French soldier and eight sowars were given up, and on the 14th, two more sowars; but these were all the survivors of the twenty-six English and thirteen French subjects who had been treacherously captured on the 18th September, and treated with refined cruelty, resulting in so many cases in death. On the 9th October the French marched from Yuen-ming-yuen, and encamped on the British left, facing Peking, and, on the following day, a summons was sent to Prince Kung, signed by Sir Hope Grant and General Montauban, to the effect that unless by noon on the 13th October the demand for the surrender of the Anting gate—which had been previously made by Lord Elgin as a security on his entering the capital—was complied with, the allied batteries should open fire upon the city. A reconnaissance was made by the British and French commanders of the northern face of the city defences, and a position was selected for the breaching batteries, about 600 yards to the east of the Anting gate, which was opposite the centre of the allied position. The guns and mortars were placed on wooden platforms, laid within the massive brick walls surrounding a temple, and small trenches were dug in advance for infantry. The French, not having breaching guns, proposed to employ their heaviest field guns, and constructed batteries to the left about sixty yards from the walls.

Prince Kung could not bring himself to acknowledge openly, in the presence of the people he had misled by his lying proclamations, the inferiority of his powers of resistance to the hated and despised “barbarians,” and wrote to Lord Elgin pleading to be excused surrendering the Anting gate; but Sir Hope Grant was now “conducting the negotiations,” and, with soldierly bluntness, replied by posting proclamations warning the inhabitants of Peking that he would surely open fire upon the walls unless peace was signed and the Anting gate surrendered by noon of

the 13th, and advising them to quit the city. The Prince was compelled to give in to the inexorable man of war, and, exclaiming with "ancient Pistol," on swallowing the leek offered for his acceptance by the irascible Welshman, "I will most horribly avenge; I eat, but eke I swear!"—he bolted the unpleasant morsel. A few minutes before noon of the 13th October, as Sir Robert Napier, standing watch in hand, was about to give the order to the artillerymen to load, the Anting gate was thrown open, and the British troops took possession and hoisted the Union Jack on the walls, the French immediately afterwards marching in and planting the tricolour by its side. Three days later, the bodies of our ill-fated countrymen and allies were delivered up—with the exception of Captain Brabazon, of whom the Chinese declared they knew nothing—and were interred in the Russian cemetery, placed at the disposal of the British authorities by General Ignatieff, the Russian Ambassador. In this melancholy ceremonial, which was conducted with full military pomp, Lord Elgin and Sir Hope Grant attended as chief mourners, and Sir Hope paid a like honour on the interment of the remains of the murdered Frenchmen.

Lord Elgin now declared the terms on which he would sign peace, which, as in the case of the Sibylline books, were increased in stringency on each repetition of the demand. He wrote, on the 17th October, requiring the payment of a sum of 300,000 taels (£100,000) as an indemnity for the families of the murdered prisoners (in addition to 8 million taels, war indemnity), and expressed his intention to destroy the Summer palace; further, he demanded that, within three days, Prince Kung should inform him of his willingness to sign the convention negotiated at Tientsin in the preceding September, with one additional clause providing for the retention of a part of the army at that place until the payment of the indemnity, and, finally, required an exchange of the ratification of the original Tientsin treaty on the 23rd instant. These conditions were accepted with due humility by the unfortunate imperial minister, who had learnt the wisdom of "agreeing with his adversary quickly," as the best means of avoiding further demands. By the evening of the 19th October, the palace, with its priceless contents, was a smouldering ruin, and, three days later, the indemnity was paid to the uttermost farthing; finally, on the 24th (the Prince was ready on the previous evening) the convention and ratification of the old treaty were signed in the Great Hall of Audience, in the city, by his Highness and Lord Elgin, who was accompanied by Sir Hope Grant and a numerous retinue of officers, with

an escort of 100 cavalry and 400 infantry, the whole of the 2nd Division being disposed along the line of march.

Everything contemplated by our Government was now successfully accomplished, and the troops began to move from the capital on their return to Tientsin. On the 7th November, the day on which Mr. (the late Sir Frederick) Bruce, brother of Lord Elgin, arrived to assume the duties of resident ambassador, the 2nd Division quitted the capital, and, on the 9th, Sir Hope Grant left, in company with Sir John Michel's division. The troops returned to their respective stations in England or India, and Sir Hope, on arriving at Shanghai on 4th December, proceeded, in company with a party of officers, in the *Grenada* to Japan, when he visited Yeddo, Nagasaki, and other interesting places. On his return to Shanghai, Sir Hope sailed for Hong Kong, where he arrived on 29th January, 1861, thence proceeding to England on 16th March.

For his services in this ably-conducted campaign Sir Hope Grant received the thanks of Parliament, was nominated a G.C.B., and gazetted Colonel of the 4th Hussars; while the French Emperor—who had received him in audience at Paris when on his way home—appointed him Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour. His countrymen also conferred on him the freedom of the cities of Edinburgh and Perth.

After a residence of six months in England, Sir Hope Grant, who had been appointed Commander-in-Chief at Madras while he was at Hong Kong, proceeded thither, where he remained until 1865, when he returned to England and was appointed Quartermaster-General of the army. On the 3rd October, 1864, he attained the rank of Lieutenant-General; and the Colonelcy of his old regiment, the 9th Lancers, becoming vacant by the death of General Sleigh, he received the much-coveted appointment on the 6th February in the following year. In 1870, on the expiry of his term of office at the Horse Guards, Sir Hope Grant was appointed to the command of the Aldershot division, in succession to another cavalry officer, the late Sir James Scarlett. Two years later he attained the rank of General, but had he been a French officer he would not have had to wait twelve years for this, or even a higher rank. The Emperor Napoleon rewarded the incompetent and gasconading Montauban, who played a subordinate part in the China campaign—as indeed he was compelled to do, for his division only numbered 4,000 combatants, while the British army was 11,000 strong—with the title of a Count and the *baton* of a Marshal of France. But our Government, more chary or discriminating in their rewards,

did not even confer a baronetcy on the successful soldier, who, within a few months, subdued the military power of a vast empire, captured their strongest forts, beat their armies in the field, and, finally, rehabilitated the honour of his country's flag, and extorted the signature of a treaty which has secured great advantages for this country, and has remained unchallenged for twenty years.

While commanding both at Madras and Aldershot Sir Hope Grant displayed great solicitude for the well-being of the soldier and also of his family. For many years he filled the office of President of the Soldiers' Daughters' Home at Hampstead—of the Committee of which his old Indian friend, General J. T. Boileau, of the Bengal Engineers, has been Chairman for many years—and on his death his friends subscribed 500 guineas for a Scholarship in that Institution in his memory. Such an incident, though it may be regarded as trivial by some people, is not unworthy a record in the memoir of a gallant soldier, and we may be sure that in his last hours, when worldly triumphs had shrunk to their true proportions, not the least solacing retrospections were those which dwelt on time and money expended in furthering the interests of the orphan children of his humbler comrades.

Sir Hope Grant succeeded his friend and commander, Lord Clyde, in the Colonelcy of the London Scottish Volunteers, and it may be here mentioned that the only soreness he perhaps ever occasioned among those under his command arose from an unfavourable report he made as to the utility of Easter Monday reviews, after he had held one at Dover; but this was only in the discharge of duty, and, as a practical soldier and straightforward gentleman, he must be applauded for giving the results of his experience, and offering what he considered sound advice to the Government.

Sir Hope Grant expired on the 7th March, 1875, in London, at the house of his niece, the Baroness Gray. His death was mourned by a large circle of friends, and especially by those who had been brought into more immediate contact with him, either as personal friends or on his staff. Kind and considerate to his soldiers, he was a strict disciplinarian* in the field, and would

* He tells an anecdote in his "Journal" of the Indian Mutiny, bearing on this trait of character. In February 1858, when making a tour in Oude, with a brigade of all arms, he had under his orders the 53rd Regiment, a corps more distinguished at this time for its fighting qualities, than for its state of discipline, owing to the presence in its ranks of a large number of Irishmen. On his entering the town of Bangurrow, the headmen came out and expressed their loyalty, offering to bring any supplies he might require for his troops. Sir Hope at once placed a guard of

"stand no nonsense," as the phrase is. In private character Sir Hope Grant was remarkable for his unassuming manner and kindness of heart, and, in public life, for his uprightness and conscientious discharge of duty. He had the faculty of making and attaching to himself many friends, to whom he was endeared by his amiability. A man of strong religious views, he never obtruded them on others, but was content to let his acts and way of life speak to his consistency and the sincerity of his convictions; at the same time he was no sour-faced fanatic, but keenly enjoyed social intercourse. Though not a great soldier, he was a painstaking, careful General, and left nothing to chance.

100 men from the 53rd Regiment, with orders to patrol the streets and to arrest any men found plundering. Soon after, some of the townspeople rushed into his presence and complained that not only the camp-followers, but the guard, were looting everything they could lay their hands on. He says:—"I galloped into the town as fast as possible, and found that nearly one-half of the 53rd were absent from their post. I pitched into the officer, and then rode through the streets. There I found several men scattered in twos and threes amongst the different houses and robbing, right and left. I made them all prisoners, handed them over to the guard I had brought with me; and then returning to the main picket, which I had directed to confine every man who returned, I ascertained there were altogether twenty-five men in durance. These wild Irishmen were marched out in front of the house. I had them tied up, and twelve of their number were flogged on the spot. I placed two of the officers in arrest, and caused the guard to be relieved by a party from another regiment. The next morning I paraded the whole of the 53rd, and gave it to them most handsomely over the face and eyes. I told them in the words of Sir Charles Napier, that without perfect obedience, 'an army is an armed mob, dangerous to its friends, and contemptible to its enemies.' This had a capital effect, and the regiment and myself afterwards became great friends. On the line of march, whenever they saw me approaching, they were overheard saying to one another, 'Now, boys, take care of your backs. Here is the provost-marshal coming.'" In justice to these wild Irishmen, it should be noted, that a few days later, when Grant attacked and stormed the walled town of Meeangunj, and the 53rd were ordered for the duty, he found that however "dangerous to their friends" they might be, they were certainly not "contemptible to their enemies."

GENERAL LORD NAPIER OF MAGDALA, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.

PART I.

Enters the Bengal Engineers—The Sutlej Campaign—Napier's services at the siege of Mooltan—Is present at the Battle of Goojerat and surrender of the Sikh Army—The Expeditions to the Black Mountain and against the Boree Afreedees—The Indian Mutiny—Napier's services on Outram's Staff at Lucknow and Alumbagh—Is Chief Engineer at the siege of Lucknow—Serves under Sir Hugh Rose at Gwalior—The action of Jaura Alipore and pursuit of Tantia Topce—Napier commands a division in the China War of 1860—Capture of the Taku Forts and surrender of Peking—Napier appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay Army—Is nominated to the command of the Abyssinian Expedition.

LORD NAPIER of Magdala is one of those few generals of the British army equally well known and trusted by his civilian fellow-countrymen and by the soldiers he has so often led to victory. What is more to his honour, he is much beloved by the rank and file of his glorious profession, who recognise in him the true soldiers' friend,—by which we do not mean the man who restricts himself to indulging in flowery declamation at public dinners about the invincibility of the British soldier, and the great claims he has upon the nation, and then does nothing to advance those claims or improve his position. Far different is Lord Napier of Magdala. Recognising the fact that to the prowess of the non-commissioned officer and private of the British line it is due that he has carved himself an immortal name in history, and earned a peerage and the highest honours and emoluments of his profession, he is ever mindful of the interests and honour of those humbler wearers of the Queen's uniform. In India he was the late Sir Henry Lawrence's chief assistant and ardent fellow-worker in the establishment of the Lawrence Asylums, in which hundreds of orphan children of the British soldiers in the three Presidencies are trained to habits of industry and morality. Again, when Commander-in-Chief both at Bombay and in Bengal, he was ever regardful of all that

conducted to the happiness and welfare of the soldier, and encouraged institutes, exhibitions, gardening, and other amusements or occupations for him while stationed in the plains. On his return to England from Abyssinia, he proved himself a warm friend of the Soldiers' Daughters' Home—an institution which so admirably does the work of the Lawrence Asylums in India—and was foremost in advancing the establishment on a permanent footing of the Corps of Commissionaires, an admirable organisation, founded by Captain Walter, who was also its chief supporter until, some years ago, Lord Napier made a stirring appeal, in the columns of the *Times*, to the public for funds to build barracks and establish an endowment which would place it on a permanent footing—an appeal which, from the occasional paragraphs in the *Times* acknowledging the receipt of donations, would appear to have mainly received a response from military officers and British regiments.

Robert Cornelis, Lord Napier, was born on the 10th December, 1810, and is the son of Major C. F. Napier, of the Royal Artillery, and Catherine, daughter of Codrington Carrington, Esq., of Barbadoes. The family of Napier is of Scotch descent, though not in any way related to the famous Napiers of Merchistoun. The Carringtons, his lordship's relatives on his mother's side, are an old Cheshire family, and are descended from the ancient barons of Caryngton; they removed to Barbadoes, where the representative of the family now holds an estate. This family of Carrington is not the same as that of the present Lord Carrington, whose family name was originally Smith.

On the 15th December, 1826, Robert Napier, then a cadet at the East India Company's military seminary at Addiscombe, passed with credit out of that famous academy, and received his commission as a Second Lieutenant in the Bengal Engineers. He landed at Calcutta, as he himself has since said, without friends or connections, and with nothing but his own stout heart and his commission in his pocket; but the young officer of engineers had as good a heritage as had Clive, Malcolm, Outram, or the thousand-and-one captains who have been apprenticed in that renowned guild, the East India Company. Lieutenant Napier joined just too late to take part in the Burmese war, or siege of Bhurtpore, and, doubtless, the new aspirant for a soldier's fame sighed as he thought how narrowly had slipped through his fingers so good an opportunity for distinction to officers of his corps. His duties, during the long years from 1827-45, were of an uneventful character as regards war services, and yet it must

not be thought that they were unimportant. Not only was the young engineer, by hard work in the laborious duties of the posts he filled during those years, building up that thorough familiarity with all the branches of his profession which stood him in such need in his subsequent career, but he earned in the peaceful Department of Public Works, a reputation as one of its most able officers.

Between the years 1840-45, he was engaged in the construction of the barracks at Umballa, perhaps the most splendid in India, which elicited the commendation of Lord Dalhousie. The share he had in starting, in the year 1845, that noble institution, the Lawrence Asylum, for the orphan children of soldiers, already adverted to, is not among the least noteworthy of the achievements of Lord Napier. The originator, his friend Colonel Henry Lawrence, led the way with a series of subscriptions, so large as to warrant the bestowal of his name on the institution reared at Sonawur, in the bracing climate of the Himalayan hills north of Deyrah. The author once heard Lord Napier relate, with simple earnestness, how he and Henry Lawrence sat down together and talked over the scheme, and how he, pen in hand, sketched for his friend a few rough lines and dots to mark out the site of the proposed buildings, and how the latter great Indian soldier-statesman said, with enthusiasm, "If it is only with a hut, let us make a commencement." So was formed the Lawrence Asylum, which flourished and grew in usefulness as its founder grew in years, until, when his work was done, the Government did honour to his memory by adopting it as their own, and providing for it at the public expense, as also others started in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies on a similar plan.

Meanwhile, Napier's promotion had been going on steadily, and with a share of good fortune. He was gazetted First Lieutenant on the 28th September, 1827, and his commission as Captain bore date 25th January, 1841. Soon after attaining this rank, Captain Napier came home on furlough, and a brother officer of his has related how he spoke to him almost despairingly of his long years of peace-service, and the very small chance he had of distinguishing himself on the soldier's arena of fame, the battle-field; and yet, within less than a quarter of a century, he served in five great wars, and increased his reputation in each. While the year 1845 seemed to be peacefully passing away, suddenly the storm-cloud of war showed black and lowering over the northern frontier. Ever since the death of Heera Singh, the Punjab had been one

constant scene of intrigue and murder. The number of British troops stationed between the Sutlej and Meerut had been increased, until it numbered about 42,000 men, with sixty-eight guns; and as the numerical strength of this force was considered by the Sikhs a standing menace, the chiefs of the Khalsa suddenly concentrated their troops, and, on the 11th December, began crossing the Sutlej, near Ferozepore, from which Sir John Littler issued forth with but 7,000 men, and offered the enemy battle. This the Sikhs, perhaps fortunately, declined, and, marching on Ferozeshuhur, some ten miles distant, entrenched themselves in that strong position. Napier was hurriedly ordered to join, as Chief Engineer, the army assembling under the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hugh Gough. Within seven days of the Sikhs taking the initiative by crossing the Sutlej, the opposing forces first crossed swords. It was at Moodkee that Sir Hugh Gough, with 11,000 men, attacked the enemy, and, after a brilliant action, completely routed them, his losses consisting of 215 killed and 657 wounded. Among the former were Sir Robert Sale, the defender of Jellalabad, and Sir John McCaskill, commanding the 3rd Infantry Division, who had served as second in command under the late Sir G. Pollock in his memorable campaign in Afghanistan in 1842. The future hero of Abyssinia served on the staff of the Commander-in-Chief, and had a horse shot under him, but escaped personal injury.

But more desperate work was before the British army, and our soldiers, who despised the Punjaabee, soon learnt to rate at its right value the stern courage of the foe against whom they were opposed. On the 21st December Sir Hugh Gough effected a junction with Sir John Littler, and then followed the sanguinary battle of Ferozeshuhur. The British infantry flung itself with heroic devotion against the Sikh entrenchments, but only partially succeeded in capturing them; and when night set in, it found the army baffled, though not defeated. Those noble soldiers, Sir Hugh Gough and Sir Henry Hardinge, the Governor-General, resolved that at any cost the enemy's position must be carried; and though the night was passed in uncertainty and doubt, the hour of the extinction of our *raj* had not yet struck, and the British army, true to its ancient renown, drove Lall Singh and his swarthy soldiery out of their formidable lines.

Captain Napier was dangerously wounded at Ferozeshuhur, and had a horse shot under him; but when the great battle which concluded the Sutlej campaign was fought at Sobraon,

on the 10th February, 1846, Captain Napier was "up to time," though scarce recovered from his severe wound. On this occasion he was Brigade Major of Engineers, his senior officers, the late Sir John Cheape and Major (now Sir Frederick) Abbott, having joined the army. The Sikh infantry fought at Sobraon with an obstinate valour worthy of a better fate, while the artillerymen of the Khalsa stood by their guns with the devotion of men who regard these weapons as the object of their adoration, and as the tutelary guardians of their strength; nevertheless, they were driven pell-mell from their batteries on the banks of the Sutlej, and left behind them sixty-seven guns and 200 camel-pieces, together with a vast amount of warlike stores and many standards. Their loss was not less than 8,000 men; while 2,400 of our soldiers were placed *hors de combat*. Then followed the advance on Lahore, and the capitulation of that city on the 22nd February, and so ended the first Sikh war—short, sharp, but not so decisive as was then supposed.

Captain Napier was honourably mentioned in despatches, and received a medal with two clasps, and the brevet rank of Major for his services.

An opportunity now presented itself of earning distinction in his own branch of the military profession, and he eagerly turned it to account, thus acquiring that reputation as an engineer officer of skill and resource which he increased in two of the most memorable sieges of modern Indian history—Mooltan and Lucknow. Every man, it is said, has one chance in his life, and it remains for him to let it pass, or seize it, and attain success. As Antony says:—

"There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken in the flood, leads on to fortune,
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and in miseries."

Most of all is this applicable to the military profession in war time. In April 1846, the Sikh commandant of Kangra, one of the fortresses lying within the newly-ceded district, refused to surrender his charge to the 44th Regiment, sent to occupy it, upon which a column was despatched, under Brigadier Hugh Wheeler (who perished at Cawnpore) to reduce the fort, and Major Napier was appointed Chief Engineer of the force. He successfully carried out the arduous task of transporting a battering train of thirty heavy guns, over a country which gave him a foretaste of his more recent Abyssinian experiences, and for this, and his able arrangements in conducting the

preparations for the siege of the place, which, however, surrendered without firing a shot, he received the special thanks of Government.

In 1848, when troubles again broke out in the Punjaub, and the siege of Mooltan was determined upon, the services of Major Napier, as a scientific engineer of acknowledged ability, were placed in requisition. At this time he was holding the post of Chief Engineer to the Board of Administration in the Punjaub, then presided over by Sir Frederick Currie, in the absence in England of Colonel Henry Lawrence. When Lieutenant Herbert Edwardes defeated Moolraj at the action of Kineyree, which deprived him of the country between the Indus and the Chenaub, and drove him into Mooltan, he wrote to Sir Frederick Currie, urging the immediate despatch to his assistance of a brigade of reliable infantry—not the Durbar troops—and a siege train under charge of Major Napier, for whom he made special application to conduct the siege operations.* He declared that with these, in addition to his own and Lake's Bhawulpore auxiliaries, altogether about 18,000 men and 30 guns, he could effect the capture of Mooltan. On receipt of this letter, Sir F. Currie consulted Major Napier, "upon the feasibility of operations against Mooltan under the present altered position of affairs there," to which that officer replied that "operations are perfectly practicable, and may be undertaken with every prospect of success." A single brigade, with 10 guns and 20 mortars and howitzers, was considered sufficient at that time. On the 28th June, Sir F. Currie communicated this professional opinion to Lord Gough, and urged the political advantages that would accrue from reducing the fortress into which the rebels had been driven by Edwardes's success at Kineyree; and, on the 1st July, the Commander-in-Chief replied that he failed to "see anything in the altered position of affairs, which would justify the siege of Mooltan at the present moment. On the contrary, the success of Lieutenant Edwardes rendered it less necessary, in his opinion, to risk the lives of European soldiers at this

* The following is the passage in Lieutenant Edwardes's letter of the 22nd June, written from his camp at Shoojabad, asking for the services of Major Napier:—"I would suggest that the siege be commenced at once. We are enough of us in all conscience, and desire nothing better than to be honoured with the commission you designed for a British army. All we require are a few heavy guns, a mortar battery, as many sappers and miners as you can spare, and Major Napier to plan our operations. That brave and able officer is, I believe, at Lahore, and the guns and mortars are doubtless, ere this, at Ferozepore, and only require to be put into boats and floated down to Bhawulpore. Lieutenant Lake, for whose arrival I am daily looking, is also an engineer, so we should not want science, and every other material is at hand for bringing to a rapid and honourable conclusion the rebellion of Moolraj."

season.”* Lord Gough communicated these views to Lord Dalhousie, who replied, on 11th July, expressing his concurrence with the Commander-in-Chief. But, on the preceding day, on receiving intelligence of Edwardes's victory at Suddosâm, and the final retirement of Moolraj within the walls of Mooltan, the Resident, acting at length on his own convictions of the best mode of promptly bringing the rebellion to a close, directed General Whish to “take immediate measures for the despatch of a siege train, with its establishment, and a competent escort and force, for the reduction of the fort of Mooltan.”

On the 24th July, General Whish quitted Lahore with the right wing of his army, and encamped at Seetul-Kee-Maree before Mooltan, on the 18th August; the left column, commanded by Brigadier Salter, marched from Ferozepore on the 26th July, and joined head-quarters on the 19th August. Major Napier, with the siege train, in boats, left the landing-place at Ferozepore on the 30th July. On the 25th August he reached Bindree Ghaut, opposite Bhawulpore, where he disembarked the siege train, with a vast amount of *materiel*, and thence proceeded to Mooltan, which was reached on the 4th September, 1848. On that day the first siege of Mooltan commenced, but the defences of the town and fortress, which might easily have been captured in May, had been so greatly strengthened by Moolraj, that a period of nearly five months elapsed before the place passed into the possession of the British, and then only after a vast expenditure of military stores and of valuable lives, without taking into consideration the ill effects on the native mind occasioned by the procrastination exhibited by the authorities in dealing with a rebellion, which, at first, was of most contemptible dimensions. But everything, even the blunders and delays of the authorities, turned out to the advantage of the British rule—as it always has since we first set foot in India. Had not the Commander-in-Chief and Governor-General procrastinated, or had Edwardes been reinforced, and captured Mooltan in July, then the Sikh army would not, in all probability, have thrown in their lot with the rebel cause, and the consolidation of our rule in India, and the subjugation of the Sikhs would not have been accomplished at the time of the great Mutiny, only 8 years later. It is easy to conceive what the result must have been, in 1857, had there been a treacherous Durbar in authority at Lahore, with a vast unbroken army at their command, and none of the influences working in favour of English rule caused by the just and mild rule of John

* See *Blue Book* on Punjab affairs, p. 221.

Lawrence and his assistants. It is consolatory to feel, as Edwardes wrote at this time to a friend, that "whatever is, is by the Irresistible, and that the most foolish cannot put the country in danger, or the wisest save it."

The effective force, under General Whish, consisted of 209 officers, and 7,632 men, with 32 pieces of siege ordnance, and 12 horse artillery guns. On the 6th September, two days after Major Napier's arrival, General Whish assembled a council of war, consisting of the heads of departments, at which Napier, as Chief Engineer, was present, to consider the best mode of reducing the town and fortress of Mooltan. Major Napier laid before the council two plans of action. 1.—To take first the town of Mooltan by a *coup de main*, at any cost, in one day, by the whole force moving down in line, getting within battering distance of the Khoonee Boorj, and storming the breach as soon as practicable. 2.—To march round to the north, and attack the citadel by regular approaches. "Major Napier," says Edwardes in his report to Sir F. Currie, "admitted that the first plan must cost life, if successful, and might prove a failure, but he recommended the risk being run, for political reasons, and with reference to the state of the Punjaub generally, which renders an immediate moral effect necessary; and this being the avowed reason on which Major Napier advised a *coup de main*, the Major-General called upon me, as in your confidence, to state whether I considered the times demanded that so great a risk, and certain loss of life should be incurred."

Edwardes gave it as his opinion that there was no immediate necessity for precipitating the attack on Mooltan; upon which General Whish said that he should reject at once the idea of a *coup de main*, which, in his opinion, would be justified only by urgent political necessity. The opinion of all the officers present was also against an immediate assault.* Major Napier's second plan, which he now explained, was the one most consonant with military science, and gave rise to a discussion.

Edwardes says :—"He wished, however, to know from me whether, if we marched to the north of Mooltan, I could undertake to keep open the communication with Bhawalpore. I replied that I was willing to do so; but by water, not by land, and therefore the communication would be slow. It would also involve the detachment of a strong body of men to guard Shoojabad. Colonel Drummond, Deputy Quartermaster-General,

* Captain Siddons, of the Bengal Engineers, author of a *Journal of the Siege of Mooltan*, writes :—"The opinion of senior military officers was decidedly against a *coup de main*." Edwardes says the opinion was unanimous.

expressed a belief that there was no water for a camp north of Mooltan—which, however, according to Captain Siddons, “afterwards proved a mistake”—and almost everybody was of opinion that the change of place would be construed by the natives into a defeat. Under these circumstances, plan No. 2 was given up. Thereupon, Lieutenant Lake, of the Bengal Engineers, submitted a proposition to run a trench from the battery on the extreme right of the Daoodpotra camp north-east to a point called Ramteeruth, a distance of upwards of a mile; and to throw up heavy gun batteries at such points of this entrenchment, “to afford,” says Captain Siddons, “cover from which to advance over the strong ground between it and the town, gradually driving the enemy from their positions in the gardens and clumps of houses between this trench and some position from which the town wall could be distinctly seen and breached.” This plan met with general approval, and, after some discussion, was adopted.

Accordingly, on the following morning, the 7th September, General Whish moved the right of his camp to the left, and Edwardes extended his right, so as to bring the regular and irregular forces closer to each other.* The siege was opened at daylight of the 7th September, by working parties of 1,000 men from the irregular camp, and 1,600 from the British camp, half of the latter being European soldiers from H.M.’s 10th and 32nd Foot, who took the night duty to avoid the heat of the sun. The first necessity was to dislodge the enemy from a position they had taken up among some houses and gardens in front of the trenches. Accordingly, on the night of the 9th, four companies of H.M.’s 10th Regiment, a wing of the 49th N.I., the rifle company of the 72nd N.I., and two of General Van Cortlandt’s horse artillery guns, the whole under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Pattoun, of the 32nd Regiment, advanced to the attack, and a sharp action ensued; “but,” says

* This plan of attack was afterwards severely criticised, but Captain Siddons has defended it in the following passage:—“It was a most unusual proceeding, opening the first parallel 1,000 yards from the enceinte attacked; but the features of the ground—thick gardens, villages, brick kilns, jungle, and ravines—made it reasonable enough in the eyes of the engineers employed. The object was, in fact, to gain knowledge of the ground in front, and at the same time to have a trench of support for the feeling parties; for it was thought rash (and would have been highly so) to have thrown in a portion of the small regular force to maintain a combat in such ground, while another was employed in throwing up a parallel at the regular distance; this, though the orthodox mode of proceeding, could only have been carried out on a large scale by driving the enemy in from the suburbs altogether, and excluding them thence till the town was breached and carried, as was subsequently gloriously effected on the 27th December; but to this effort General Whish’s force in September was considered unequal, if any regard was to be paid to prudence. The plan progressed successfully so far as it went.”

Siddons, "ignorance of the localities, and the darkness and confusion consequent on a hastily planned night attack, rendered the gallant efforts of the troops useless, and, after a considerable loss in killed and wounded, they were withdrawn, the object being unattained."* Moolraj was so elated by his repulse of the night attack of the 9th September, that he still further strengthened his entrenched positions between Mooltan and Seetul-Kee-Maree, so that the strange spectacle was witnessed of the two contending armies throwing up works within a few hundred yards of each other.

On the 12th September General Whish determined to clear his front. While, therefore, Edwardes's and Lake's irregulars created a diversion on the left, two British columns—the right consisting of 5 companies of H.M.'s 32nd and the 8th N.I., and the left column, of 5 companies of H.M.'s 10th and the 49th N. I.—advanced to the attack. "The position," says General Whish, "was a strong one, and stoutly defended; the conflict terminating only in a series of hand-to-hand encounters." But this brief notice gives a very inadequate description of the desperate nature of the conflict which raged within the enemy's entrenched positions. The British loss was 39 killed, including Colonel Pattoun, H.M.'s 32nd, commanding the right column, Major Montizambert, H.M.'s 10th Regiment, Ensign Lloyd, 8th N. I., Lieutenant Cubitt, 49th N. I., and Quartermaster Taylor, H.M.'s 10th Regiment; and 216 wounded, including Major Napier, whose leg was nearly carried off by a cannon

* Edwardes says of this affair:—"Several instances of heroism were elicited by the desperate nature of the midnight struggle. I will mention two. Lieutenant Richardson, Adjutant of the 49th N.I., an officer of herculean frame, rushed at the barricaded door of the house most strongly occupied by the enemy, and, with a mighty effort, dashed it in among the rebel inmates, who threw themselves forward to oppose his entrance. Seeing that the party was too strong for him, he seized the foremost Sikh soldier in his arms, and with his body thus shielded backed out of the enclosure, when he hurled the half-strangled rebel back among his friends. In this extraordinary reconnaissance the Lieutenant received numerous wounds over his head and arms, but forgot them all in the applause of his brother soldiers, and the special approbation of a Commander-in-Chief who loved a daring deed. More fatal was the issue of the other enterprise. Captain Christopher, of the Indian Navy, had, from his first arrival with the steamers at Mooltan, shown the usual willingness of his profession to co-operate with his brother officers on shore. On the night in question, he had once already conducted some reinforcements to Colonel Pattoun's assistance; but the fighting at the outpost still raged with unabated fury. Another reinforcement came up, but had no guide. 'Will no one show us the way?' asked the officer of the party, looking round on the tired occupants of the trenches. 'I will,' replied Christopher; and putting himself at their head, steered them with the steadiness of a pilot through ditches and gardens, under a roaring fire of musketry. A ball hit him on the ankle, and shivered the joint to pieces. A few weeks later he was borne by the grateful British soldiers to a rude grave beside a well, near the village of Sooruj Koond, and I myself read the service over him. A better, or braver man, fell not beneath the walls of Mooltan."

shot. But the assailants were successful, for nothing could resist the impetuous valour of the 10th and 32nd Regiments, supported by the Native Infantry, who swarmed up the scaling ladders planted by the engineers, conspicuous among whom was Lieutenant Grindall, and carried the positions at the point of the bayonet, after a deadly conflict. The enemy left 500 dead within those enclosures, and the British army were placed in position to commence battering the walls of the city.

The 13th September was spent in securing the acquisition, and, on the following morning, General Van Cortlandt, commanding the Sikh levies under Edwardes's orders, pointed out a spot eminently suitable for a battery, within 600 yards of the Khoonee Boorj, and whence the masonry of the town could be seen for at least two-thirds of its height. But on the 14th September, at the very moment when success was almost within his grasp, all General Whish's plans were nullified by the desertion to the enemy of Shere Singh, with the Lahore Durbar troops. Lieutenant Edwardes had anticipated this defection, and had, three days before, desired Shere Singh and the other Sirdars to move off towards Lahore with his division, which, however, was not done, as the Sirdars declared, says Edwardes, that "none of them liked the idea of encountering the sneers of their enemies in the Durbar, at the failure of their attempts to keep a Sikh force to their duty; they also said that many of their men would not obey an order to march." The revolted Sikh division, numbering between 4,000 and 5,000 men, moved straight down to the city, and encamped without the walls, but were denied admittance, as Moolraj doubted their loyalty to the cause of the Khalsa. Early in October, Shere Singh marched off to join his father, Chutter Singh, who had taken up a position on the Chenaub.

Edwardes, on Shere Singh's defection, immediately proceeded to General Whish's quarters and laid before him the altered position of affairs, adding that "instead of a disaffected Sirdar, he would have to contend with the whole Sikh army in another struggle for independence." General Whish proceeded to the tent of Major Napier, who was suffering from his wound, and sent for the senior officers to discuss the situation. An unanimous conclusion was arrived at that a continuance of the siege was no longer practicable; * and, on the 15th and 16th September,

* The following is General Whish's despatch on these events. "The circumstances of this morning induce me to begin a letter that gives me much pain, by observing that on the 9th instant, the Chief Engineer expressed his opinion that the force under my command was inadequate for the reduction of the town and fortress of Mooltan. In this I entirely differed with him. On the 11th instant, when talking

the British army moved from its position, the irregulars to Sooruj Khoond, and General Whish, with his left resting on the grove of Araby, and his right within a short distance of Sooruj Khoond, within sight of Mooltan. Many high authorities averred that this raising of the siege was only what might have been expected from undertaking a task of such magnitude with a totally inadequate force; but, as Edwardes says, "the sole and simple reason why the first siege of Mooltan was raised, was the treacherous desertion of Rajah Shere Singh and his army to the enemy on the morning of the 14th September." Sir F. Currie wrote that "the amount of force sent down by the Commander-in-Chief was by all considered ample. The Chief Engineer gave me his professional opinion that the reduction of the place was feasible, under the circumstances supposed, with the aid of a much smaller force." "This opinion," says Edwardes, "was formed by Major Napier, after two months of the most constant and searching inquiries into the nature and extent of the fortifications, and after the preparation of plans, from the most accurate information attainable by himself and Major Becher of the Quartermaster-General's department. (See *Blue Book*, p. 355.) And though, in consequence of the delay which occurred in despatching General Whish's force, Mooltan was much strengthened, after Major Napier's opinion had been delivered, yet it may very fairly be maintained that

of Shere Singh's force to Lieutenant Edwardes, and of the expediency of getting rid of it, he said he would try and so arrange, and yesterday reported that, after a long discussion, it was settled that one Sikh division should go to Tolumba to patrol the road, and all others to Kurrumpoor. In the evening, at the request of Major Napier (who I regret to say has been wounded by the graze of a cannon ball in the leg), I met Lieutenant Edwardes at his tent, when it was again urged that our force was inadequate to prosecute the siege, which I was exceedingly averse to acquiesce in, seeing that the troops were in high health and spirits, that our sick and wounded did not exceed six per cent., and that our artillery had not yet seriously opened their fire; but on my return from our advanced posts at 8 o'clock this morning, I was surprised by a message from Lieutenant Edwardes to the effect that Shere Singh, at the head of his whole force, was in full march to join the enemy. I met that officer shortly after again, at Major Napier's tent, the officer commanding the artillery being present, as also the officers of the Quartermaster-General's department; and I requested the attendance of Colonel Franks, who was near at hand. Having explained the circumstances above-mentioned, and noticed that the last accounts from the Resident mentioned Chutter Singh's being in open rebellion, it was the unanimous opinion that the operations of the siege could not be continued, and I learned from Colonel Franks that he had come to that conclusion some days ago; and thus, when within breaching distance of the walls of the town, I have had the mortification of abandoning my advanced positions (obtained with considerable difficulty and loss), as we had no prospect of keeping the town after taking it, the enemy being 10,000 strong in its immediate suburbs. I have directed our troops to be withdrawn this evening, except a strong picket, with two horse artillery guns, at a post in our first parallel (Ramteerut), and shall leisurely change my position to Tibbee, where I shall await the arrival of such reinforcements as the Commander-in-Chief may think proper to send."

the opinion was never invalidated, but was entirely borne out by the fact that, on the 14th September, we had the city within our grasp." The necessity for the abandonment of the siege was, however, apparent, as the enemy were now 15,000 strong, and the besieging army 20,000 only, while according to the accepted rules of war, the latter should be at least three times as numerous as the besieged; and though the siege of Delhi, in 1857, has accustomed us to a different calculation, Sikh troops, as we found in the second siege of Mooltan, are not to be judged by the same standard as Sepoys.

The siege of Mooltan was not resumed for more than three months; but during the interval General Whish's army was not idle, but, under the superintendence of the engineers, accumulated a vast quantity of siege stores, so that the second siege was commenced with 15,000 gabions and 12,000 fascines, the result of the industry of European and native soldiers alike. Moolraj, on his part, was not inactive, but, notwithstanding that Shere Singh had moved off with his division, which fought against us at Chillianwallah on 13th November, busied himself in strengthening the defences of both his city and fortress. He also called on Dost Mahomed and the Candahar Sirdars to help him, offering them the Derajât and Bunnoo as their share in the spoil. In response to this appeal, the Ameer rendered a half-hearted assistance by sending a small army under one of his sons, to Bunnoo, which was kept in check by Lieutenant Reynell Taylor, while the Candahar chiefs proposed to descend on Hurrund; but their troops were stricken with fever, and dispersed to their homes without striking a blow against the hated white race.

On the night of the 1st November, Moolraj moved out almost all his army, and erected batteries on the high banks of the canal, whence he opened a raking fire on the camp of the irregulars, who, as well as the British force, constructed counter works, with which they sought to expel the Sikhs from their entrenchments. At length, after an artillery duel lasting two days, it was resolved to attack the enemy on both sides of the canal, by a strong British brigade on the east, and by the irregulars on the west. Accordingly, on the morning of the 7th November, Brigadier Markham, who was accompanied throughout the operations by Major Napier, marched with a strong force, consisting of 6 companies each from H.M.'s 10th and 32nd Regiments, and 8 companies each from the 8th, 49th, 51st, and 52nd Regiments N. I., a troop of horse artillery, and six squadrons of native cavalry; and passing the bridges

over the nullah, crossed the rear of the enemy, and then wheeling into line, "advanced steadily in *échelon* of brigades, at 50 paces distant from the right, under a smart fire of grape and round shot." At this moment the cavalry executed a brilliant charge, and, having cleared the front of the enemy, the horse artillery opened fire, and the whole line charged and took the position, with 5 guns on the bank of the nullah, driving the enemy across it with considerable loss. The action only lasted an hour, and was a conspicuous success, the enemy's batteries being destroyed and their rout complete, while it was achieved with the loss of only 3 killed and 57 wounded. Brigadier Markham said in his official report that he was "indebted more than he could express to Major Napier." The irregulars suffered more heavily in their attack, but were also successful.

On the 21st December, the Bombay division, commanded by Brigadier Hon. H. Dundas, arrived before Mooltan, and, on the 27th December, the siege was resumed; but Major Napier was no longer Chief Engineer, as Colonel (the late General Sir John) Cheape had arrived, and, as his senior, took charge of the engineering operations, though, as Edwardes adds, in recording the supercession, "in zeal and gallantry in its prosecution, he continued, as of old, second to none." The strength of the army, exclusive of 800 sick and the irregulars, was 436 officers, (including 15 of the corps of engineers), 237 native officers, and 14,937 men, including a detachment of seamen of the Indian Navy, under Commander Powell of that service, who worked two batteries throughout the ensuing operations. The ordnance numbered 67 pieces of the siege train, 18 horse artillery guns, and 12 field-guns. The siege operations being now conducted by Colonel Cheape, do not require a detailed notice here. The first plan was not to take the city, but to make a regular attack on the north-east angle of the citadel, but so successful were the preliminary operations of expelling the enemy from the whole line of suburbs between Seetul-Kee-Maree and the canal, that General Whish decided to modify his plan of operations by extending his attack to the city, instead of limiting it to the fort.

The siege was now rapidly pushed on, and, on the 2nd January, 1849, the city was stormed by two columns, the Bombay troops at the Khoonee Boorj (Bloody Bastion), and the Bengal column at the Delhi gate. The former was successful, and the gallant 1st Bombay Fusiliers had the honour of planting the British flag on the breach. But Moolraj displayed the desperation of

a man fighting with a halter round his neck, and retired, with 3,000 picked men, into the fort, which was attacked from the city side as well as from the north-east. On the night of the 12th January, Moolraj made a sortie on the besiegers, the only one throughout the siege, but it was gallantly met and repulsed by Major Napier, the engineer in command of the trenches, at the head of a party of H.M.'s 10th Regiment, led by Lieutenant Galloway. In this affair Napier was severely wounded, and his services with the besieging army came to an end, though they would not much longer have been necessary, as Moolraj surrendered on the morning of the 21st January, just as every preparation had been made to storm the fort. Thus ended the two sieges of Mooltan, in which no officer performed better service than Major Napier, for whether in the council tent, in the trenches, or with the columns of attack, he was ever to the fore. The second siege lasted twenty-seven days, during which the British loss was 202 killed, and 982 wounded.

The greater portion of General Whish's army marched off to join Lord Gough, and thus enabled him to gain the decisive victory of Goojerat on the 21st February, when the magnificent force of eighty-four guns, in the space of less than two hours, dismounted or silenced the entire park of Sikh artillery. In this memorable conflict Major Napier was commanding engineer of the right wing of the victorious army, and accompanied Major-General Gilbert, as head of his engineering staff, in pursuit of the Sikh legions, which fled towards the Jhelum, broken, but still presenting a formidable front. Lord Dalhousie says in his despatch to the Secret Committee:—"Under divine Providence, the British arms have signally triumphed. On the 21st February, an action was fought which must ever be regarded as one of the most memorable in the annals of British warfare in India; memorable alike from the greatness of the occasion, and from the brilliant and decisive issue of the encounter. For the first time Sikh and Afghan were banded together against the British power. It was an occasion which demanded the putting forth of all the means at our disposal, and so conspicuous a manifestation of the superiority of our arms as should appal each enemy and dissolve at once their compact by fatal proof of its futility. The consequences of the victory which has been won, equal the highest hopes entertained." On reaching Noorungabad, on the left bank of the Jhelum, General Gilbert found that Shere Singh had already crossed, and was encamped on the opposite side. On the 6th March, the Sikh chiefs restored their prisoners, including Mrs. Lawrence and children,

and Lieutenants Herbert and Bowie, and, two days later, entered into terms with General Gilbert. On the 12th, Shere Singh and Chutter Singh—Major Lawrence acting as intermediary—delivered up their swords to their conqueror at the celebrated monument of Manikylah, once considered a trophy of Alexander the Great; and the same day, 16,000 soldiers of the Khalsa lay down their arms at his feet. Forty-one pieces of artillery were also surrendered, which, with those captured at Mooltan and Goojerat, raised the number to 160, so that, including the guns remaining at Lahore, and 300 taken in the first campaign, the whole Sikh park left by Runjeet Singh numbered 600 pieces of ordnance. Major Napier accompanied General Gilbert throughout this rapid march, and was by his side at the surrender of the Sikh army, thus witnessing the last scene of the drama as he had been present at the opening, when the soldiery of Runjeet Singh first crossed swords at Moodkee with their victors. He was again mentioned in despatches, and, for his meritorious services during the campaign, received the brevet rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and the war medal with two clasps for Mooltan and Goojerat.

Colonel Napier now resumed his duties as Chief Engineer under the orders of the Chief Commissioner of the Punjaub, and, in December 1852, was employed in command of a small column, which, in conjunction with two other columns, successfully scaled the Black Mountain and punished a tribe of Hussunzyes, who had refused to surrender the murderers of two British officials. This Black Mountain stands close to the British border in the north-west corner of Hazara, on the left bank of the Indus, a little above a place called Umb and the Mahabun Mountain which was the scene of the Umbeyla campaign of 1863. The murderers consisted of a party of sixty Hussunzyes, led by one Meer Ali, and as he openly boasted of the deed, and had acted under the authority of Bostan, minister of Jehandad, in whose territory the mountain stands, the Punjaub government determined to punish the Hussunzyes, who, occupying the western slopes of the Black Mountain, are estimated at 10,000 fighting men. These mountaineers relied on the inaccessibility of their stronghold, which soared 10,000 feet above the level of the sea, and they had good cause to do so, as they had repelled every assailant, including the Sikh durbar, which had given up the attempt in despair. But they were destined to learn that their security was only fancied, and that no mountain peak or fastness was beyond the reach of the arm of British power.

The operations were under the direction of Colonel Mackeson, Commissioner of Peshawur, (who was assassinated in the following year), but were planned by Major James Abbott, of the Bengal Artillery, Deputy-Commissioner of Hazara. After some desultory operations, directed by Major Abbott, of five small columns against the rebellious Syuds of the valley of Kazan, about Christmas Day two brigades were collected at the foot of the Black Mountain to keep the peace below, while three other columns were formed for assaulting the mountain. The right column, comprising the flower of the force, was commanded by Colonel Napier, and consisted of the Guides, 1st Punjaub Infantry, (Coke's Rifles) some native police, and two guns of the Hazara mountain-train. The left column, under Colonel Mackeson, consisted of two Jumboo regiments, each 800 strong, with mountain guns carried by men; and the centre column, led by Major Abbott, comprised a large body of the Hazara levies, raised and drilled by himself, with whom he had done such good service against Chutter Singh's disciplined troops in 1848-49.

Colonel Napier had to ascend a very long spur of the mountain, leading by the right to the enemy's rear, over a circuitous route defended by the Akazyes. He encountered an obstinate resistance, and was engaged from early morning till sunset fighting his way up the steep and well wooded ascent. Meantime, the other columns had pushed up, and all three were now reunited on the crest of the formidable and hitherto impregnable Black Mountain. The combined force bivouacked that night on the crest and on a huge spur given off westward to the Indus, and, before daybreak on the following morning, parties were sent to burn the villages, which was accomplished in sight of the owners, who were too much cowed to offer resistance. A second night was passed on the bleak mountain summit, and, at daybreak, the columns marched southward along the ridge, Major Abbott descending to the basin of the Indus, up which Jehan-dad Khan, who continued friendly to us, rode with his horsemen to burn the villages. No sooner, however, did the British columns begin to retreat, than, according to Pathan custom, the enemy gathered heart, and, crossing the river in their boats of inflated hides, rushed up the precipitous mountain sides in dense masses, but being met by a hot fire, retreated as rapidly as they had advanced. A third night was passed on the ridge of the Black Mountain, and then the three columns descended to the Indus basin, and were broken up, after Major Abbott had crossed the Indus and captured the fort of Kotli, belonging

to the Wahabee fanatics, whom, had he been permitted by Colonel Mackeson, he would have exterminated there and then at their post of Sitana—an ill-judged act of forbearance which necessitated the Umbeyla campaign of 1863.

Within twelve months Colonel Napier was again engaged against a Pathan tribe who had on a previous occasion given some trouble. These were a section of the Adam Khail * clan of the Afreedees, generally known as Boree Afreedees, after their town, who inhabit the country about the Kohat Pass, which had been forced by Sir Charles Napier in February, 1850. Mr. John Lawrence, then Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, accompanied by Colonel Napier, had arrived from Lahore, and, together with Major Edwardes, Commissioner of the Peshawur district, proceeded to the scene of hostilities, whither he had concentrated a strong column of troops, under the command of Colonel Brandram Boileau, commanding H.M.'s 22nd Regiment. On the failure of all efforts to induce these hillmen to make reparation for their depredations, and promise to abstain in the future from similar acts of hostility, Mr. Lawrence resolved to complete the measures for effectually clearing the Kohat Pass, and prove to the Borees that they must reckon no longer on the boasted inaccessibility of their valleys and hills, when invaded by a British column. Accordingly, on the 24th November, 1853, he directed Colonel Boileau to advance against the enemy.

At 5 a.m. on the following morning, that officer, accompanied by Major Edwardes and Colonel Napier, marched from the camp at Adeezye, with the following troops:—H.M.'s 22nd Regiment, 400; 20th N. I., 200; the 66th N. I. (Goorkhas), 400; Guides, 450; and the mule mountain-train battery. The outer range of hills was penetrated at two points, distant about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from each other; through the first, called after the village of Kundao, went the Guides, with the object of taking the enemy in flank, and so successful were they that, on the main body making the Shergurh pass further on, they found it evacuated by the enemy. The force was reunited on deploying from the pass, and found itself in presence of the Afreedees, who were posted in three villages at the foot of some precipitous crags. It was apparent that the crags must be carried before the villages could be attacked, a service which devolved on two detachments of the Goorkhas and Guides, commanded by Lieutenants Hodgson and Turner respectively.

* The Jowakees, another section of the Adam Kail Afreedees, gave rise, by their conduct, to a campaign between 9th November, 1877, and 19th January, 1878.

This was done in gallant style, and the manner in which the column commanded by the latter officer—which met with the greatest resistance, but nevertheless drove the enemy from crag to crag, and finally, kept them at bay from 11 in the morning till 3 in the afternoon—performed their duty, was the admiration of the whole force, who could plainly see the onslaught, especially a fierce struggle lasting for an hour for the possession of a breastwork, which, though apparently inaccessible, was carried by the Guides against a desperate resistance from the Afreedees. During these operations on the hills the three villages were burnt, under the direction of Colonel Napier, and it was only want of powder which prevented the destruction of the whole of their towers. Mr. Lawrence remained at the Shergurh pass, whence he had a view of the whole of the operations; and the scene, on the principal village being set on fire, with the clouds of smoke rolling up the hills, was described as very impressive. The work of retribution being complete, the retreat commenced at 3 p.m., and then, according to hill tactics, the Afreedees followed closely; but the operation of withdrawing the Guides and Goorkhas was accomplished with complete success, and the whole force, having been reunited on the plain, marched out of the valley by the Tooranee pass, which, though furthest from the British camp, was nearest to the plains, and were joined by Mr. Lawrence from the Shergurh pass. It was not until about 11 at night that the combined column arrived in camp, having been out nearly 18 hours. The loss was only 8 killed and 24 wounded, though the fighting was severe, and the Afreedees mustered 3,000 men, posted in difficult positions. The expedition was ably planned and gallantly executed, and taught these hillmen a lesson, the effect of which was long apparent. For his services on the frontier Colonel Napier received the thanks of Government.

During the entire period Colonel Napier held the post of Chief Engineer in the Punjaub, which embraced the time from the Sutlej campaign to the Indian Mutiny, he may be said to have made the province, so far as its material defences and the fortification of the military posts are concerned, the formidable outwork it proved during the fearful time of trial then impending. Not only were the fortresses armed and plentiful munitions stored, but he urged the Government to complete the system of railways; and it is through no fault of his that, 30 years after the annexation of the Punjaub, on the outbreak of the Afghan war still in progress, the terminus of the railway system was still at Jhelum, and the Indus remained unbridged.

In 1850 he made plans for a bridge at Attock, and, with Edwardes and other frontier officers of experience, pressed on the Government the necessity for completing the military communications of the frontier, but considerations of expense prevented the fulfilment of his wishes, and we have now what is denominated a "scientific frontier," in which the communications to Peshawur, and along the base of the Soliman range, is by camels and bullock hackeries.

In 1857 the Indian Mutiny broke out, and it was by his conduct during that great struggle in which British endurance, courage, and tenacity of purpose were exemplified in so remarkable a manner, that Colonel Napier earned for himself a name which shines among the brightest in that time of trial. Napier was chief of the staff to Sir James Outram throughout the operations conducted by General Havelock for the relief of the Lucknow garrison. On the 5th September, 1857, Outram left Allahabad, with 1,400 men, to reinforce Neill and Havelock's columns, and effected a junction on the 16th with those commanders. Lucknow was still holding out, and the Generals forthwith advanced across the Ganges, and, on the 20th, with about 2,500 men, and 18 guns, rested near Mungulwar, where was fought an action in which the rebels sustained a severe defeat. The enemy had thrown up an entrenchment near Alumbagh, a large garden of the kings of Oude, about 500 yards square, enclosed by a thick and very high wall, with an extensive double-storied house in the centre. This place was captured, and the sick, wounded, and baggage were left within its walls, with a guard of 250 men, and preparations were made for the advance on Lucknow. At 9 a.m. on the morning of the 25th September, the division marched out to force its way to the Residency, through the city, among gardens, small bazaars, knots of houses, and other enclosed places. The movement cost the force 464 officers and men out of 2,500, though, as Havelock wrote in his despatch, "I am filled with surprise at the success of operations which demanded the efforts of 10,000 good troops." But Lucknow was saved, and the saviours were amply rewarded by the knowledge of this fact, and by the discovery that a few days—nay, twenty-four hours—more delay might have proved fatal, as two mines, nearly ready for exploding, had been carried into the heart of the Lucknow entrenchments.

On the following day Sir James Outram, who had resumed command, despatched a column to bring in the heavy guns, which, with the rear-guard of the relieving force, had been

unable to advance beyond the Motee Mahal palace. This duty was entrusted to Colonel Napier.*

During the night of the 25th September Sir James Outram received a letter from Colonel Campbell, of the 90th Regiment, who was in command of the small party of 100 men, which, with the heavy guns, almost all the wounded, and a large number of ammunition waggons had taken post in the walled passage in front of the Motee Mahal, that he was invested by the enemy, and unable to advance without reinforcements. Accordingly Outram, on the following morning, sent a detachment of 250 men, under command of Major Simmons, 5th Fusiliers, and some of the Ferozepore Regiment, under Captain Brasyer, to reinforce Colonel Campbell, under the guidance of Lieutenant Moorsom. This detachment had occupied a house and garden between Colonel Campbell's position and the Motee Mahal palace, but as they were unable to move from their position, Sir James Outram directed Colonel Napier to proceed to their assistance with a further reinforcement of 100 men of H. M.'s 78th Highlanders, under Colonel Stisted, and some sowars, under Captain Hardinge. Captain Olpherts, of the Bengal Artillery, accompanied him as a volunteer, with some spare bullocks to remove the guns. As Colonel Napier had reason to believe that he could open a communi-

* One of the Lucknow garrison says in his narrative of the defence:—"The whole of the heavy guns, both our own and those captured from the enemy, had been in an enclosure near the Motee Mahal, together with a number of our wounded, guarded by a party of about 100 men under Colonel Campbell. These were hard pressed, and it was in fact there that we had lost so many of our wounded. They were reinforced, by order of Colonel Napier on Sir J. Outram's staff, by a party of about 250 men, guided by Captain Moorsom, consisting of the 5th Fusiliers under Major Simmons, and the Sikhs under Captain Brasyer. They were themselves, however, surrounded in a gateway which they occupied, and only relieved on obtaining a further reinforcement of a company of the 78th Highlanders under Colonel Stisted. Mr. Kavanagh directed Colonel Napier on this expedition through some intricate passages, by a short cut, to the party they came to reinforce. During the night Colonel Napier managed to convey all the remaining sick and wounded into the Residency. Captain Hardinge, of the old garrison, aided the Colonel in every way with his sowars, and brought in some camels loaded with Enfield rifles also. One of our 24-pounders, which we had been obliged to leave in a very dangerous position, was saved in a daring manner by Captain Olpherts, Bengal Artillery. This officer, who had always been in the very thickest of the fight, and whom no bullet seemed to injure, was the pride, not only of his own men, but of all the Europeans of the force. They had given him the sobriquet of 'Hell-fire Jack,' for wherever the fire was hottest, and the greatest danger was to be faced, Captain Olpherts was sure to be there. Aided by Captain Crump (Madras Artillery), and private Duffy, he succeeded not only in extricating the gun from amidst the greatest difficulties, but also in getting it safe into our entrenchments. Captain Crump, a most brave officer, was killed during this operation. Our wounded had scarcely reached the palace gate, meanwhile, when the enemy attempted too late to prevent it, and attacked the rear-guard. They were driven back, however, with great slaughter." Both Captain (now General) Olpherts, for his numerous acts of heroism during the war, and private Duffy, for this special act of bravery, received the Victoria Cross.

cation through the palace which would bring him near the position of the guns, he took Mr. Kavanagh, who was acquainted with the locality, and, having examined the palace as far as it was practicable, obtained sufficient knowledge of the ground to form his plan of operations. He then led the party by one of the side outlets of the palace along the river bank to Major Simmons' position, under a smart fire from the enemy, from which, however, they received little damage. Having made all his arrangements with the care and completeness of which he afforded so remarkable an instance in his preparations for the Abyssinian campaign, Colonel Napier moved, at 3 a.m. on the 27th September, with the whole force, and proceeded, undiscovered, through the enemy's posts until the leading division had reached the palace, and the heavy guns and waggons were safely parked in the garden which he had reconnoitred on the preceding day. The enemy were aroused too late to prevent the movement, but made an attack on the rear-guard, which was ineffective. Napier remained, with Colonel Purnell, commanding the 90th Regiment,* to secure the position thus gained with trifling loss. A large body of Sepoys was discovered in a walled garden connected with that which contained the heavy guns, and a party of the 5th Fusiliers and 32nd Regiments gallantly charged them, led by Colonel Purnell and Captain McCabe (32nd Regiment), and killed almost every man, securing the garden itself as the rear of the position. Measures were immediately taken to open a road for the guns through the palace, and, by the 1st October, every gun and waggon was safely lodged in the entrenchment.

Matters looked black enough even now in Lucknow, for the besieging force was swelled to some 70,000 rebels, and the garrison altogether scarcely numbered more than 3,000 fighting men, while it was deemed necessary to defend a wider area. Sir James Outram was of opinion that the best course to pursue, in order to avoid the risk of starvation, was for the combined garrison to cut its way through the rebel lines and return to Cawnpore; but his chief of the staff thought otherwise, and it is generally allowed by the officers of the force that advanced through Lucknow on that terrible 25th September, that disaster would have ensued had the gallant General's intention been followed, encumbered as the

* Colonel Campbell was severely wounded on the 28th, and died in Lucknow on 13th November. His place in command of the 90th Regiment was well taken by Colonel Purnell, an officer in whom both Sir James Outram and Colonel Napier reposed great confidence.

column would have been with 1,500 women and children, and sick and wounded, besides baggage and stores. It was determined, however, to dispossess the enemy of a work known as Phillips' garden battery, which greatly annoyed the garrison by its fire. On the 1st October a body of troops issued out, under the command of Colonel Napier, and the position was captured on the following day, with the loss of only two killed and eleven wounded. Three guns were taken and burst, their carriages destroyed, and a large house in the garden, which had been the enemy's stronghold, was blown up.

Mr. Rees, a Calcutta merchant, formerly attached to the Martinière College, who happened to be at Lucknow on the outbreak of the mutiny, says in his *Personal Narrative of the Siege of Lucknow*:—"On the 1st October, under the personal superintendence of Colonel Napier—an experienced and very able officer, whose cool judgment and courage elicited the praise of all the officers and men who acted under him—the position to the left of the Cawnpore battery was attacked by us. They were of all the corps, and were commanded by Major Haliburton, H.M.'s. 78th, Captain Shute, H.M.'s. 64th, and Captain Raikes, Madras Fusiliers, and consisted of about 570 men. They occupied on that day the houses to the left and front of Phillips' battery, the point they designed to storm, and one of the enemy's strongest positions. Lieutenant Groom, with his Madras Fusiliers, had, in a most gallant manner, led the advance. Colonel Napier, then restraining the ardour of his men, remained in the same position all night, and attacked the battery next day. The assault had been so carefully and scientifically planned by Colonel Napier, that we lost only two killed and eleven wounded. It was stormed by our men with their usual gallantry, three guns were taken and burst by Lieutenants Limond, Innes, and Tulloch, engineers, and the house in the garden was destroyed. Major Haliburton here particularly distinguished himself, as did also all the officers with him. Mr. Kavanagh and Mr. Phillips had also accompanied the party as guides."

The engineering works, in planning which Colonel Napier's professional skill had been sought by his chief, were of a marvelously extensive character. The long line of palaces, now held by the division under General Havelock, were fortified as far as practicable, but the enemy were not driven out of all the buildings, and occupied a mosque. Colonel Napier, therefore, accompanied by two very gallant officers, Colonel Purnell, of H.M.'s. 90th, and Captain Moorsom, in the Quartermaster-General's department

of Sir James Outram's staff, reconnoitred their position one dark night in November, and Lieutenant Russell, of the Engineers, was directed to blow up the mosque. This was accomplished with success, and, besides the destruction of a large number of the rebels, a good position was obtained for commanding the Khas bazaar. The operations between 27th October and 8th November, conducted by Colonel Napier, are sufficiently important to warrant a more detailed account.

On the morning of 27th October, the escort, with the heavy train, occupied the range of palaces called the Chutter Munzil and Fureed Buksh. "The position," he says in his despatch of 30th November, "was too extensive for our force, nearly all of which was occupied in guarding it; but it was susceptible of no reduction, so that, most desirable as it was that we should have occupied some of the exterior buildings as flanking defences, we were unable to do so, but were obliged to confine ourselves to the palaces and gardens, and to erect precautionary defences against any means of annoyance the enemy could devise." Colonel Purnell being in command of the rear-guard, on the 27th, Napier requested him to assume command of the palace, garden, and buildings adjacent to it. On the following day the palace buildings extending in the direction of the Khas bazaar were explored by Captain Moorsom, who, with a party of fifty men of the 5th Fusiliers and 90th Regiment, gallantly drove the enemy out at the point of the bayonet, killing a considerable number. Captain Moorsom then placed a picket in a house commanding the Khas and Cheena bazaars. On the 3rd November the enemy sprang a mine under the garden wall with no effect, and, on the 5th, exploded a second mine, which effected a considerable breach; they then appeared in force with the intention of making an assault, but on the head of the column showing itself on the breach, a well-directed fire caused them to retreat with considerable loss. The enemy also burned down one of the gateways of the garden, making a second practicable breach. Colonel Purnell had retrenched both these breaches, but as the enemy opened a severe musketry fire on the garden from commanding buildings on the right called the Hirun Khana (deer-house), it became necessary to open trenches of communication. On the 6th the rebels blew up the picket overlooking the Cheena and Khas bazaars, causing a loss of three men, and, in the confusion that ensued, penetrated in considerable numbers into the palace, where many of them were destroyed. They are said, says Napier, to have lost 450 men, and the remainder were driven back, but continued to occupy a part of the palace

buildings which had been in his possession; of these the nearest was a mosque commanded by the buildings, but giving several easy means of access to the British position. On the 8th the enemy attacked from the mosque, but were repulsed with loss. In order to prevent a repetition of this annoyance, Napier, accompanied by Colonel Purnell and Captain Moorsom, carefully examined the buildings connecting his position with that of the enemy, and succeeded in penetrating to a vault under their position where, screened by the security, they could see the enemy closely surrounding the entrance, and hear them in considerable numbers overhead. A charge of two barrels of powder was lodged in the vault, and was fired by Lieutenant Russell, of the Bengal Engineers. The effect was complete; many of the enemy were blown up, and their position greatly injured, whilst Napier obtained a command over the streets leading to the Khas and Cheena bazaars better and more secure from molestation than the previous one. This post was immediately and securely barricaded by Captain Crommelin, of the Engineers, but as the possession of the mosque was absolutely necessary to their security, Napier determined to recapture it. Accompanied by Colonel Purnell with a small party of the 90th and Madras Fusiliers, he surprised the enemy, and rapidly drove them out with trifling loss, when the position was immediately barricaded and secured, and continued to the end of the siege to form a good connection between the pickets of the advanced garden and the quarters of Brasyer's Sikhs.

News had been received, through native spies, of the advance of Sir Colin Campbell's relieving army, and a communication was kept up with the small garrison at Alumbagh by means of coloured flags, but it was desirable that some intelligent European, conversant with Lucknow, should proceed to the Commander-in-Chief's head-quarters with plans of the localities, and also to act as guide. This duty was voluntarily undertaken and most gallantly performed by Mr. Kavanagh, an uncovenanted civilian in the Chief Commissioner's office.*

* This intrepid official, who had distinguished himself throughout the siege by his zeal and courage, went to Colonel Napier, and offered to undertake the duty. "The latter," says Kavanagh in his narrative, "seemed to regard the enterprise as fraught with too much danger to be assented to; but he informed Outram, who accepted the offer, though he declared 'that he would not himself have asked any officer to undertake it.'" Disguised as a native, and accompanied by a noted spy named Kanoojee Lall, Kavanagh waded across the Goomtee, here about 800 yards, and passing the iron bridge, recrossed the stone bridge into the city, which he traversed and reached the British outposts at Alumbagh about 4 a.m. with his companion, after having been frequently challenged and called to give an account of themselves by the native sentries. Mr. Kavanagh was of essential service to Sir Colin Campbell

The engineering works—in planning which Napier's professional skill was placed at the service of the engineer department—were of a marvellously extensive character, and were constructed under the superintendence of Captain Crommelin and Lieutenants Hutchinson, Russell, and Limond; the engineer officers of the garrison, who confined their duties to the defence of the Residency, being Captain Anderson (who had served at the capture of Ghuznee in 1839), assisted by Lieutenant McLeod Innes, V.C., and other officers. Speaking of these works, Sir James Outram says in his report from the Alumbagh of the 25th November: "I am aware of no parallel to our series of mines in modern war; 21 shafts, aggregating 209 feet in depth, and 3,291 feet of gallery have been executed. The enemy advanced twenty mines against the palaces and outposts; of these they exploded three which caused us loss of life, and two which did no injury; seven have been blown in; and out of seven others the enemy have been driven, and their galleries taken possession of by our miners, results of which the engineer department may well be proud. A line of gardens, courts, and dwelling-houses, without fortified *enceinte*, without flanking defences, and closely connected with the buildings of a city, has been maintained for eight weeks in a certain degree of security, notwithstanding the close and constant musketry fire from loopholed walls and windows, often within thirty yards, and from every lofty building within rifle range, and notwithstanding a frequent, though desultory fire, of round shot and grape from guns posted at various distances from 70 to 500 yards! This result has been obtained by the skill and courage of the Engineer and Quartermaster-General's departments, zealously aided by the brave officers and soldiers who have displayed the same cool determination and cheerful alacrity in the toils of the trench and amidst the concealed dangers of the mine, that they had previously exhibited when forcing their way into Lucknow at the point of the bayonet and amidst a most murderous fire."

Of the services of Napier in attaining this end, Outram says: "But skilful and courageous as have been the engineering operations, and glorious the behaviour of the troops, their success has been in no small degree promoted by the incessant and self-denying devotion of Colonel Napier—who has never been many hours absent by day or night from any one of the points of operations—whose valuable advice has ever been readily tendered and gratefully accepted by the executive officers, and

during the ensuing operations in guiding the troops, and received the V.C., with a sum of 2,000*l.*, and an appointment as Deputy-Commissioner in Oude.

whose earnestness and kindly cordiality have stimulated and encouraged all ranks and grades amidst their harassing difficulties and dangerous labours." Again he writes, that to his chief of the staff his thanks are due "for the efficient support I have ever received from him throughout these operations, and whose gallantry in the field was as conspicuous as his able guidance of the engineering operations."

Sir Colin Campbell having fought his way through all obstacles, but with heavy loss, on the 16th November the memorable meeting between Sir Colin Campbell, Sir James Outram, and General Havelock took place. Colonel Napier accompanied his chief, and, while running the gauntlet across the road swept by the enemy's fire from the Kaiser-bagh, was again wounded. The meeting was one of those episodes which give to war that element of romance and strong human interest on which poets love to dwell. But one of the three heroes was destined to quit the scene of his triumphs too soon to reap the rewards that a grateful sovereign and people were ready to shower upon him, though not before he had completed his task of glory. On the 19th November the Residency, to relieve which General Havelock had fought and won twelve actions, was evacuated, and, on the 24th, he died within sight of its historic walls, now desecrated by a howling mob of rebels. And yet his was a death happy in its incidence, for now there was nought more to do for the war-worn hero, who

"On the thick midnight of that dreadful war,
Rolled back the tide of ruin, and restored
The poise of empire by his single sword."

To Sir James Outram was entrusted the duty of carrying out the evacuation of the Residency, and removing the sick and wounded, and women and children, now amounting to some 2,000 souls. The consummate ability with which this duty was planned, and the skill with which it was executed, reflect the highest credit on Sir James Outram, and drew forth the hearty commendation of the Commander-in-Chief. To Napier, as his chief of the staff, much *kudos* is due, and the generous-hearted Outram always conceded it to him—as he did for all the assistance rendered throughout that arduous and glorious struggle.

After the relief of Lucknow, when Sir James Outram took up a position on the plain near Lucknow, with the Alumbagh as one of his outposts, Colonel Napier undertook the duties of Chief Engineer, Colonel Berkeley, of H.M.'s 32nd Regiment, succeeding him as chief of the staff. In his new office Napier's

duties were of an arduous and responsible nature. The position was of vast extent, and the several outposts had to be placed in a condition of defence to resist an immense rebel army, computed at 70,000 men, with a numerous artillery. In his address on the unveiling of that noble statue of Sir James Outram, by Foley, Napier, adverting to the Alumbagh position, declared that "no achievement surpassed in skill and resolution its maintenance, with a mere handful of troops against overwhelming numbers well supplied with artillery. There were no walls or ramparts, merely an open camp protected by a few well-selected entrenched posts, and a scanty line of bayonets, ever ready day and night to repel attack." In the selection and fortification of these posts Napier, as Chief Engineer, naturally was chiefly concerned, and the manner in which he fulfilled his duties evoked the hearty thanks of his chief.

When, in March, 1858, Sir Colin Campbell advanced to the Alumbagh, Colonel Napier parted with Sir James Outram, on his appointment as Chief Engineer of the army assembled for the reduction of Lucknow, and Commandant of the Engineer Brigade, with the rank of Brigadier. All the ensuing siege operations, which were a masterpiece and a model of what such should be, were planned by Napier. Mr. Russell, the *Times* correspondent, writing of the slow sap from the Begum's palace and the Serai beyond it towards the Imambarra, pays a well-earned tribute to the judgment of the Chief Engineer. "It is indicative," says he, "of the cautious certitude which marks the plans of Brigadier Napier, that he is but developing the means of attack in the very line traced out by him in conjunction with the Commander-in-Chief, long ere we placed our army before Lucknow."

After the capture of the city, Napier prepared an elaborate report on the best way of clearing it, so as to enable our troops to operate with safety in case of disturbance; and, on these plans, which made the Muchee Bhawan the key of the position, it may be said Lucknow, as a military post, has been reconstructed. Brigadier Napier was mentioned in the Commander-in-Chief's despatches, and was nominated a C.B. on the 24th March. After the break-up of the army that effected the capture of Lucknow, Sir James Outram's military command ceased, and Napier consequently sought other fields for distinction. Not many weeks elapsed before he was again employed under a not less distinguished chief.

In June, when Sir Hugh Rose, after issuing his valedictory orier to his army, again took the field, on hearing of the

audacious attack of Tantia Topee on Gwalior, he confided to Napier the command of one of his brigades. Sir Hugh Rose, leaving Whitlock to guard Calpee, led forth the brigades, under Stuart and Napier, and, after nine days' hard marching, drove the enemy from the Morar cantonments with great slaughter, and stormed Gwalior. In the action of the 16th June, Napier commanded the first brigade, which was engaged in driving the rebel army, under the Ranee of Jhansi, out of the Morar cantonment. Further movements took place during the next two days, and, Sir Hugh Rose having received reinforcements, on the 19th June the whole army advanced to the assault of Gwalior, which was carried after over five hours of severe fighting.

Not less brilliant was the blow delivered by Brigadier-General Napier on the flying remnants of the boasted "army of the Peishwa," commanded by Tantia Topee, the most able leader in the rebel ranks. Setting out from Gwalior on the 20th June, with about 600 cavalry and 6 guns, Napier marched all night and far into the next day, when he came up, at Jourah Alipore, with the beaten foe, who numbered 8,000 men, with 25 guns. Without an infantry soldier, and regardless of the enormous odds, Napier immediately attacked. Taking advantage of some rising ground, he made a flank and rear attack, and utterly routed the rebels, who, terrified by the sudden onset, fled precipitately, after a brief resistance, leaving the whole of their 25 guns in the hands of the victors, and 150 dead on the field. The slaughter would have been greater but that the enemy took shelter in the villages, and, besides being without infantry, Napier's troopers were greatly exhausted. It was a brilliant feat of arms, and, as the first in which Napier held independent command, merits a more detailed account.

Early on the 20th June, Brigadier-General Napier, quitting the Morar cantonment, with a column composed of a troop of horse artillery, one troop 14th Dragoons, wing 3rd Light Cavalry, 3rd Cavalry Hyderabad contingent, and 3 troops Meade's Horse—altogether 6 guns and 500 cavalry—proceeded in pursuit of the enemy. At 3 p.m. a reinforcement of 2 guns, 70 dragoons, and some irregulars, was sent from Morar to join this column, which had reached that night Sinnowlie, twenty-four miles from Gwalior. The reinforcement arrived at this place at 3 a.m. on the 21st, and halted to rest for a few hours, while the General, with the main column, continued the pursuit at day-break. On approaching from Alipore, a little before 7 o'clock, he discovered the enemy in front in great force, and with several guns. Napier immediately sent for the detachment in his rear,

and moved his force to the cover of some rising ground which concealed it from the enemy. After waiting till near 8 o'clock, it became evident that the rebels were moving off, and Napier, with a resolution that did him honour, considering the disparity of his force in comparison with that of the enemy, determined on an immediate attack. At the head of the whole of his cavalry, he made a bold dash to the right towards the enemy's guns, of which nine were placed in a small "tope" (clump of trees) which lay on their left; while, at the same time, he directed Captain Lightfoot to attack in front with his guns. That officer, taking post, poured in two rounds at 500 yards, and, limbering up, dashed towards the enemy's guns, which were deserted, the rebels having bolted after firing a few hurried and ill-directed shots. Napier, heading the charge with the *élan* of a young cavalry officer fresh from Sandhurst, passed like a whirlwind round the tope of trees, and followed the now retreating mass of rebels at full gallop, the guns of the horse artillery keeping pace with the dragoons. It was a *sauve qui peut* with "Pandy," who, surprised at the suddenness and impetuosity of the onset, never drew rein to note the disparity of the odds, but fled *ventre à terre*. By 10 o'clock not a rebel was to be seen, the whole army having dispersed, and, throwing away their arms and accoutrements, taken shelter in the neighbouring villages; the principal body, chiefly cavalry, having passed over the hills to the south. In this action and during the pursuit all their guns fell into the hands of the victors, and thus Napier scored his first victory, won by sheer audacity, for with 600 sabres and 6 guns he routed 7,000 men with 25 guns. Meade came up with his reinforcement too late to take part in the action, and the Brigadier-General made another march in pursuit of the enemy, when, finding that they were thirty miles ahead, he decided to harass his troops no further, but to retrace his steps to Gwalior with the captured guns before the rains set in.

Sir Hugh Rose now resigned command of the Central India Force, which was distributed between Gwalior, Sepreé, and Jhansi. The rebel army was thoroughly disorganised, and broke up into three columns, of which one was under Tantia Topee and Rao Sahib, another under the Nawab of Banda, but destitute of guns, Napier having captured all he had; and the third column was without leaders of note. Napier, who now commanded the Gwalior division of the army, was soon again in the field, and reduced the large and strong fort of Powrie. On the 6th August, Brigadier Smith, commanding the brigade at Sepreé, received information that the fort of Powrie,

twenty miles north-west of that town, had been seized two days before by Maun Singh, the Rajah of Nurwar, who corrupted the garrison, most of whom joined him after admitting him into the place. His force was reported to be 4,000 men, of whom 700 were rebel Sepoys, well armed with flint and percussion muskets. Very urgent applications having been made by the local authorities to Brigadier Smith, as Maun Singh was on the point of seizing other valuable towns and alarming the well-disposed inhabitants of the district, that officer moved at once to Powrie, on the 6th, but found it too strong to be attempted with field-guns, and, encamping at a distance of three miles, applied to Brigadier-General Napier for two 18-pounders, two 8-inch mortars, and reinforcements. Napier received the requisition at Gwalior on the 9th. On the 11th the siege train left Gwalior, and arrived at Powrie on the 20th, where Napier joined Brigadier Smith's force.*

A party of 100 cavalry, with 233 infantry and 2 guns, in support, under command of Major Vials, 95th Regiment, first seized a temple, 400 yards from the main gate, the enemy's picket retiring into the place, from which a smart fire of round shot and musketry was opened, and replied to by our rifles. Napier, accompanied by Brigadier Smith and his staff, proceeded to reconnoitre the north-east side, whilst Colonel Robertson, 25th B.N.I., accompanied by Major Chetwode, with a strong escort of cavalry and guns, reconnoitred the west side. Having determined on the necessary arrangements, four 8-inch mortars were sent down to the temple at sunset, and continued to play without intermission during the night. A breaching battery for two 18-pounders was commenced at 300 yards from a bastion on the east side, and nearly completed by morning. A battery for the howitzer to give an oblique fire on the defences of the east side, and cross fire on the breach, was also

* The place was of such great extent, that, with his small force, it was out of Napier's power to invest it. The fort is described as being "a mile and a half in circuit." One side rests on an impracticable precipice, flanked by large ravines and jungle, and backed by a deep torrent, and a forest extending for many miles. In front of the other side is open ground, with tanks and marshes. The main gateway is very strong, having three gates and numerous lofty bastions to flank them. The jungle gateway has two gates, and opens on ravines and jungle; a wicket leads down by the one side of the precipice, and there is also a path sufficient for escape of men in single file down the other. The walls, though ancient, and in some places dilapidated, are generally ten feet thick, of massive stone, and from twenty-five to fifty feet high, and are well protected by the precipice above mentioned, by deep tanks, and a wet ditch, except at two or three points. On the walls were found 17 guns, all of which were burst or disabled. "No one at Gwalior," says Napier, "with intelligence enough to describe Powrie, could give me a correct idea of its size and strength; but a native plan, procured through the Political Agent at Gwalior, gave me correct information in some details which were valuable."

commenced at 400 yards. The mortars continued to play all day on the 21st, and made a sensible effect on the enemy's fire, which had been maintained with much briskness on the temple and on all approaches. During the night of the 21st, both batteries were completed, armed, and on the point of opening fire, when the Brigadier-General received a message from the fort, to the effect that Maun Singh, with his followers, had escaped in the night. With his small force, the recovery of a place of such strength as Powrie, in 48 hours, speaks well for the energy of the Brigadier-General, and the exertions of his small force. The escape of Maun Singh—who must not be confounded with his more notorious namesake in Oude—was not preventable, but he was closely followed by Colonel Robertson and Brigadier Smith, who captured 2 guns on the 23rd. Sir Robert Napier returned to Sepree, where he arrived on 30th August, but was soon again in the field in pursuit of the rebel forces.

In the month of December, Feroze Shah, while seeking to cut his way, with a few troops, from Oude across the Ganges, encountered Napier, who had been hotly chasing him with a squadron of the 14th Hussars. Coming up with the fugitives at Ranode, the gallant general charged at the head of his horsemen, and dispersed the followers of the Delhi prince, who, however, succeeded ultimately in effecting a junction with Tantia Topee. But though, after the capture of Gwalior, all hope of successful rebellion was over, the hands of Tantia Topee were too deeply imbrued in innocent blood for him even to hope for mercy from his victorious enemies. He carried out a protracted resistance, and managed for a long period to evade capture. Roberts, Michel, Smith, and Napier, with small columns, hunted him all over the country until, at length, he was taken on the 15th April in the following year, and hanged three days afterwards.

For his services in the Mutiny, Napier received the ribbon of the Bath, and his name was mentioned in the vote of thanks to the army by the Houses of Parliament; he also received the war medal and three clasps, and counted a year's service for Lucknow. But he was not destined to rest long on his laurels. In 1860 occurred the Chinese War, and he was nominated to the command of the 2nd Division, under Sir Hope Grant; Sir John Michel, also a former comrade in Sir Hugh Rose's force, commanding the 1st Division.

On the 1st August, 1860, the army effected a landing at the river Pehtang, a little to the north of Peiho, the point proposed by Sir Robert Napier as the best, strategically considered, for a

movement on the capital. It was not until the 12th August, that the allied army commenced its march on Peking, and, in the action that ensued on that day, at Sinho, Napier's division took a prominent part. Sir Robert led his troops out of Pehtang at 4 a.m., and, on advancing about 3 miles from the causeway, formed line of battle, with his cavalry *en échelon* on the right. His guns first commenced the action, and then the wild Pathan horsemen of Probyn and Fane charged the Tartar cavalry, and drove them in headlong rout before them. At the assault on Tang-koo, Napier's division remained in reserve, but in the most important military operation of the campaign—the assault of the Taku forts—the 2nd Division was prominently engaged. Sir Hope Grant was avowedly guided in the measures he took for the capture of these formidable works, by the advice of Sir Robert Napier, whose experience as a military engineer, derived at Mooltan and Lucknow, was probably unrivalled in India, and proved of the greatest utility at this juncture.

The arguments which influenced the British general in determining to attack one of the northern forts, notwithstanding the advice and entreaties of his French colleague, are given in detail by Lieutenant-Colonel (now Sir Garnet) Wolseley, Assistant Quartermaster-General of the China force, in his *Narrative of the War in China*.*

* Wolseley says:—"With this detached fort in our possession, we should be able to look into the similar one on the south bank, enfilade the whole length of the great southern one, and take all the sea defences of the large northern fort in reverse. It was doubtless the key of the whole position, and as such the English Commander-in-Chief considered it the true point of attack. Sir Robert Napier, one of the cleverest engineer officers in our service, was also of this opinion, and from his headquarters being in Tang-koo, he had opportunities for several days of studying well the nature of the ground and position. Our allies, however, thought quite differently, and their plans, they said, in favour of the advance being made upon the south side, were so evidently in accordance with the rules and science of war, that to attack the northern forts would lead to no satisfactory result. They had never previously spoken out so freely upon any subject as they then did upon this point, and even those who before were most guarded in their remarks upon our movements, gave free vent then to their opinion. Their arguments were based upon grounds which, no doubt, would have had great weight had we had an army of 100,000 men; but with such a small force as ours, the breaking of it into two parts—which must necessarily have taken place, in order to keep up communication with Pehtang and our fleet, the real basis of all our operations, and from whence our provisions and ammunition were drawn—was, to say the least of it, a very hazardous proposition. From that moment we should have been an isolated force, without any base of operations, without any means of communicating with our reserve stores, except by moving back a considerable number, and fighting an action to make our way into Pehtang, which even a few days of bad weather might have at any time rendered almost inaccessible. We should have had to depend upon the uncertain resources of the country in and about Taku, which we knew to be destitute of any cultivation, and to consist chiefly of mud and salt-flats, intersected by raised causeways which led to the forts, and along which the information we had received led us to conclude we should have had to advance in order to capture those strongholds. To leave the northern forts untaken would be to leave a large force on the left bank who could then operate upon our rear, and, besides this,

Under Sir Robert Napier's superintendence, the road communicating with the forts from Tangkoo to the Taku forts was rapidly improved. On the 20th August, orders were issued for an attack on the great north fort, by a force composed of 1,500 British, and an equal number of French troops, with siege artillery, including several 8-inch mortars, and two Armstrong batteries of six guns each. The regiments selected belonged to the 2nd Division, and were the 44th, the 67th, and Royal Marines, commanded in person by Major-General Sir Robert Napier. The troops moved from Tangkoo on the 20th, and, crossing a flat and muddy plain, cut up by canals and ditches, took up a position about a mile in the rear of the north fort furthest from the sea. The night was spent in throwing up batteries and trenches to act as a cover for the infantry, also in constructing bridges and improving the approaches to the fort. The same evening a few gun-boats took up positions within about 1,400 yards of the mouth of the river, and all was ready for the attack at daylight on the following morning.

About 5 a.m. on 21st August, the guns of the fort commenced firing on the troops, and, in a short time, the allied artillery opened a heavy bombardment on the fort, while the gun-boats pitched shell and rockets into another of the northern forts which was firing briskly on the French and English lines, as was one also on the south side, the shot and shell from which came a long way to the rear. At 7 o'clock the grand magazine of the fort exploded, but the defence was continued with unabated resolution until 8 a.m., when the storming parties, consisting of the 44th and 67th Regiments, followed by the Marines, with the pontoons, having gradually closed round the rear, opened a very heavy fire on the parapet and embrasures, and, in conjunction with the French, effected, after many difficulties, a footing on the walls, and ultimately killed or drove the gallant defenders out of the fort at the point of the bayonet.

Sir Robert Napier was to be found where the fire was heaviest, close to the *glacis* of the fort, and narrowly escaped death. A bullet knocked his binocular out of his hand, and another ripped open his boot; and Sir Hope Grant notes in his journal, that Sir Robert was hit five times, but not wounded, bearing indeed a charmed life. His aide-de-camp, Captain Brooke, was shot through the thigh, and had a ball through his hat, and Brigadier Reeves, of his division, was wounded in four places.

give them a *point d'appui* on that side, to which they might transport as much of their force as was available for service in the field. The construction of a bridge over the Peiho was no easy matter, and entailed a considerable delay, arising from the fact of its being a tidal stream, with soft muddy banks."

In the advance upon Tientsin, Sir Robert Napier, leaving the Buffs at Taku, followed Sir John Michel's division, which marched in advance along the right bank of the Peiho, and at that place Sir Robert remained in reserve, while Sir Hope Grant continued his march to Peking with the 1st Division. He did not, therefore, participate in the action of the 28th September, at Chang-kia-wan, nor in the fight three days later, which placed the allied army in position before Peking. Sir Hope Grant, however, sent for him after the 18th, and, on his arrival with the 2nd Division, the army moved forward on Peking. The details of the ensuing movements are given in the memoir of Sir Hope Grant, so it only remains to say that there was no further fighting, though on the 13th October, when Prince Kung was given till noon to surrender the Anting Gate, or have the walls of Peking battered about his ears, it certainly seemed as though it were "all Lombard street to a China orange" that the batteries Sir Robert Napier had constructed and armed, would be brought into action. So ended the brief and successful China War of 1860, on the conclusion of which our hero returned to India.

For his services in this ably conducted campaign, Sir Robert Napier received the thanks of Parliament, as also a medal, with two clasps, and promotion to the rank of Major-General, "for distinguished service." On the institution of the Order of the Star of India he was created a Knight Commander, and was subsequently advanced to the Grand Cross of that order. Sir Robert Napier was also appointed to a divisional command in the Bengal army, and, on the resignation of Sir James Outram, was nominated military member of the council of the Governor-General. Napier returned to England in 1865, but soon went back to the scene of his triumphs, as Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay army.

While at Poona, Sir Robert Napier was nominated to the command of the expeditionary force the British Ministry had determined upon sending into the *terra incognita* of Abyssinia. All who knew Sir Robert's dashing, yet eminently cautious, tactics, and his skill as a military engineer, predicted success, if success could be procured by human agency; and yet, so ignorant were the English public and press on Indian matters, that, at the time of his appointment, it was stated in the London papers that the commander-elect of the Abyssinian expedition was Major-General William Napier, president of the council of military education, the name and services of Sir Robert Napier being, apparently, unknown in England.

PART II.

The Abyssinian War—The *personnel* and *matériel* of the Expedition—Arrival of Sir Robert Napier at Zoolla—The advance into Abyssinia—Meeting with Prince Tigre—Arrival at Antalo—The swoop on Magdala—The action at Arogie—Negotiations with King Theodore—The Capture of Magdala and Death of Theodore—Return march to Zoolla—Sir Robert Napier proceeds to England—Is appointed Commander-in-Chief in India—Lord Napier and the Afghan War—Conclusion.

THE Abyssinian expedition was without much military incident, for the war was an "engineer's war," and the difficulties to be encountered were not such as were due to the hostility of man; but the natural obstacles in this land of mountain-chains, peaks, and passes, were stupendous, and no army ever encountered greater physical difficulties. Fortunately there was no enemy to bar the way, for an enterprising foe, even though numerically weak, might have held the passes against an army as numerous as that of Xerxes. Again, though the climate was most invigorating, there were little or no supplies to be had in the country, and the transport arrangements had all to be improvised on the spot. But the genius and industry of the Commander and his staff overcame all difficulties. The troops were chiefly drawn from the Bombay Presidency, one brigade only coming from Bengal; and the ports of embarkation were Bombay, Kurrachee, Calicut, Vingorla, and Calcutta.

Transports for the Bombay troops, and for the stores, horses, and baggage animals, were taken up at Bombay under the superintendence of Captain J. W. Young, I.N. C.B., superintendent of the Bombay Marine, whose health was so seriously affected by his vast and multifarious labours that he died during the progress of hostilities. No less than 205 sailing vessels and 75 steamers were employed in the transport service, of which 174 and 30, respectively, were engaged at Bombay. In addition, 24 sailing vessels and 19 steamers were taken up at Calcutta,

and 18 steamers were engaged in England, besides 8 for stores at Suez, 5 sailing vessels at Kurrachee, 2 at Aden and Point de Galle for coals, and 8 employed in the Mediterranean. The total number of ships, exclusive of vessels of war, was 291, and the gross tonnage 312,218. Captain Tryon, R.N., was the chief transport officer, and Commodore Heath in command of the navy. The coal supplied at Aden and Annesley Bay alone amounted to 82,298 tons.

The expedition was also of vast dimensions as regards the number of non-combatants and animals employed; and it appears from official returns that the total number of persons re-embarked at Annesley Bay, on the conclusion of hostilities, was 5,474 for Suez, and 37,225 for India, of whom it would appear that the troops numbered 692, embarked previous to the news of the fall of Magdala (18th April), and 13,991,* embarked at Zoolla after that date. The total number of persons of all classes and professions sent to Abyssinia for the purposes of the expedition, including representatives from almost every eastern nation and of most European countries, was no less than 62,220. The French, Prussian, Italian, Austrian, Spanish and Dutch Governments each sent two military officers to Sir Robert Napier's head-quarters, and the principal Indian and English papers also had correspondents, the *New York Herald* being represented by the now famous Mr. H. M. Stanley.

The dumb creation was represented in vast numbers and great varieties. The animals landed at Zoolla numbered 36,094, chiefly mules, bullocks, and camels, including 2,538 horses and 44 elephants; of the total number only 7,421 were re-embarked, including 40 camels out of 5,735, so that the loss of life during the five months of the campaign must have been considerable. Altogether 55,000 animals were employed, including those procured in the country.

Carte blanche was given to the commander of the expedition, who personally superintended all the details of the outfit and preparations of the army; and the result was a complete and striking success, though the bill, nearly nine millions, for which the British taxpayer was called to pay, was, doubtless, a very heavy one, almost the only failing of the commander,

* This return, which is found on p. 235, vol. i., of the *Record of the Expedition to Abyssinia*, by Major T. J. Holland, C.B., and Captain H.M. Hozier, (an elaborate record of this memorable campaign) does not quite agree with the summary on the next page, where it is said that the total number of non-commissioned officers and rank and file landed at Zoolla was 4,038 Europeans and 9,050 natives, together 13,088.

and one that has been conspicuous throughout his career, being profuseness in the expenditure of money, and an apparent inability to look at questions from a financial point of view, though it is possible that economy may not be incompatible with efficiency.

A reconnoitring party—commanded by Colonel (now Sir William) Merewether, of the Bombay army, who was accompanied by Colonel R. Phayre, Quartermaster-General, and Colonel Wilkins, commanding Royal Engineer, and several officers,—left Bombay on the 15th September, 1867, and arrived, on the 1st October, at Massowah, whence they proceeded to Zoolla, (the ancient Adulis of the Romans) in Annesley Bay, which Colonel Merewether selected as the landing place for the army, and whence he carried on his reconnoitring and surveying operations. The advanced brigade of the expedition, including two companies of sappers, under the command of Colonel Field, 10th Bombay N.I., left Bombay early in October, and disembarked at Zoolla on the 30th, its duties being to guard the magazines and dépôts on the coast, and assist in necessary works. The 10th Bombay N.I. and 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry pushed up country, and, on 6th December, occupied Senafe. Sir Charles Staveley arrived on the same day to assume the command, the Scinde brigade, including H. M.'s 33rd Regiment, under command of Brigadier-General Collings, having arrived at Zoolla two days before.

Sir Charles Staveley took immediate and vigorous steps to remedy matters, which were not in a satisfactory state either at Zoolla or Senafe, and, by 29th December, the land transport was in a better condition. A pier was commenced, projecting 900 feet into the sea,* constructed of stone brought from the island of Dessi, in Annesley Bay, with a tramway connecting it with the ordnance and commissariat departments, and, for the use of the latter, a second pier was begun. Two large wooden sheds were put in hand for stores, and 6 months' rations were collected for 2,000 Europeans and 7,000 natives.

On the 21st December, 1867, Lieutenant-General Sir Robert Napier, accompanied by Major-General G. Malcolm and some of the head-quarters staff, sailed from Bombay for Annesley Bay, in H.M.'s ship *Octavia*, Major-General Hon. A. H. Gordon, C.B. temporarily assuming command of the Bombay Army. Up to the date of his departure, 7,448 troops of all arms had sailed for

* At the end of this pier a condenser was constructed, which, with another on a neighbouring island, and the supply of water from vessels, provided 180 tons daily, of which 120 were landed every day for the use of the troops and animals.

Abyssinia, in addition to over 2,000 natives of the Coolie Corps, and the Army Works Corps. Sir Robert disembarked at Zoolla on the 5th January, 1868, and, having minutely scrutinised the state of preparations, on the 7th finally quitted the *Octavia*, under the usual salutes, and assumed command of the forces. One of his first acts was to telegraph to the Secretary of State for War for 15,000 pairs of boots, socks, and blankets, 30,000 gallons of rum, 100,000 pounds of salt meat, and half a million pounds of biscuits. Sir Robert issued orders to the army, placing Brigadier-General Schneider in command at Zoolla, with the 3rd and 25th Regiments of Bombay Native Infantry and 23rd Punjaub Infantry; Major-General Wilby was directed to proceed to Koomaylee, and exercise command of all troops between the sea coast and Senafe; Major-General Malcolm was appointed to command on the highlands; Brigadier-General Collings was placed in command of the infantry at Senafe, and Colonel Graves of the cavalry.

During the month of January work was energetically carried on in the passes between the highlands and Koomaylee, to which a road was constructed over the sandy plain from Zoolla. Arrangements were made for the line of communications to be held open between Zoolla and Magdala, King Theodore's mountain stronghold, which was invested in the English popular imagination with all the terrors of the unknown. Indeed, so utterly ignorant was every one and everybody of Abyssinia, that one of the London comic papers had a horrifying representation of the last Englishman of the invading army standing by his dying horse, in the midst of a boundless desert!

The difficulty, in a country where transport was the chief obstacle and supplies were scarce, was to place in position at the objective point—Magdala—only sufficient troops to ensure success, and yet not one man more than was necessary to overcome resistance; of the extent of this, however, no reliable estimate could be formed. Every precaution had to be taken, as the slightest reverse would, doubtless, array against the invaders the whole military strength of the kingdom, and, though Prince Kassai and others might be friendly, his position at Adoa, on the right flank of the line of march, with 10,000 men, rendered it necessary to leave nothing to chance. Intelligence at this time was received from the prisoners,—of whom some were with Theodore in his camp, and the remainder, including Mr. Rassam and Consul Cameron at Magdala,—that he was then proceeding thither from Debra Tabor with a force

variously estimated at from 2,000 to 8,000 men, his progress being encumbered by 4 large guns, 2 mortars, and 14 waggons of ammunition. Though the Emperor Theodore had now only the semblance of power, save in Magdala and his own camp, the *prestige* engendered by his extraordinary career of conquest and blood was great, and the people trembled at his very name — "*Stat nominis umbra.*" The princes among whom the late empire of Theodore was divided were Kassai, of Tigre, Wagshum Gobaze, of Lasta, Menelek, of Shoa, Tissu Gobaze, of Northern Abyssinia, and the prince of Gojam. Of the disposition of these chiefs nothing was known, but it was essential that friendly communications should be opened with Kassai, Prince of Tigre, as Senafe was in his country. This duty was undertaken and admirably performed by Major Grant, C.B., the African traveller, who started from Adoa, about 80 miles from the advanced post at Senafe, on 21st January, and rejoined the Commander-in-Chief on 7th February, at Adigrat, having made arrangements for the supply of provisions for the army during its passage through his territories.

By the end of January the railway was pushed on to Koomaylee, the telegraph was completed to Sooroo, and shipping was despatched to bring camels from Arabia, and so vigorous were the measures taken by the Commander-in-Chief, that a detachment of troops was pushed on to Goona-Goona, 12 miles beyond Senafe, and preparations were far advanced for a general advance. To ensure this before the rainy season set in, the Indian allowance for baggage and camp equipage was cut down with an unsparing hand. Officers and men displayed the best spirit in their anxiety to go to the front, and, by this reduction, the necessary carriage (already considerably curtailed in India) was reduced from 478 to 270 mules for an European regiment, and from 270 to 230 mules for a native corps. On January 25th the Commander-in-Chief considered matters sufficiently advanced to justify an advance on Antalo, and issued instructions to push forward the troops detained at Aden; two days later he left Zoolla for the front, accompanied by Colonel Thesiger (now Lord Chelmsford), Deputy Adjutant-General, and Captains Holland and Pottinger, of the Quarter-master-General's department, and, inspecting all the stations in the Koomaylee pass, arrived on the 29th at Senafe, which may be described as the standing base of operations and the store-house for supplies. General Collings had, meanwhile, been ordered to push on to Antalo with his brigade, and, on 4th February, the Commander-in-Chief left Senafe, and, march-

ing through Goona-Goona, and Focada, arrived at Adigrat on the 6th, the chiefs and heads of villages on the road tendering their friendship. As this town was of great strategical importance, being the point of junction of the roads to Adoa and Antalo, Sir Robert Napier established here a permanent entrenched post.

On the 10th February the advanced force reached Dolo, 70 miles south of Adigrat, and within two miles of Antalo, which Colonel Phayre, Quartermaster-General, occupied on the 15th. Four days before General Collings had pushed forward from Adigrat, with a column to support the advance, and occupied Antalo on the 20th, and the Commander-in-Chief himself quitted Adigrat on the 18th, having during the halt of 12 days done much to improve the transport, which was still deficient, and lay in supplies, of which little could be had from the villagers, who were unusually poor owing to constant civil war. But, notwithstanding all the endeavours of himself and his staff, it became evident that unless the expedition was to end in failure, there must be a further reduction, not only in baggage but in rations also; measures were accordingly taken to carry this into effect, the general orders* being issued at Adabaga, 31 miles distant from Adigrat, whence Sir Robert marched, with 780 men and 4 guns, and provisions for 30 days, carried on 630 mules. At Adabaga Sir Robert Napier halted several days. General Malcolm was now in command at Adigrat, and, on 23rd February, Sir Charles Staveley (who had served in China under Sir Robert Napier) left Zoolla for the front, Brigadier-General (now Sir Donald) Stewart assuming command at the base.

The Commander-in-Chief marched with his small column to Dyab, on the 25th February, to have an interview with Prince Kassai, who brought with him 4,000 men; and to impress the Abyssinian Prince moved forward to meet him, mounted on an elephant, of which majestic beast these people have the greatest dread, and regard those who can tame them as superior beings. A tent had been pitched close to a stream, which was forded by Kassai, who was mounted on a white mule, with a crimson umbrella borne over his head, and surrounded by a guard of his courtiers. The Prince was received with a salute of musketry, which visibly discomposed him, as he feared treachery, and then

* By these orders each officer was restricted to 75 lbs. of baggage, and each soldier to 25 lbs., bedding, in both instances, included. Each European battalion had only 187 mules, each carrying 150 lbs., and 96 camp followers. According to the Indian regulations, each regiment was allowed 1,200 mules for carriage of its baggage, each carrying 200 lbs., and 600 followers.

Sir Robert led Kassai into the tent, and seating himself in a chair, placed the Prince on his right hand, his followers squatting on the floor, and the British officers standing erect behind their chief. After much time spent in mutual inquiries as to health, the Commander-in-Chief presented his gifts, consisting of a valuable Arab horse, a double-barrelled rifle, some jugs and goblets of Bohemian glass, from which port wine was drunk—the Commander-in-Chief, according to Abyssinian custom, drinking some first, to show that it was not poisoned. The tent was then cleared of all save the Prince, Sir Robert Napier, and two or three officers on either side, when serious matters were discussed. The Commander-in-Chief declined to assist Kassai against any invasion from his rival, the Wagshum Gobaze, but promised to mediate between them, and requested him to send grain to Adigrat and Antalo, for which payment would be made, and a suitable present made from the Queen when the British army left the country. Kassai was then treated to a review of the troops, and seemed much impressed by the manœuvres, and by the varied and showy uniforms—the bright blue and silver of the 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry, the dark blue of the gunners of the Armstrong battery, and the scarlet of H.M.'s 4th King's Own, and 10th Bombay N.I.

On Kassai's invitation, Sir Robert Napier crossed the rivulet, and inspected his army of 4,000 men, including 400 cavalry, who were found to be well-armed and disciplined, and with much power of manœuvring. In addition to this force, there were 6,000 men at Adoa, his capital, and, altogether, their critics agreed that these hardy mountaineers would be no contemptible foe. Prince Kassai conducted Sir Robert Napier to his tent, where the party were served with food and drink, borne in by Abyssinian girls, consisting of curry and brown bread formed in flat circular cakes, and tej, a liquor made from fermented honey, which was served in bullocks' horns, of which each recipient was expected to drink several flasks. The entertainment was concluded by a concert, performed by six men playing long pipes, and a war-song, sung by a minstrel, in which the Abyssinians joined in chorus. Finally, the gifts for the Commander-in-Chief were presented, consisting of a silver-gilt armlet, the sign of a great warrior; a lion's skin and mane placed on his shoulders, signifying that he was terrible in battle; and a sword, girt to his side, with spear and shield, which were handed to one of his staff, who acted as armour-bearer. Sir Robert was now conducted to the door of the tent, where he mounted a grey mule, gaily caparisoned, and, after

frequent hand-shakings, took leave of his hospitable host. Early on the following morning, Prince Kassai paid a farewell visit to the Commander-in-Chief, with whom he had a second private interview, at which he promised to afford protection to convoys while traversing his country, a distance of 150 miles, and to deliver, weekly, 60,000 lbs. of wheat and barley, half at Adigrat, and half at Antalo.

On the 26th February Sir Robert Napier continued his march from Dyab to Dongolo, 7 miles distant, where he was joined by Sir Charles Staveley. The next day's march, of 8 miles, was through the narrow gorge of Dongolo, through which the river Gumfit flows, to the valley of Agula; and the march, on the following day, through the Sallat pass to Dolo, 15 miles distant, was even more arduous. The Commander-in-Chief marched thence, on the 1st March, to Eikullet, 9 miles, over the Quiha range, and, on the 2nd, encamped at Buyah, 12 miles; on the following day he reached Antalo, half way between Zoolla and Magdala, where Brigadier-General Collings had been encamped since the 20th February. At Antalo, a small town of about 1,000 inhabitants, just within the southern boundary line of the province of Tigre, Sir Robert halted till the 12th March, during which he established here a main depot, forming, with Senafe and Adigrat, the third link in the line of communications on the Abyssinian highlands.

The army was now re-distributed in divisions, the first, composed of all troops from Antalo to the front; the second, of those which held the line of communications and garrisoned the posts between Antalo and Senafe; and the Zoolla brigade, of all troops at that place and in the passes. The 1st Division, commanded by Sir Charles Staveley, was divided into the pioneer force, under Brigadier-General Field,—who was accompanied by Colonel Phayre, head of the Quartermaster-General's Department, and two assistants, who surveyed the road and country,—and two brigades under Brigadiers-General Schneider and Wilby. The 2nd Division, Major-General Malcolm commanding, was divided into the Antalo, Senafe, and Adigrat garrisons respectively, under Brigadiers-General Collings and Stewart, and Major Fairbrother. The Zoolla brigade was commanded by Brigadier-General Russell. The troops of the 1st Division not at Antalo were ordered up to the front, and the transport train was increased, and all other preparations, including a second line of retreat to the Senafe pass in case of necessity, were pushed on with energy.

The day after his arrival, Sir Robert Napier received a visit

from Ashooka, chief of a portion of the Azebu Gallas, a Mohammedan race, to whom he made presents. On the 8th March his Excellency despatched Captain Moore and an interpreter to join Major Grant, who had proceeded in advance towards Ashangi, the chief of which oscillated in allegiance between Kassai and Wagshum Gobaze, to whom he had already sent Mr. Munzinger* in the capacity of an envoy. Finally, every contingency having been provided against, as far as care and experience could foresee, and all arrangements having been completed, the Commander-in-Chief left Antalo, on the 12th March, for Magdala, taking with him 3 troops of 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry, A battery 21st Brigade Royal Artillery, 10th company Royal Engineers, 4th King's Own, and 2 companies of Beloochees.

The first day's march was to Masgah, $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles, the second to Mashik, 8 miles, the third to Atsala, through the pass, about 10,000 feet above sea level, over which towered the peak of Amba Alaji, and below lay the mountain stronghold of Waldo Yesus,† the powerful chief of the district of Wojerat, who was formerly tributary to Prince Kassai, but had lately transferred his allegiance to Wagshum Gobaze. Sir Robert, with a small cavalry escort, made, in one day, the double march from Masgah to Atsala, where he came up with a portion of the pioneer brigade, consisting of the head-quarters and 5 companies 33rd Regiment, 2 companies Punjaub Pioneers, and 150 sabres of the Scinde Horse. Here he halted while the troops worked to improve the road both north and south of Atsala. He now assumed personal command of the pioneer force, and, on 16th March, advanced with it over three passes to Makan, a distance of 15 miles, improving the road on the way, and thence sent on 5 companies of the 33rd Regiment,—which throughout the campaign rendered excellent service, the men working like navvies, with a will above all praise. On the 18th March, the Commander-in-Chief advanced to Lake Ashangi, about 14 miles, the road being made practicable by the pioneer column as they marched. Two days later he moved from Ashangi, over the plain of Wofela, to Whussagita, a distance of 8 miles, and,

* This mission, Mr. Munzinger, the able acting British Consul at Massowah, who was killed in the late war between Egypt and Abyssinia, performed with great skill. He arranged with Dejash Meshesha, the powerful chief at Wadela, to render assistance, explored the road, forwarded money to Mr. Rassam, succeeded in obtaining information of the defences of Magdala and of the forces at the disposal of Theodore, and also of the road from Santara to that stronghold, which route the force subsequently took.

† The younger brother of this chief had paid his respects to Colonel Merewether, and, on the part of Waldo Yesus, expressed every desire to assist the British army.

sending on portions to improve the road, marched, on 22nd, to Lat, 7 miles, the road running up a steep and narrow zigzag on the hillside to the village of Adi-Woka, and thence, across the Womberat range, to the valley of Lat.

Here arrangements were made to complete the strength of the highland train, south of Antaló, to 8,000 mules, but owing to sickness the efficient animals only actually numbered 6,000. New arrangements were also made for the distribution of the troops, and it became necessary to make a final reduction of baggage and camp equipage. It had been considerably reduced at Zoolla and Adabaga, but was now finally dispensed with, all kit of officers and men being left behind, and tents, with the exception of those for hospital purposes, were only allowed in the proportion of 1 to every 12 officers, and 1 to every 20 of other ranks. General officers were allowed one tent, and Brigadier-Generals one for themselves and personal and brigade staff. All ranks submitted without a murmur to this hardship—no inconsiderable one in these mountain ranges. No private baggage animals were allowed to follow the column, and all camp followers, except for the carriage of the sick, had already been discharged. Fifteen days' rations were taken with the force.

On the 23rd March, Sir Robert Napier advanced from Lat, on his swoop upon Magdala. The first march was to Marawah, $10\frac{1}{4}$ miles, the second to Dildi, $15\frac{1}{2}$ miles, both marches being very severe, the road for the most part over a succession of mountains by a narrow path having a precipice on one side, and the densely-wooded hill face on the other, and, in other parts, the track was broken and devious, leading over numerous rivulets. The soldiers, carrying 55 lbs. weight per man, were greatly fatigued, and, to add to their discomfort, a storm of thunder and rain drenched them to the skin, and, the tents not arriving till the morning, the men had to bivouac in their wet clothes. After a day's halt at Dildi, the Commander-in-Chief moved with the 1st brigade to Wandach, 8 miles, the 2nd and 3rd brigades following at intervals of one day; again there was a drenching storm, and the troops bivouacked with the thermometer below freezing point, the 4th Regiment, which had performed the double march from Marawah to join the 1st brigade, specially suffering from the want of tents.

The march was continued, on the 27th, to Muja, 7 miles. Here Sir Robert Napier received information (afterwards proved to be unfounded) that Mr. Munzinger had fallen into the hands of Theodore, who had crossed the Bashilo, and was advancing

to defend the ford of the Takazze. Accordingly, the British commander moved, on the following morning, from Muja to that river, a distance of about $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Colonel Milward, R.A., with some infantry and guns, pushed up the opposite bank of the river, and gained a position on the Wadela plateau, thus securing the passage of the river, and measures were taken to collect grain for the animals, which were given a brief rest. The Commander-in-Chief arrived at Santara, on the edge of the Wadela plateau, which has an average height of 10,500 feet, on the 28th March, and remained here two days to arrange the difficulties as to native carriage. During the halt he received a visit from Dejach Mashsha, the uncle of Wagshum Gobaze, who came up with an escort of 400 excellent cavalry, and brought a friendly letter from his nephew, who regretted his inability to visit the British commander.

Sir C. Staveley arrived, on the 30th March, with the 2nd brigade, and the three brigades of the 1st Division were amalgamated into two, Colonel Field reverting to the command of the 10th N.I. The climate here was very trying, the thermometer rising to 110° in the tents in the daytime, and falling at night to $19\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, ice forming in a closed tent with 12 occupants. Between the rivers Takazze and Bashilo are the table-lands of Wadela, Talanta, and Daont, north of the Bashilo, and in the fork formed between that river and the Kulkulla, one of its tributaries, are grouped the mountains of which Magdala is the key. Acting on the information collected by Mr. Munzinger, the British General resolved to follow this line of march, in a south-westerly direction, along the Wadela plateau, to a place called Bethor, on the edge of the defile of the Jedda (which separates the table-lands of Wadela and Talanta) where the road, constructed by Theodore from Debra Tabor to Magdala, dipped into the Jedda ravine; from this point the advance could be made by Theodore's road. On the 31st March, accordingly, the 1st brigade moved from Santara to Gahso, and on the following day, from Gahso to Abdikoom, followed by the 2nd brigade, one day in the rear. On the 1st April the whole British force in Abyssinia numbered 10,800 soldiers, and 14,500 camp-followers; of the former 2,123,* forming head-quarters,

* The 1st brigade consisted of 3rd Scinde Horse; head-quarters 12th Bengal Cavalry; A battery 21st Brigade R.A., with steel 7-pounder guns; head-quarters 10th company, R.E.; 4th King's Own; 23rd Punjaubees; and head-quarter wing 27th Beloochees. In addition there were eighty-three men of the naval brigade, under Commander Fellowes, R.N., divided into two batteries, each equipped with six 12-pounder rocket tubes, having 150 rounds per tube. The 2nd brigade consisted of head-quarters and 4 troops 3rd Bombay Cavalry; G battery 14th Brigade R.A., with four 12-pounder Armstrong guns; detachment 5th battery 25th Brigade

and 1st brigade, 1st Division, were with the Commander-in-Chief at Abdikoom, and 1,749, forming the head-quarters of 1st Division and the 2nd brigade, were at Gahso; in addition, 1,404 men were *en route* to reinforce these two brigades.

On the 2nd April, the Commander-in-Chief moved with the 1st brigade to Sindi, about 30 miles from Santara, and, two days later, marched across the ravine of the Jedda to the Talanta plateau, the entrance to which had been seized by Colonel Milward early that morning. Sir Charles Staveley moved up in support with the 2nd brigade, and occupied Bethor, where the British struck the road constructed by Theodore in January, and moved across the Jedda on his track. The difficulty of the march from Sindi lay in the descent and ascent of the ravine, the bottom of which was 3,000 feet below the plateau on either hand. On the 5th April, Sir C. Staveley closed up with the Commander-in-Chief on the Talanta plateau, where the division was delayed for some days owing to a want of supplies. Theodore's camp at Islamgie, which he had only occupied on the 25th March, was clearly visible from the British position. During the halt here of three days, the weather was broken, the plateau being swept by storms of rain and occasional falls of hail with thunder.

Sir Robert Napier now despatched a letter to Theodore, demanding the immediate and unconditional surrender of the prisoners, couched in the following terms:—"By command of the Queen of England I am approaching Magdala with my army, in order to receive from your hands Envoy Rassam, Consul Cameron, Dr. Blanc, Lieutenant Prideaux, and the other Europeans now in your Majesty's power. I request your Majesty to send them to my camp as soon as it is sufficiently near to admit of their coming in safety." No answer was received to this laconic communication.

Advantage was taken of the halt to make scaling ladders from the poles of the doolies, and sandbags were prepared. Sir Robert also made arrangements to cut off Theodore's retreat from Magdala, in the event of his attempting to fly with his prisoners, Dejach Mashsha being requested to prevent flight eastwards on the Bashilo; and an envoy was sent to Mastecat, Queen of the Gallas, to close any avenue towards the south.

R.A., with two 8-inch mortars; B battery 21st Brigade with steel 7-pounders; head-quarters and K company Sappers and Miners; head-quarters and 2nd, 3rd, and 4th companies of Bombay Sappers and Miners; 33rd Regiment; and head-quarters wing 10th Bombay N.I. The reinforcement of 1,404 men consisted of head-quarters and 6 companies 45th Regiment; head-quarters wing 3rd N.I.; one troop 3rd Cavalry; wing 27th N.I.; head-quarter wing 3rd Dragoon Guards; head-quarter squadron 10th Bengal Cavalry (2nd Hodson's Horse).

The mountain mass of Magdala forms a crescent, the plateau on which the stronghold stands at a height of 9,150 feet forming the eastern portion, and Fahla the western; while midway between the two, rises the peak of Selassie, fifty feet less in height than Magdala, with which it is connected by the saddle of Islamgie—Selassie and Fahla being joined by the saddle of Fahla. From the foot of this saddle, the Arogie runs down to the Bashilo, up which Theodore had constructed the road by which he had dragged his guns into position at Fahla; between the upper portion of this stream, which forms the Arogie valley, and one of its tributaries, lies the Arogie plateau. The sides of Magdala are scarped and steep, but, at two points, they rest upon the terrace of Islamgie and Sangallat; it is at these two points alone that an entrance can be made into the fortress by the Kohit-ber, and Kaffir-ber gates. Such is briefly the position and strength of Magdala.

On the 8th April, head-quarters and six companies of H.M.'s 45th Regiment joined the division, which moved, on the following day, a distance of five miles across the plain to the edge of the descent into the valley of the Bashilo, when it encamped within sight of the heights of Fahla, Selassie, and Magdala, around which lay the hostile army of the "Negus" of Abyssinia. The 23rd Punjaub Pioneers and a wing of Beloochees moved to a plateau on the descent to the Bashilo, to improve the road. On the 8th and 9th April the Commander-in-Chief issued general orders on the arrangements for the attack on Magdala, and, at daybreak on the 10th, marched down with his whole force, with the exception of some cavalry, to the Bashilo. Recognising that Fahla was the key of the position, he determined to occupy the spur (which bears in different parts the names of Gombagee and Affijo) leading towards that gigantic natural bastion, satisfied that, once established on this ridge, he could operate on either side of Fahla. The 3rd Bombay Cavalry, 3rd Scinde Horse, and 12th Bengal Cavalry, were ordered to hold the Bashilo in readiness to advance, while, with the remainder, Sir Robert Napier moved across the river. General Wilby was now directed to remain in the bed of the stream with the 2nd brigade, while General Schneider advanced with the infantry of the 1st brigade to the Gombagee spur leading to Fahla, and cover a reconnaissance in that direction by Colonel Phayre. On this being done, and Colonel Phayre reporting from the Affijo plateau, that the head of the defile leading up the Arogie valley was secured, Sir Robert Napier, then still in the Bashilo, ordered up the guns of A

battery, and the naval rocket batteries, and the baggage of the 1st brigade, to move up by the King's road, and himself proceeded to the Affjo spur.

On arriving here at the same time as the 23rd Punjaub Pioneers, forming the head of the column, he found that there were no troops stationed at the point where the King's road emerges from the Arogie ravine, some 200 yards distant and 700 feet below him; immediately issuing orders for the whole brigade to hurry up, he directed Major Chamberlain to secure the head of the pass with his Pioneers. As the mules carrying the British guns issued from the pass, a round shot from Fahla passed over the heads of the Commander-in-Chief and his staff, and no sooner had the echoes died away among the rugged crags and fathomless ravines of the mountains, heaped on one another like "Pelion on Ossa," than, as if by magic, the signal

"Garrison'd the glen
At once with full five hundred men,
As if the yawning hill to heaven
A subterranean host had given."

The Abyssinian soldiery, seeing the mules, and fancying they only carried baggage, rushed precipitately down the sides of Fahla, to seize their prey, counting on an easy victory, while Theodore himself continued to direct his artillery fire on the heads of the British column. The naval brigade, on arriving on the Affjo plateau, opened fire with their rocket tubes, and made excellent practice on the advancing masses of the enemy, calculated at between 6,000 and 7,000 men, of whom the chiefs, numbering about 500, were alone mounted. Full of confidence, the enemy continued to advance, one portion against the head of the British column on the Affjo spur, and another against the artillery and baggage. The Commander-in-Chief now ordered the 4th King's Own, led by Colonel Cameron, to advance in skirmishing order, closely supported by the wing of the Beloochees, under Major Beville, the 10th company Engineers, under Major Pritchard, and the Bombay Sappers, led by Captain MacDonnell.

The British infantry rapidly descended the steep path leading from the Affjo plateau into the dip of the ground which separated it from the Arogie plain. The scene at this moment was an inspiring one. The Abyssinians, confident in their numbers and the invincibility of the leader under whose eye they were fighting, were eager to close; while the "thin red line" which had advanced so many hundreds of miles and overcome physical difficulties such as, perhaps, no army ever before encountered,

were no less confident that the hour of victory had struck which was to reward them for their labours and hardships. Thus, hurrying to the combat, the two armies met upon the brow of the Arogie plain, and no long time elapsed before the Abyssinian chivalry, recoiling from the close and deadly hail of the breech-loaders, fell back fighting stubbornly, the main portion down the slopes leading into the ravines at the entrance of the defile, and the remainder retiring up the wooded side of Fahla, whence they maintained a scattered fire. A party of the enemy attempted to turn the British right, but were checked by the Madras Sappers, under Major Prendergast, and when the rockets were moved forward their fire stopped further annoyance, upon which they were directed upon the summit of Fahla with good effect. It is the custom to deride the effect of rocket fire, and, indeed, in China and Ashantee these warlike engines were found very inefficient, the flight of the rocket being erratic, and causing as much danger to friend as foe ; but in this action there can be no doubt that, owing to the accuracy of the fire, they created more than the moral effect which is said to be their chief use.

In the meantime Colonel Milward had gallantly repulsed a spirited attack by the enemy at the point where the King's road issued from the Arogie valley. On observing the Abyssinians rushing down the mountain side, that officer opened fire with the A battery of steel 7-pounders, which was escorted by detachments of the King's Own and Pioneers. Nevertheless, the enemy continued to advance with so much resolution that the infantry pushed forward to meet them, and a fierce struggle ensued—the Pioneers, who were armed with the smooth-bore musket, using the bayonet with fearful effect—which ended in the discomfiture of the Abyssinians. Still further on the left a determined attack was made on the baggage guard, consisting of two companies of the King's Own and one of the 10th Native Infantry ; but the enemy being taken in flank by the Punjaub Pioneers and two companies of the King's Own, suffered very heavily at this point. It was now 7 o'clock, the action having lasted three hours, amid a heavy storm of rain and peals of "heaven's artillery," which, reverberating through the rugged defiles and broken chasms of that chaos of mountains, mocked the mimic thunder of the guns on either side.

"Far along,
From peak to peak, the rattling crags among
Leaps the live thunder ! not from one lone cloud,
But every mountain now hath found a tongue."

The loss of the enemy was 700 killed, including Fitaurari Gabri, the favourite general of Theodore, who had commanded in the action, and many other chiefs of note, besides 1,200 wounded. On the other hand, the British casualties were only 20 wounded, two mortally.*

Theodore passed that night at Selassie, but his thoughts were widely different from those exultant anticipations of success which had gladdened his pillow on the eve of battle, as he dwelt on the easy victory his legions would achieve over the devoted band he could descry from his eyrie in Fahla. During the battle he had sent repeated messengers to his generals to learn how went the fortunes of the day; but "horrors on horror's head accumulate," and the intelligence he received told only of disaster on disaster. First, Fitaurari Gabri, his right hand in war, died like a brave soldier, and as he named chief after chief to succeed him, the same tale of devoted valour was brought to him, and he learned that one after the other they had fallen beneath the deadly fire of the breech-loader of the British soldier, or the bayonet of his Punjaabee comrade.

The main portion of his army dissolved after that disastrous Good Friday, and Theodore as he betook himself to Selassie, and brooded over his defeat, must have felt that the hand of

* Lieutenant Shepherd, the correspondent of the *Daily News* and *Times of India*, gives a graphic description of the scene presented on the battle-field of Arogie:—"Next morning the valley of Arogie showed all the naked horrors of a battle-field. Tracks of blood marked the courses of the wounded who had spent their last efforts in feeble attempts to crawl back to the fortress and live, or to gain the shelter of some neighbouring bush to die. The body of Fitaurari Gabri could be distinguished from the remainder of the fallen by its gorgeous attire. The splendid shirt, which had been the oriflamme of the Abyssinian forces the previous evening, and which had made the wearer supposed to be Theodore himself, and to be the mark of many a bullet, could be recognised by all. He had been one of the first to fall; and seven chiefs who had attempted to bear away his body were laid in a heap around him. On the left, where the Pioneers and baggage-guard had been engaged, the dead lay thickest. Along the ravine where the bayonet charge was made, men and horses were heaped in tens and twenties. In some cases the sword and bayonet had completed what the bullet had left but half done; all that lay there had been dead a long time before morning. On the right, where the firing had been at longer ranges, the tale of dead was not so great, and more wounded men lay around, awaiting without a murmur of repine the approaching termination of their sufferings. The claims of these to sympathy were not disregarded. Many a dying man was turned to ease his pain, and many a flask was emptied of its precious contents at the dumb request of some fevered lip or parched tongue. In addition to those that lay there hundreds had been carried into the fortress during the night. The rockets and shells left abundant testimony that the consternation and dismay which they had caused among the Abyssinians were far from groundless. Many a charred mass and mangled heap showed how terrible was the havoc, how awful the death they carried wherever they sped. Before a week elapsed, the sleek wolves and greedy vultures deprived the field of much of its horror, giving it the appearance which it long will retain—a place of skulls."

fate was on him, and that his hour had come. But, with all the wickedness that distinguished this remorseless tyrant, he was brave, and resolved to die like another Richard, if denied honourable terms by his conqueror. At midnight of the day of his defeat (10th April) he, accordingly, sent Messrs. Flad and Waldmeier to Mr. Rassam's house at Arogie, with the following message:—"I thought that the men coming were women; I now find that they are men. I have been conquered by the advance-guard alone. All my gunners are dead. Reconcile me with your people." The German missionaries brought back word that Rassam proposed to send Lieutenant Prideaux as an envoy to the British commander, and, at daybreak, that officer, with Flad and Dejach Alami, son-in-law and confidential adviser of Theodore, proceeded on his mission.

On their arrival the 1st and 2nd brigades had taken up their positions on the Affjo plateau and Arogie plain, and already the Beloochees were being pushed forward in skirmishing order to cover the British advance. Operations were suspended while the mission, which received a rapturous greeting from the soldiers, proceeded to the Commander-in-Chief's tent, and delivered its message. But Sir Robert Napier's orders were to remove the king from Abyssinia, and after Dejach Alami had been shown the elephants, with the Armstrong guns and mortars, which had just arrived in camp, and was informed that the arms used in the previous action were mere playthings in comparison with these destructive engines, he was sent back with the following letter:—"Your Majesty has fought like a brave man, and have been overcome by the superior power of the British army. It is my desire that no more blood may be shed. If, therefore, your Majesty will submit to the Queen of England, and bring all the Europeans now in your Majesty's hands, and deliver them safely this day in the British camp, I guarantee honourable treatment for yourself and for all the members of your Majesty's family."

On receiving this missive, Theodore, who had somewhat recovered his confidence on finding that his losses in battle had not been so great as he had at first anticipated, and elated by the sight of the numerous host that answered his appeal to stand by him while he struck once more for his crown, dictated a lengthy reply, which he sent to the British commander folded in the cover of his letter, which was also returned. The Negus considered it beneath his dignity to hold any correspondence with Sir Robert Napier, whom he did not even address in the letter, which is a strange production, in no way referring to the

terms of the Commander-in-Chief.* It was with deep regret and many anxious misgivings for the fate of his countrymen that Sir Robert Napier perused this missive; but he had no choice but to enforce his terms, and Prideaux and Flad returned with heavy hearts, bearing back the *ultimatum* returned so unceremoniously. But another change now came over the capricious tyrant. He had convened a council, at which Dejach Enjeda, the prime minister, and other chiefs advised the murder of the prisoners, and resistance to the end, but Dejach Alami and another chief who had been in the British camp, counselled their release, as otherwise the English would take fearful vengeance on them all. The king, influenced by these arguments, issued instructions that the prisoners should be brought to him, and, meanwhile, in a frenzy of despair, drew his double-barrelled pistol, and was about to blow his brains out, when Dejach Enjeda wrenched it from him, a bullet from the pistol, which exploded during the struggle, grazing Theodore's ear.

On regaining his composure, the king had an interview with Rassam, who, with Mr. Cameron, Dr. Blanc, and the greater portion of the British and other European captives, including Prideaux and Flad, whom they met on the road, were sent into the British camp. On the following morning—Easter Sunday, the 12th April—Sir Robert Napier received a very conciliatory letter † from Theodore, who now addressed him as “friend,”

* In his letter, which opens with an invocation to the Trinity, Theodore says:—“My countrymen have turned their backs on me, and have hated me, because I imposed tribute on them, and sought to bring them under military discipline. You have prevailed against me by means of a people brought into a state of discipline. My followers, who loved me, were frightened by one bullet, and fled in spite of my command. When you defeated them I was not with the fugitives. Believing myself to be a great lord, I gave you battle; but by reason of the worthlessness of my artillery, all my pains were as nought. The people of my country, by taunting me with having embraced the religion of the Franks, and by saying that I had become a Mussulman, and in ten different ways, had provoked me to anger against them. Out of what I have done of evil towards them may God bring good. His will be done! I had intended, if God had so decreed, to conquer the whole world, and it was my desire to die if my purpose could not be fulfilled. Since the day of my birth till now no man has dared to lay hands on me. Whenever my soldiers began to waver in battle, it was mine to arise and rally them. Last night the darkness hindered me from doing so. You people, who have passed the night in joy, may God do unto you as He has done to me. I had hoped, after subduing all my enemies in Abyssinia, to lead my armies against Jerusalem, and expel from it the Turks. A warrior who has dandled strong men in his arms like infants will never suffer himself to be dandled in the arms of others.”

† The following was the second letter, which was signed and sealed with the royal seal:—“May it reach the beloved servant of the great Queen of England. I am writing to you without being able to address you by name, because our intercourse has arisen so unexpectedly. I am grieved at having sent you my writing of yesterday, and at having quarrelled with you, my friend. When I saw your manner of fighting, and the discipline of your army, and when my people failed to execute my orders, then I was consumed with sorrow to think that, although I killed and punished my

and offered for his acceptance some cows; but the Commander-in-Chief, learning from Mr. Rassam that 1,000 head were to be sent, directed that they should not be received within the outposts until the King had expressed his full acceptance of the unconditional terms of surrender. Meanwhile he sent a verbal message to his Majesty that "a palanquin was sent up for Mrs. Flad because she was not well, and that he desired the King to send her and all the other Europeans to the camp." That afternoon the remainder of the European prisoners and artisans, with their families, were released, but Theodore, who had now retired into Magdala, learned with dismay that his present of 1,000 cattle and 500 sheep would not be received, and that the surrender of his person was the indispensable condition of peace.

By Easter Monday morning, the 13th April, the 48 hours cessation of hostilities allowed by Sir Robert Napier to Dejach Alami, had expired, and, as he was bound in honour to his ally Kassai, and other chiefs, who had aided him with supplies, to insist on the surrender of Theodore, and as, moreover, information had reached him that the Abyssinian army in Magdala was being reinforced and fresh defensive measures had been adopted, he prepared for an immediate attack on the enemy's position. As the troops were forming, intelligence was received that Theodore had left Magdala, on which the Commander-in-Chief sent to the Gallas who were guarding the side leading from the Kaffir-ber-gate towards Sangallat, offering a reward of 50,000 dollars for the King's person: and, indeed, it would appear that the monarch had descended, with about 2,000 of his followers to the gate, with the intention of making his escape, but, on learning from the advance-guard that they would prefer to die

soldiers, yet they would not return to the battle. Whilst the fire of jealousy burned within me, Satan came to me in the night, and tempted me to kill myself with my own pistol. But reflecting that God would be angry with me if I were to go in this manner, and leave my army without a protector, I sent to you in a hurry lest I might die, and all things be in confusion before my message should reach you. After my messenger had gone, I cocked my pistol, and putting it in my mouth, pulled the trigger. Though I pulled and pulled yet it would not go off. But when my people rushed upon me, and laid hold of the pistol, it was discharged, just as they had drawn it from my mouth. God having thus signified to me that I should not die but live, I sent to you Mr. Rassam that same evening, that your heart might be made easy. To-day is Easter; be pleased to let me send a few cows to you. The reason of my returning to you your letter yesterday was, that I believed at that time, that we should meet one another in heaven, but never on earth. I let the night pass without sending for the body of my friend Fitaurari Gabri, because I thought that after my death we should both be buried together; but since I have lived, be pleased to allow him to be buried. You require from me all the Europeans, even to my best friend Waldmeier. Well, be it so; they shall go. But, now that we are friends, you must not leave me without artisans, as I am a lover of the mechanical arts."

in defence of Magdala, he returned and resolved to chance his life and crown on the "hazard of the die."

The toils were closing round him. The Gallas, of whom he had slaughtered 200, his prisoners, the day before the action of Good Friday, watched to the east, and the British cavalry on the south side closed every other outlet of escape, while in front lay the hostile guns ready to batter his stronghold, and the infantry prepared for the assault. No assistance could he expect from the armies of Kassai or Gobaze, for he had no allies, and not a hand, save of his immediate followers, was raised to avert the blow impending over the once mighty Negus, the "King of kings of Ethiopia," who had dreamt of conquering the world. But he scorned surrender, and, like the Thane of Cawdor, did not yet despair of beating back the foe.

"Our castle's strength
Will laugh a siege to scorn; here let them lie
Till famine and the ague eat them up:
Were they not forc'd by those that should be ours,
We might have met them dareful, beard to beard,
And beat them backward home."

The cavalry having been distributed so as to complete the investment, at 8.30, the artillery, consisting of an Armstrong battery, two batteries of 7-pounders, the naval rocket batteries, and two 8-inch mortars, took up a position to cover the advance of the infantry on Islamgie, which was the last saddle near the gates of Magdala. About midday the head of the column reached the Fahla saddle, whence the advanced guard of two companies of the 33rd Regiment was pushed on to the summit of Selassie, supported by the remainder of the 2nd brigade, and three mountain guns, which were brought up by hand, the path being too steep for mules. Here was a large portion of Theodore's troops who, on the order, laid down their arms, and with their women and children—the whole number being computed at from 25,000 to 30,000 souls—descended the paths leading from the hill. Fahla and Selassie being thus easily secured, the two 8-inch mortars were brought up by the elephants. At this time Theodore issued out of Magdala with a party of about 100 men, and attempted to drag from Islamgie the guns he had placed there, but this he was prevented from doing by a detachment of the 3rd Bombay Cavalry, under Colonel Loch, and the fire of a company of the 33rd Regiment.

Sir Robert Napier now reconnoitred the fortress of Magdala,

which rose beyond the saddle of Islamgie, in a steep scarp, 300 feet in height, strengthened by a double line of defence, in each of which was a gate reached by a steep and narrow path. About 3 p.m. the guns, being all in position, supported by four rocket tubes, opened fire on the Kohit-ber gate. The shells from the mountain guns, at the foot of Selassie, under Colonel Milward, fell thick upon the gateway and adjoining defences, but the Armstrong guns and mortars, under Colonel Wallace, not being able from the nature of the ground to advance within 2,400 yards of the gate, were not so effective. The enemy kept under cover, and, about 4 p.m., the order to storm was given. The storming party was to consist of six companies of the 33rd Regiment, led by Major Cooper, the remaining four companies being half in skirmishing order and half in support, headed by a detachment of Royal Engineers, under Major Pritchard (the only officer who received a wound), and the K Company Madras Sappers and Miners, under Captain Elliot, with powder-bags, crowbars, and ladders. Two companies of the Bombay Sappers were to follow in rear of the 33rd; the 45th Regiment were to be in support, and the 1st brigade—with the exception of the Punjaub Pioneers, and two companies of the 10th N.I., left to guard the camp at Arogie—was to form the reserve.

On receiving the order to storm, the 33rd advanced under cover of the fire of the guns and of its skirmishers, and, notwithstanding the fusillade of the garrison from behind the first defensive line, consisting of a wall surrounded by strong and thick barricades of thorny stakes, surmounted the steep precipitous cliff, and stood before the narrow stone gateway. Arrived here their progress was arrested, for the powder-bags were not forthcoming, but the crowbars were plied with stout and willing hands, and soon the gate gave way. But now it was found that the interior of the gateway was filled up with huge stones, when a party of the 33rd, with Lieutenant Le Mesurier, R.E., turning to the right, quickly scaled the wall and fence by means of a ladder, and, taking the defenders of the gate in flank, drove them up a narrow path passing between rocks and huts, pursued them through a second narrow gateway, seventy yards up the ascent, before they had time to close it, and, being quickly followed by their comrades, the gallant "Duke of Wellington's Regiment" were in possession of the formidable hill fortress of Magdala. Soon the flag of England floated from the highest point, a signal to the thousands of spectators below that the treachery and cruelty of Theodore had, at length, met with their reward.

But where was the Negus? When the storming party carried the outer gate he exclaimed to those near him, "Fly, I release you from allegiance. As for me, I shall never fall into the hands of an enemy." With these words, Theodore, drawing a pistol, shot himself through the head. His prime minister, Dejach Enjeda, had already been killed by a shell, and his soldiers, on the entry of the British troops, threw down their arms and received quarter. The numerous prisoners found in the place were soon relieved of their fetters, and suffered to depart.

Magdala was a place of great strength, and had the soldiers stood by their king, the British loss must have been severe.* But they were thoroughly demoralised by the action of Good Friday, and the rapid fire of the breech-loaders. Theodore had a powerful artillery, consisting of twenty-nine guns and howitzers, and eleven mortars, which were all found serviceable, except a 56-pounder, which had burst on the first discharge, three days before. The feat of arms by which 3,460 British soldiers, the total number of all arms actually before Magdala, captured a fortress of such strength, defended by a large army, and ordnance of superior number and calibre, was one of the most remarkable in the history of the British army, fertile as its records are in deeds of skill and daring.

Brigadier-General Wilby was placed in command of Magdala, with a suitable garrison to guard the fortress, which was filled with a great crowd of people, who, however, were directed to move from Arogie. Sir Robert Napier took possession of the crown and seal of Theodore, whose body was interred, on the 14th April, in the church of Magdala; but the disposal of the fortress was a question of considerable difficulty. Though in the territory of the Mohammedan Wollo Gallas, Sir Robert, in the interests of Christianity, made an offer of it to Wagshum Gobaze, but it was declined in his name by his lieutenant, Dejach Mashessa. The two rival Queens of the Gallas each solicited possession, but the Commander-in-Chief declined to accede to their requests, and decided to destroy the place. Accordingly, Magdala having been cleared of its inhabitants, the work of destruction commenced on the 17th April; the ordnance were burst, the defences and gates blown up, and the palace and other houses consumed by fire. As the flames threw their lurid light over the towering plateau of Magdala, and the smoke, driven by the wind, passed away in dense clouds over

* Not an officer or man was actually killed in action. Captain Roberts, 4th King's Own, lost an arm, and nineteen men were wounded on the 10th April; and Major Pritchard, R.E., and nine men at the assault of Magdala.

the neighbouring country, all Abyssinia knew that British revenge had been consummated. On the 18th April the British army turned its back on the "scorched rock" of Magdala, and, on the following day, the Commander-in-Chief, having crossed the Bashilo, issued a general order* to the army,

* The following is the general order:—"Soldiers and sailors of the army of Abyssinia! The Queen and the people of England entrusted to you a very arduous and difficult expedition—to release our countrymen from a very long and painful captivity, and to vindicate the honour of our country, which had been outraged by Theodore, King of Abyssinia. I congratulate you, with all my heart, on the noble way in which you have fulfilled the commands of our sovereign! You have traversed, often under a tropical sun, or amidst storms of rain and sleet, 400 miles of mountainous and rugged country. You have crossed ranges of mountains (many steep and precipitous) more than 10,000 feet in altitude, where your supplies could not keep pace with you. In four days you passed the formidable chasm of the Bashilo; and, when within reach of your enemy, though with scanty food, and some of you even for many hours without either food or water, you defeated the army of Theodore, which poured down upon you from its lofty fortress in full confidence of victory. A host of many thousands have laid down their arms at your feet. You have captured and destroyed upwards of 30 pieces of artillery, many of great weight and efficiency, with ample stores of ammunition. You have stormed the almost inaccessible fortress of Magdala, defended by Theodore, and a desperate remnant of his chiefs and followers. After you forced the entrance to his fortress, Theodore, who never himself showed mercy, distrusted the offer of it held out to him by me, and died by his own hand. You have released not only the British captives, but those of other friendly nations. You have unloosed the chains of more than ninety of the principal chiefs of Abyssinia. Magdala, on which so many victims have been slaughtered, has been committed to the flames, and now remains only a scorched rock. Our complete and rapid success is due, firstly, to the mercy of God, whose hand I feel assured, has been over us in a just cause; secondly, to the high spirit with which you have been inspired! Indian soldiers have forgotten the prejudices of race and creed to keep pace with their European comrades. Never did an army enter on a war with more honourable feelings than yours. This it is that has carried you through so many fatigues and difficulties; your sole anxiety has been for the moment to arrive when you could close with your enemy. The remembrance of your privations will pass away quickly; your gallant exploit will live in history. The Queen and the people of England will appreciate and acknowledge your services; on my part, as your commander, I thank you for your devotion to your duty, and the good discipline you have maintained throughout. Not a single complaint has been made against a soldier of fields injured, or villagers wilfully molested, either in person or property. We must not, however, forget what we owe to our comrades who have been labouring for us in the sultry climate of Zula, the Pass of Kumayli, or in the monotony of the posts which maintained our communications. One and all would have given everything they possessed to be with us; they deserve our gratitude. I shall watch over your safety to the moment of your re-embarkation, and shall, to the end of my life, remember with pride that I have commanded you." Sir Robert Napier received on 12th May, at Antalo, telegrams of congratulation from the Queen and Duke of Cambridge, as follows:—"The Queen sends hearty congratulation and thanks to Sir Robert Napier and his gallant force on their brilliant success." And the Duke of Cambridge said:—"We all rejoice in your great success and in that of your gallant and enduring army." The Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Northcote, addressed to him a letter in which he says:—"I have received her Majesty's gracious commands to convey to you her cordial congratulations, and to tender to your excellency and your gallant army her Majesty's warm thanks for the service which you have rendered to the country. The foresight evinced in your arrangements, the precision with which you have executed them, the combined promptitude and caution which you have displayed throughout the campaign, the skill with which you have conducted your communications with the native chiefs, and the admirable spirit which you have infused into your troops, have enabled your excellency to carry to a successful issue operations of an almost unparalleled character, overcoming physical

which was read by Colonel Thesiger at a parade held on the Talanta plain.

The return march to Zoolla was devoid of any feature of interest. On the 12th May, the Commander-in-Chief wrote his despatch from Antalo, giving a succinct and detailed account of the campaign, which was supplemented by his despatch of 1st June, written at Koomaylee. On the 15th May, Antalo was finally evacuated, and at Eikullet, the next camping-ground, the widow of Theodore expired from disease of the lungs—which recently carried off her son, Alamayo, who proceeded to England with Sir Robert Napier, who ever took a warm interest in that amiable but ill-fated prince. The Commander-in-Chief reached Senafe on 24th May, and held a review on the following day, in honour of the Queen's birthday, at which Prince Kassai was present, and received many presents. By the 1st June all stations, except Koomaylee and Zoolla, had been evacuated, and the embarkation of the army, which had commenced before the capture of Magdala, was completed with rapidity. On the day following that which witnessed the embarkation of the last soldier, Sir Robert Napier quitted the scene of his labours and triumphs for Suez, in the *Ferooz* (late a steam frigate of the Indian navy), and, proceeding to Marseilles in H.M.'s ship *Urgent*, arrived in England, where he received a brilliant reception, all classes vying in their endeavours to do honour to the successful General. The Queen was very gracious to her distinguished subject, and the Houses of Parliament voted thanks, Mr. Disraeli observing that Sir Robert Napier "transported the ordnance of Europe, on the elephants of Asia, across the mountain ranges of Africa."

Throughout the campaign thus successfully brought to a close, Napier displayed not only the qualities of a skilful engineer, and of an able commander who allowed no minutiae of organisation or equipment to escape his notice, but also of an officer trained in the Indian school of warfare, where the warrior-statesman is so well known. While engaged in his task as a

difficulties such as few armies in modern times have encountered, and such as probably no army has ever surmounted with fewer casualties and a smaller loss of life. Her Majesty desires me to convey to the troops, both European and native, her hearty thanks for the zeal, good-humour, patience, and fortitude with which they have supported the severe labours and privations of the campaign; for the admirable discipline which has distinguished the entire force; and for the gallantry displayed by those who took part in the final struggle. I have submitted to her Majesty's Government your excellency's recommendation that a pecuniary grant should be made to the troops in consideration of the gallantry they have displayed, and the hardships and losses which they have endured, and I have the pleasure to acquaint you that they had resolved on granting six months' donation batta to the naval and military forces."

soldier, he had to take up the thread of affairs as a statesman; and scarcely less remarkable than the skill of his military achievements were the foresight and judgment with which he kept all the antagonistic elements of Abyssinian intrigue in accord with the policy he intended to pursue.

Immediately on the fall of Magdala being telegraphed home, Sir Robert Napier was raised to the highest grade of the Bath, and created a peer, on the 11th July, 1868, under the style and title of "Baron Napier of Magdala, in Abyssinia, and of Caryngton, in the county palatine of Chester," with a pension of £2,000 for himself and his immediate successor—a well deserved reward for brilliant services extending over forty years. Lord Napier has been twice married—first, in 1840, to the daughter of Dr. Pearse, of the Madras Medical Establishment (who died in 1849), by whom he had six children, of whom his eldest son, Major Napier, accompanied his father to Abyssinia, and has since been employed on special service in Persia. Secondly, his lordship married, in 1861, a daughter of General Scott, of the Bengal Artillery, by whom he has a family of seven children.

In 1870, Lord Napier became Commander-in-Chief in India, in succession to the late Lord Sandhurst—better known in Indian history as Sir William Mansfield, chief of the staff to Lord Clyde during the Mutiny—and, after the usual service of five years, on his return to England was appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief at Gibraltar, a post he still holds. When war was imminent between this country and Russia, in the summer of 1878, Lord Napier was selected for the command of the expeditionary army, and came to England to arrange for the campaign; but the conclusion of the Treaty of Berlin dispelled all fear of hostilities, doubtless to the satisfaction of the gallant lord, who had seen too much of the horrors of war to be at all desirous to increase his military renown, or gain a step in the peerage, at the cost of the blood of the soldier and the tears of his widow and children. Lord Napier's great military experience has been utilised by the Government on the Re-organisation Committee sitting under the presidency of Lord Airey, and, in November, 1879, on the occasion of the second marriage of King Alfonso of Spain, his lordship was appointed Her Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary, and received from the Spanish monarch the Grand Cordon of the Order of Charles III. His lordship was no unworthy representative of his country at the Spanish Court festivities, for though the stern realities of war, and the conduct of affairs, are more to the taste of this veteran

soldier, his suavity and courtesy of manner make him a fit representative of the Queen of England.

Many circumstances in the conduct of his last campaign testify to the gentleness which is one of the distinguishing traits in the character of this great soldier, and which caused Mr. Gladstone to exclaim in his speech seconding the vote of thanks, that "Burke would never have lamented the decay of the age of chivalry had a Robert Napier flourished in his day." His chivalric treatment of the widowed queen of Theodore, whom he forbore to trouble in her weak state of health by seeking an interview; his solicitude for the young prince, Alamayo, whom the war had made fatherless; and his kindness of heart in bringing home from Magdala, and providing for, a little slave girl, and other instances during his career, prove that to him are applicable the words of the Laureate, "kind hearts are more than coronets."

In Lord Napier, the ministry and his Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief feel that they have a military adviser, especially in Indian affairs, of unrivalled experience and good judgment. When the Conservative Government resolved, two years ago, upon entering on a more aggressive policy as regards our relations with the late Ameer of Afghanistan, owing to the necessity that had arisen, as they considered, for the acquisition of what Lord Beaconsfield, with his aptness for coining phrases, called "a scientific frontier," the Opposition in Parliament, and the press, no less than the supporters of the Government, admitted that the advocacy of Lord Napier *—an officer familiar

* The following is the able and weighty memorandum on the subject by Lord Napier, dated 30th May, 1878:—"Some time ago I was asked whether I would object to an opinion I had once expressed, adverse to Sir John Jacob's proposal to advance a division of the Indian army to Quetta, being quoted in a discussion in the House of Lords. I replied that while deprecating public discussions of the question, which lay bare all our weak points to our enemies, I had no objection to my opinion being quoted, provided it were added at the same time that I considered the circumstances had so completely changed as to justify me in a change of the views formed ten or twelve years ago. I considered the advance when first proposed to be unnecessary, and open to the objection of leaving the Bolan Pass and the Scinde desert between it and its supports. I consider now that the advance is necessary, and that its political advantages would far outweigh its military disadvantages, provided that proper measures are taken to support it. The military disadvantages are greatly reduced by the progress of the railroads, which renders it now quite possible to make a branch railway for a considerable part of the distance towards Quetta, and the Scinde canals have carried water throughout the west banks of the Indus. When the occupation of Quetta was first advocated, it was viewed as a strategical point to take in flank any Russian or Persian expedition against Cabul. There is now no question of an expedition launched from a distant base against Cabul, but there is a question of a steady approach of Russia by absorption of territory, by maturing her communications with Russia, and by forming new bases of operations in the fertile valley of the Oxus. Already Shere Ali, through causes on which I will hereafter touch, has his ear (and probably his hand) open to the Governor of Turkestan. If

with frontier questions, as having held the post of Chief Engineer of the Punjab Government, from our acquisition of that

we have Russian possessions near to us, we shall find the government of India far more expensive and more difficult than it has hitherto been. If we compare the present situation of Russia in Central Asia with what it was twenty years ago, we must expect the close approximation of our frontiers in less than the same time, unless we can find means of preventing it. It appears to me to be our clear policy to exercise all our observation and watchfulness so as to detect any further advances, and to use all the influence that we can bring to bear in Europe to prevent them for the future. I am not in any way an advocate for advancing into Afghanistan contrary to the wish of the Ameer Shere Ali, but we have a right by treaty to go to Quetta, and I believe that our occupation of it, if carried out when we were on good terms with him, would not have been considered an aggression. But his present alienation, his apparent understanding with Russia, and his assumption of a claim on Quetta, form a sufficient reason, if none other existed, for our occupation of that post. The disturbed state of the Khelat territory resting on our border, the impotence of its ruler to restore or maintain order, the obstruction to our trade with Candahar, rendered it necessary for some one to interfere. If our abstention from all action had continued we should have had no just right to complain if the ruler of Afghanistan, or the Shah of Persia, had stepped in and taken the place which we had abdicated. We have, unfortunately, managed Shere Ali badly. Perhaps it might not have been possible, with our scruples and his want of them, to have managed him advantageously; but it must be admitted that we have not given him the reasons to unite himself with us that he naturally expected. First, we stood aloof in his struggles for life and empire ready to acknowledge whoever might prove the master of Afghanistan. Then, when Shere Ali had subdued his enemies, he came forward to meet us with an alliance, but we were willing only to form an imperfect alliance with him. He was willing to trust us, provided that we would trust him, but we felt that we could not bind ourselves to unreserved support of a power whose ideas of right and wrong were so different from ours. We therefore proposed to bind him, leaving ourselves (according to his idea) free, and he recoiled from this bargain. His friendly feelings, however, were not entirely alienated by that experience of us; he abstained from any action towards Seistan at our desire, and he believed that the mediation which we pressed upon him, would have ended by the restoration of the portion of Seistan that Persia had occupied in his days of trouble. And not only Shere Ali, but the whole Afghan people, believed that we should restore to them what they had lost. When they found that we had allowed Persia to obstruct and ill-treat our arbitrator, and to retain much of her encroachments, they looked upon us as a weak and treacherous people who, under the guise of friendship, had spoiled them in favour of Persia. This I believe to be the root of Shere Ali's discontent with us. Our going to Quetta (illustrated by all the hostile intentions attributed to it and industriously advanced in the newspapers by opponents to the measure) has naturally been seized upon by Shere Ali in his present frame of mind, as a cause of offence. We are thereby enabled to assist the Khan with money and advice, by our influence over his turbulent feudal neighbours, and by restoring to comparative tranquillity the country which was formerly a theatre of bloody struggles and treacherous murder. Our policy of masterly inactivity, or rather of receding from every difficulty until what were matters easy of suppression have grown into serious dangers, has continued too long, and if it is maintained will lead us to disaster. It has been frequently asserted, by people with pretensions to speak with authority, that we shall be secure if we remain within our mountain boundary. But this is at variance with all history. A mountain that can be pierced in many places is no security if you hide behind it. India has often been entered through her mountain barrier, which was never defended. India waited to fight the battle in her own plains, and invariably lost it. How much Austria lost in not defending the Bohemian mountains! What might have been the position of the Turks had they properly secured the passage of the Balkans. Afghanistan is closed to us, but the one post of Quetta that we can hold by right of treaty should be made secure; its communications should be completed, and a proper support provided. To retreat from it now would do the power of England more injury in India than the loss of a battle." Since the above was written Lord Napier has exhibited himself as a staunch advocate

province to the Mutiny—was of incalculable benefit to the Ministry. While Lord Lawrence, under whom he had served so many years, deprecated these measures from a political point with unrivalled knowledge and fulness of argument, Lord Napier, who had formerly agreed with the late Viceroy both as to his policy of “masterly inactivity” and the military measures necessitated by our relations with the frontier tribes and the Ameer of Afghanistan, gave his unqualified support to the Government. His lordship has, occasionally, addressed the House of Lords in defence of the Ministerial measures in Afghanistan, on the last occasion on the 20th February, 1880, but the pith of his arguments for a change of policy is contained in his able state paper on this question, of 30th May, 1878, in the following passage:—“Our policy of masterly inactivity, or rather of receding from every difficulty until what were matters easy of suppression have grown into serious dangers, has continued too long, and, if it is maintained, will lead us to disaster.” Lord Napier’s name and opinions are a tower of strength to the Conservative Government, and are constantly paraded to rebut the arguments of Sir Henry Norman, Sir John Adye, and other officers of the opposing school, who, while allowing for the changed circumstances, would not concede that they required a reversal of a policy which had received the assent of the wisest and most experienced heads of Indian statesmanship and war. Where there is such a diversity of opinion, supported by such a wealth of argument, and references to the lessons of history, and the requirements of military science—holding strong views as to the *ignus fatuus* we are pursuing in search of a “scientific frontier,” which appears to be receding as we advance, from Lundi Kotul to the Hindoo-Koosh on one side, and Quetta to Herat on the other—all we

of the Government in this question, and only so recently as the 20th February, 1880, in the debate on the Duke of Argyll’s motion for copies of the Russian correspondence found at Cabul, he said that “he was perfectly satisfied that we had a legitimate cause of war against Shere Ali, who had refused to receive our ambassador; and after all that had occurred, it was high time to bring him to reason. Had we remained quiescent with the Russian ambassador at Cabul, Shere Ali having raised a considerable number of troops, we should very soon have seen Russian officers there, and if any troubles occupied us in India, we should have had a serious attack on our north-west frontier. We were perfectly right in breaking up that cause of danger. In India we should occupy the strong ground ourselves. With reference to the treaty of Gandamak, he must say it fell far short of what he should have required had it fallen to him to negotiate it. But he believed in the earnest desire to re-establish that friendly Afghanistan we had so long desired. He trusted we should not withdraw from Afghanistan until we had restored perfect tranquillity, and until we had the assurance that we had a safe neighbour instead of a dangerous one. After that we might leave Afghanistan with the lessons it had already received. But we were in no danger there. Our situation was one of perfect command.”

can say is that time can alone prove whether Lord Lawrence is right, or whether Lord Napier exhibited his usual sagacity in turning his back on the policy he advocated while military member of the council of the late Viceroy.

In the number of wounds he received in his country's service, Lord Napier stands only second among Indian officers to that *preux chevalier*, Sir Neville Chamberlain; and in many traits of character his lordship bears a singular resemblance to his old commander and friend, Sir James Outram. There is the same gentleness, combined with fiery valour, the same unassuming manner, coupled with a noble contempt of danger, and withal, in a not less degree does he possess that fascination which binds to him, by the ties of affection, his staff and others thrown into official contact with him, no less than his personal friends. In his famous Lucknow despatch, Sir James Outram spoke of the "earnestness and kindly cordiality" of his chief of the staff, and no words that we can employ, so tersely and truly describe the characteristics of the noble soldier whose career we have so imperfectly traced. In the words applied by Dryden to the Great Protector:—

"Nor was he like those stars which only shine,
When to pale mariners they storms portend;
He had his calmer influence, and his mien
Did love and majesty together blend."

FIELD-MARSHAL LORD CLYDE, G.C.B.

PART I.

Parentage and early life of Colin Campbell—Enters the 9th Regiment—Services at Vimiera and in the Campaign under Sir John Moore in Spain—Proceeds to Walcheren—Joins the Peninsular Army, and is present at Barrosa—His services with the Spanish Army—The Battle of Vittoria—Lieutenant Campbell's gallantry at the storm of San Sebastian—The crossing of the Bidassoa—He returns to England—Proceeds to America—On service in Demerara—On home service—Takes part in the China War of 1842—Arrival in India—The Punjaub Campaign—Services at Chillianwallah and Goojerat—Quells the Sepoy discontent at Rawul Pindie—In command on the North-West Frontier—The expeditions against the Afreedees and Mohmunds—Sir Colin Campbell and Sir Charles Napier on our frontier policy—Return of Sir Colin Campbell to England.

AMONG the remarkable men who have found a resting-place in Westminster Abbey during the reign of her present Majesty, few possess greater claims to public gratitude, or have more worthily earned their honours, than the veteran soldier whose name stands at the head of this page. In this country aristocratic connections count for much, and the young officer, who possesses the advantages of high birth or political influence, has a start in the "Grand Military Steeplechase" in which fame and glory are the prizes, which heavily handicap his comrade of humble birth. The abolition of purchase has abrogated the advantages formerly given to wealth, but the other disabilities still remain, and cannot so easily be abolished by Act of Parliament or Royal Warrant. The more honour, therefore, when men like Lord Clyde and Sir Thomas Willshire attain the highest military distinction without adventitious aid, and, by force of character and good service wring from fortune the gifts she showers so freely on the well-born and wealthy. Lord Clyde offers a remarkable instance of what sheer hard work in every grade of the military hierarchy, and in every clime wherein the British soldier is required to serve, may achieve for the

young officer in possession of a sound constitution, fair capacity, and the "magic of patience." The soldier who rose from Ensign to Field-Marshal, and from a carpenter's bench to a seat in the House of Lords, possessed these ordinary qualifications—with, doubtless, considerable military aptitude—and, having opportunities, he availed himself of them; but he knew how to bide his time, and his whole life affords a commentary on the truth of Iago's axiom:—"How poor are they who have not patience."

Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde, was born on the 20th October, 1792. His father, whose name was John McLiver, was a cabinet-maker—described as a "wright" in his son's baptismal register—who migrated from the Highlands and took up his residence at Glasgow, where he carried on his trade. The boy's mother was of higher parentage, being the daughter of a small landed proprietor of Islay, of the name of Campbell. Her two sisters were living at Paisley at the end of the last century, and their brother, Major Campbell, was an officer in the army, who had served in the campaign of 1793, in Holland, where he attracted the favourable notice of the Duke of York. When an infant Colin McLiver was received by his two aunts, who, though their means were small, gave him a home and brought him up in a position suitable to the family of a Campbell of Islay. It would appear that these maiden ladies changed the surname of the boy, who henceforth assumed his mother's name of Campbell.* The child lost this parent early in life, and we hear no more of his father, who, being engaged in the bitter struggle of maintaining himself in a precarious livelihood, was probably only too glad to find so good a home for his son.

It was the desire of young Campbell's aunts that their nephew should follow the profession of arms, and, with the pertinacity of the sex, they succeeded in their resolve. As Sir Charles Napier says:—"A maiden aunt who keeps a pet nephew in cotton, and for whom she is resolved to get a commission, is a fearful one; the devil cannot pacify the virtuous ancient, especially if there be a record in the family that one of the race was slain at Agincourt." Young Campbell was removed from the high school at Glasgow, where he received a good education, to a military academy at Gosport, and, being fitted for the military

* It has been said that the change of name originated through Major Campbell, when giving in the boy's name for his commission, merely calling him, "my nephew Colin." His father was said to have been a bad husband and reckless character, and the child is stated to have been born in his aunts' house in Paisley, whither his mother had fled from her husband. However this may be, we hear nothing further of the father, whether he was bad or only unfortunate, which, in the eyes of the world, is almost equally reprehensible.

profession, recourse was had to Major Campbell, who exerted his influence in his nephew's behalf, and procured him a commission from the Duke of York. Accordingly, we find the boy gazetted in his maternal name of Campbell, to an ensigncy in the 9th, or East Norfolk, Regiment of Foot, his commission bearing date the 26th May, 1808. On that day he joined the 2nd battalion* at Canterbury, and on the following morning marched with it to Ramsgate, whence the battalion embarked, on 17th June, for the seat of war in the Peninsula, under the command of Major David Campbell, but whether this officer was his uncle we have no means of determining. This first march from Canterbury to the sea-coast, Lord Clyde declared, was the most miserable in the whole of his career, as, owing to the unaccustomed leather tights and Hessians, he suffered more pain than in the longest marches in the Peninsula.

Though but a lad of 15½ years, he was now embarked on a military career such as few soldiers of even our ubiquitous army can match. In those stirring times the beautiful sentiment Goldsmith puts into the mouth of Dr. Primrose, when he bids adieu to his son George, was peculiarly applicable to a young soldier about to leave England for service in those "blood-red fields of Spain," whence so many of the bravest of England's sons were destined never to return :—"Go, my boy, and if you fall, though distant and unwept by those who love you, the most precious tears are those with which Heaven bedews the unburied head of a soldier."

Ensign Campbell landed with his battalion on the 19th August, at Maceira Bay, and, two days later, was engaged in the sanguinary battle of Vimiera. The battalion formed part of Brigadier-General Anstruther's brigade, and was posted on a rugged and isolated height in front of the village of Vimiera. It was engaged in repulsing an attack, and, upon the retreat of the enemy, followed in pursuit, but was ordered to return to its original position. The 9th Regiment, both battalions of which were engaged, were permitted to bear the word "Vimiera" on their colours in commemoration of this victory. The campaign was brought to a close by the convention of Cintra, after which the 2nd battalion was stationed in the castle of Belem. Portugal being now clear of the French, owing to the genius of Sir Arthur Wellesley, Sir John Moore, who was now in command of the British army in the Peninsula, was ordered to enter Spain,

* The 1st battalion of the 9th Regiment had embarked at Cork for the Peninsula on the 9th June in that year, and was present at the opening battle of the Peninsular War at Rorica.

and co-operate with the Spaniards for the expulsion of the French legions from that country.

Ensign Campbell was now removed to the 1st battalion of his regiment, and thus participated in the battle of Corunna. The battalion formed part of the force with which Sir John Moore advanced to Salamanca. Crossing the frontier of Portugal, it arrived, on the 14th November, at Salamanca, after a tedious and rapid march. Here Sir John Moore learned the overthrow of the Spanish armies by Napoleon, who, pouring reinforcements into Spain, struck his blows so rapidly and with such fatal precision, that resistance seemed to be useless as soon as he appeared on the scene.

"Swift and resistless through the land he passed,
Like that bold Greek who did the East subdue,
And made to battles such heroic haste
As if on wings of victory he flew."

The British General could not bring himself to retreat, and early in December marched with a portion of his army, including the 9th, as far as Sahagun, with the object of attacking the French Emperor's communications. But the approach of Napoleon, with overwhelming numbers, compelled him to retreat to the coast of Galicia. Arrived at Lugo, the 9th were ordered to Vigo to embark, but, after a march of two days, were directed to return to Lugo, whence they pushed on to Corunna. The regiment suffered from privations and the inclemency of the weather, equally with the rest of the army engaged in this disastrous retreat, and one officer and 148 men died from exhaustion or were taken prisoners when halting on the road. At the battle fought on the 16th January, 1809, at Corunna, the 9th was stationed in the town, and covered the embarkation on the following day. To a fatigue party of the regiment was entrusted the sad duty of performing the obsequies of the heroic general whose name is enshrined in never-dying verse.*

To Sir John Moore may be applied the words of Southey when speaking of Nelson's glorious death at Trafalgar:—"If the chariot and horses of fire had been vouchsafed for his translation, he could scarcely have died in a higher blaze of glory."

* One of the most remarkable and gratifying testimonies to the halo of glory surrounding the memory of this great soldier was afforded by General Grant, the great American commander and ex-President, who, while in Ireland, scrutinised the original MS. of the verses of the Rev. C. Wolfe with greater interest than anything in the museum of Trinity College, Dublin, in which it is preserved.

It is not on record whether young Campbell was present at the interment of Sir John Moore, when the 9th Regiment

"Buried him darkly at dead of night,
The sods with our bayonets turning;
By the struggling moonbeams' misty light,
And the lanterns dimly burning."

Colin Campbell landed at Portsmouth with his regiment, which marched to Canterbury, where it was joined by 230 volunteers from the militia, and 96 recruits from the 2nd battalion. On the ministry undertaking the ill-omened expedition to Walcheren, the 1st battalion proceeded, on 17th July, 1809, from Canterbury to Ramsgate, where it embarked, and was brigaded with the 38th and 42nd Regiments, under Major-General Montresor. Within three weeks of his arrival in the marshy island of South Beveland, Campbell—who had attained his lieutenancy on the preceding 28th June—was attacked with the fever which decimated the army; and his military career was near having an abortive and premature end. Though more fortunate than many of his comrades who fell victims to the folly of Lord Castlereagh and the incapacity of Lord Chatham, our hero, for 30 years, was unable to shake himself clear of attacks from this fever, and, as he used to remark, "Walcheren was with me every year." The battalion returned to England in September, and was quartered again at Canterbury.

But the exigencies of war required the services of every available man in the Peninsula, where Lord Wellington was entering on his marvellous career of victory. His lordship was in want of troops, and wrote:—"Send the Walcheren infantry to Lisbon; they shall not be removed from the neighbourhood of that town, and they will probably recover there entirely." So the 1st battalion proceeded to Portugal, and landed at Lisbon in March, 1810, being the first of the Walcheren corps to embark for foreign service; but Campbell was still suffering so greatly from the fever that he was unable to accompany his regiment, and missed the glorious combat of Busaco on the 27th September.

On his recovery, Lieutenant Campbell joined the 2nd battalion at Gibraltar, and accompanied the light and grenadier companies, which, having been completed to a strength of 80 men each, embarked on 20th February, 1811, to take part in an attack on the rear of Marshal Victor's army, then blockading Cadiz. On landing at Tarifa they were joined by the troops from Cadiz, under the command of Lieutenant-General Graham, and, with 7,000 Spaniards, under General La Pena, moved

forward against the French. Barrosa was reached on the morning of the 5th March, after a march of 16 hours, and General Graham, leaving the flank companies of the 9th and 82nd Regiments, under Major Brown of the 28th, as a guard for the baggage, continued his march to Bermeja. Perceiving the divided state of the allied army, Marshal Victor attacked in force, and the detachments of the 9th and 82nd were compelled to retire to the plain, where they were engaged with General Rufin's brigade, and suffered severely. Yet they maintained the unequal conflict with unabated resolution, and, on the arrival of Brigadier-General Dilkes to their assistance, advanced against the French position on the heights, whence they drove them, with the loss of 3 guns and a large number of men. Meanwhile General Graham had returned with the main body of his army, and the French were defeated with heavy loss. In this battle the light and grenadier companies of the 9th lost 8 killed, and 4 officers and 56 men wounded.

The British troops proceeded to Cadiz, whence Lieutenant Campbell embarked with the flank companies of his regiment for Tarifa, and soon after accompanied them to Gibraltar, where they rejoined the 2nd battalion. On the 19th June the battalion proceeded by sea to take part in the defence of Tarragona, near the mouth of the river Francoli, in Catalonia, which was besieged by a French army. On arriving before the place, on 26th June, the Spanish garrison hailed the advent of their deliverers, but Colonel Skerrit, commanding the reinforcements, believing that the town was on the point of capitulation, refused to land his troops, and, two days later, the place was carried by storm. The battalion sailed to the Island of Minorca, and, on 7th July, anchored at Port Mahon. On the 14th it sailed for Gibraltar, where it arrived on the 26th of the same month.

Lieutenant Campbell accompanied the light company of his battalion when it proceeded on 1st January, 1812, to Tarifa, where it was stationed until 27th April, when it rejoined the battalion at Gibraltar. Here they remained until the spring of the following year, when the battalion sent 10 sergeants and 400 rank and file to join the 1st battalion, which had suffered heavily at Salamanca and during the retreat from Burgos, specially at Villa Muriel, and returned to England, being stationed at their former quarters in Canterbury. Campbell, however, was more fortunate in seeing further service. Early in 1812, he left the light company at Tarifa, his services being placed at the disposal of the Spanish General, Ballesteros, and was engaged in several minor affairs until that commander, "swelling with

arrogant pride," as Napier says, refused to serve under Wellington, whose orders he had been directed by the Cortes to obey, and was arrested in the midst of his soldiers for his contumacious conduct, and sent a prisoner to Ceuta. Our hero was present with Ballesteros at Malaga, when the Spanish army narrowly escaped capture, and followed the varying fortunes of our allies until shortly before Wellington's crowning victory at Vittoria.

In May, 1813, the 1st battalion of the 9th Regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Cameron, took the field with a strength of 900 men, and formed part of the force which, under Sir Thomas Graham, traversed the mountainous districts of *Tras os Montes*, and passed the river *Esla* on the 31st May. Closely pursuing the retreating French, on the 18th June the light company of the 9th, which Campbell had now rejoined, was engaged in the affair near *Osma*, and had 2 men killed and 8 wounded. On the following day the 5th Division, to which the 9th was attached, moved across a difficult country, and was present at Vittoria on the 21st June, when the French army, under King Joseph, was routed. When the second brigade of the 5th Division, under Brigadier-General Robinson, attacked the village of *Gomara Major*, the 1st (Major-General Hay's) brigade moved in support, but, after carrying the bridge over the *Zadorra* river, was compelled, owing to the heavy fire of the enemy across the river, to withdraw. At length, when the French army gave way at all points, the 9th crossed the bridge and took part in the final rout. The regiment only lost 1 officer and 9 men killed and 15 men wounded at Vittoria—a name they bear on their colours.

Following the enemy, who managed to effect their escape, the 9th Regiment arrived at *San Sebastian* on the 6th July, and took a most prominent part in the siege of that stronghold. One of the first objects was the reduction of the convent and redoubt of *San Bartolomeo*. On the 17th, these posts were so much damaged by artillery fire that two columns were formed for storming—one, on the right, to attack the redoubt, consisting of the picket of the 4th *Caçadores* and 150 men of the 13th Portuguese Regiment, supported by 300 men of the 9th, under Major Craufurd, with a reserve of 3 companies of the 1st Royals; and a second column, on the left, to attack the convent, consisting of 200 men of 5th *Caçadores*, 200 of 13th Portuguese, supported by the remainder of the 9th. At 10 o'clock, on the troops advancing to the storm, the Portuguese moved so slowly that the 9th passed through them, and, carrying the convent, drove the enemy out of the suburbs after

a severe struggle. On the right they attacked with equal ardour, and the French abandoned the redoubt. The fighting was desperate, and the 9th lost upwards of 70, including 2 officers killed, and 4 officers, including the heroic Colonel Cameron, wounded. The capture of the convent facilitated the progress of the siege; and, on the 24th July, the breaches being deemed practicable, the Royals were directed to storm the great breach, with the 9th in support, and the 38th, the lesser.

A detachment selected from the light companies* of the three regiments of the brigade, was placed under the command of Colin Campbell, who eagerly volunteered for the duty, and was posted in the centre of the Royals, "for the purpose of sweeping the high curtain after the breach should be won." The service on which he was to be engaged is one of the most desperate known in war, and, in this instance, its dangers were added to by the folly of those high in command. The fortress was imperfectly breached, added to which the difficulties attending an assault under the most favourable circumstances, were much aggravated by the narrow and exposed nature of the road by which the storming columns would have to advance. Many a man, when nerving himself for such a struggle, has echoed the words of Brutus when entering on the combat which avenged "the work the ides of March begun."

"Oh, that a man might know
The end of this day's business ere it come!
But it sufficeth that the day will end,
And then the end is known."

In his conduct on this eventful day, Campbell proved that he possessed that "bodily ardour for fighting" of which, Kinglake truly declares, no real general can be deficient. Campbell, young as he was, had participated in some of the most deadly fields chronicled in history, but not yet had he shared in the perils of an assault. At daybreak, on the morning of the 25th July, the troops advanced to the attack with the greatest enthusiasm. The cannon of the fortress played upon them in front, volleys of musketry swept away the leading files, while showers of hand grenades, shells, and large stones were poured down upon them as they advanced across the difficult ground. "In vain," says Napier, "Lieutenant Campbell, breaking through

* Throughout a great portion of the Peninsular War, during which the 9th Regiment was brigaded with the 1st Royals and 38th Regiment, the command of the light companies of the brigade was held either by Captain Willshire or Lieutenant Campbell who both earned such distinction in India.

the tumultuous crowd with the survivors of his chosen detachment, mounted the ruins; twice he ascended, twice he was wounded, and all around him died." Notwithstanding that every effort was made, the defences round the breach not having been previously thoroughly destroyed, success was found to be impracticable. During the assault Lieutenant Campbell highly distinguished himself, and received two severe wounds.

The place was not finally reduced until the 31st August, when the gallant 9th lost 4 officers, including Major Crauford, and 47 men killed, and 6 officers, including Colonel Cameron and Captain Shelton (of unhappy Cabul memory) who lost an arm, and 102 men, wounded.

Lieutenant Campbell received the thanks of Sir Thomas Graham for his cool bravery at the breach of San Sebastian, and that officer recommended him to Lord Wellington, who had himself proposed him for promotion to a company. The severe wounds received by Colin Campbell did not prevent his being present with his regiment at the passage of the Bidassoa on the 7th October. The 9th was one of the corps which removed during the previous night from the camp in the mountains, and took post behind a large river embankment opposite the village of Andaya. At daylight, on the 7th October, the regiment emerged from its concealment, forded the river at low water, and gained the opposite bank before the French, who were surprised by the suddenness of the movement, fired a gun. From Andaya the regiment advanced, under a heavy fire of musketry and artillery, towards the strong height called Croix des Bouquets, which was the key of the French position. Moving quickly through a line of German skirmishers, the 9th, well led by their gallant colonel, rushed vehemently up the height, when the French infantry fled to a second ridge, where they could only be approached on a narrow front. Forming the regiment into one column, Colonel Cameron advanced against this new position, from which the enemy was enabled to pour a concentrated fire as they moved steadily forward to the attack. But the ardour of the regiment could not be quenched by formidable opposition. Accustomed to victory, the soldiers of the 9th moved steadily forward until they arrived within a dozen yards of their antagonists, when they rushed with fixed bayonets on the opposing foe. The enemy instantly gave way and fled, and the ridges of the Croix des Bouquets were won as far as the royal road. Success also attended the operations of the other divisions of the allied army, and the French were driven from their formidable works.

The conduct of the 9th elicited the commendations of the general officers who witnessed their intrepid bearing; and the regiment was thanked in the field by the Marquis of Wellington, who made known its behaviour in his despatch.* This distinction was not earned without serious loss, and 10 officers and 72 men were killed or wounded, including Colin Campbell, who received a severe wound from a musket shot, which passed through his right thigh. From this wound he continued to suffer occasionally for twelve years. He was compelled to return to England, and, on the 9th November, was gazetted Captain, and early in 1814, was transferred to a company in a newly raised battalion of the 60th Rifles, which, with several Peninsular regiments, was sent, on the conclusion of peace by the abdication of Napoleon, to America, to bring to a termination the war we had been waging with the United States since 1812.

Campbell's service in America was of an uneventful character. Some companies of his battalion of the 60th Rifles were engaged in the operations in the Penobscot, under Sir J. Sherbrooke, including the capture of Castine, but our hero, whose career in America is involved in obscurity, was not engaged. He had the further disappointment of missing the field of Waterloo, in which was quenched that "fierce spirit," which, says Shelley,

"roll'd
In terror, and blood, and gold,
A torrent of ruin to death from his birth."

Campbell returned to England some time before 1818, as we find that, on the reduction of the army consequent on the commencement of that long period of peace upon which this country and all Europe were entering, he escaped being placed on half-pay, and was gazetted, on the 26th November in that year, to a company in the 21st North British Fusiliers. With this regiment Captain Campbell embarked, in the following March, for Barbadoes, where he remained for two years. In March, 1821, seven companies of the 21st, including Campbell's, were ordered to proceed to Demerara, where he saw some service, in which, however, little glory or credit beyond that of duty performed, was to be earned.

In 1823 the negroes of Demerara, incited by the intelligence of the proceedings in Parliament in connection with the

* *Historical Records of the 9th Regiment.*

abolition of slavery, broke out in open insurrection. The Governor of the island, General Murray, thereupon proclaimed martial law, and a column took the field under the command of Colonel Leahy, of the 21st, Captain Campbell being appointed Brigade-Major of the force. After some minor affairs in which the troops were successful, Colonel Leahy, with a strong detachment, consisting of the 21st Fusiliers and the Georgetown Militia, totally defeated, on the 20th August, a force of some 2,000 insurgents, whereupon the rebellion terminated in the submission of the rebels. During this service Campbell suffered considerably from a return of the Walcheren fever.

In January, 1824, he accompanied the head-quarters of his regiment to St. Vincent, and on the 26th November, in the following year, purchased his Majority. The pecuniary sacrifice entailed by this step robbed him not only of the savings of seventeen years of hard and not undistinguished service, but compelled him to be dependent on others; but there was no help for it, and had he not paid the money, others, younger and richer men, who had entered the army since the end of the great war, were ready with open purses to buy over the head of the gallant soldier who had shed his blood freely in his country's service. Campbell always felt this hardship, and, many years after, informed the commissioners appointed to inquire into the system of purchase, of the great straits to which he had been reduced to buy the promotion his services had fully entitled him to expect.

In January, 1827, the 21st Fusiliers returned to England, and was stationed at Windsor, Portsmouth, and Bath, whence it proceeded, in October of the following year, to Fermoy. Whilst in Ireland, Major Campbell was employed in the most distasteful service on which a soldier could be engaged—that of responding to the calls of the tithe proctor to force from an unwilling peasantry the payment of the dues demanded by an alien church. As a Scotchman, with his national love of freedom and detestation of the tyranny which upheld the anomaly of an Established Church retained for the benefit of a small and wealthy minority, such duties were peculiarly obnoxious to one in whom the precepts of the Covenanters had been instilled in early childhood, but, as a soldier, he had no choice but to obey the behests of the law, and enforce, at the point of the bayonet, demands which, as a private citizen, were repugnant to his sense of justice.

In October, 1831, Major Campbell returned to England with his regiment, which was stationed at Weedon and Chatham.

On the 26th October in the following year he was promoted, by purchase, Lieutenant-Colonel unattached, and left the 21st Fusiliers, in which he had served fourteen years. For the necessary funds to purchase this step, he was obliged to have recourse to the assistance of an army agent and some friends, and, it is said, he was so disgusted with the result of twenty-four years' arduous service—for there was no certainty of his being again employed—that he meditated retiring from the service by the sale of his commission. But the most important part of his military career was before him.

On the 8th May, 1835, he was appointed junior Lieutenant-Colonel of his old regiment, the 9th East Norfolk, and, on the following 19th June, exchanged with Lieutenant-Colonel McCaskill,* of the 98th, then at the Cape of Good Hope. In June, 1837, the 98th returned to England, and was stationed successively at Weedon, Manchester, Hull, and Newcastle-on-Tyne, where it remained two years, proceeding thence to Naas, in Ireland, in June, 1841. Colonel Campbell sickened of the monotonous duties of barrack life, and many times, it is said, expressed his determination to retire from the service. His early career had been so stirring, and this period of inaction, extending over a quarter of a century without seeing a shot fired save the petty struggle in Demerara, disgusted him beyond measure. "But the world is his who waits," and, at length, the long-wished-for opportunity arrived.

Lord Gough, who was carrying on hostilities in China, demanded reinforcements, and, in November, 1841, Colonel Campbell proceeded from Dublin to Plymouth, where he embarked for the seat of war in command of his regiment. On the 20th June, 1842, the *Belleisle* troop-ship—which, as a 74, had been engaged at Trafalgar—arrived at the anchorage off Woosung, where the Yang-tse-Kiang joins that river, and, on 6th July, the whole fleet of seventy-three sail proceeded up the Yang-tse, arriving off Chinkiang-foo on the 20th. The troops were landed, and, in the attack on the city, the 98th Regiment formed part of Lord Saltoun's brigade, to which was confided the task of attacking an entrenched camp, which was captured after a brief resistance. One brigade was left to hold Chinkiang-foo, and the remainder of the army, including the 98th, sailed up the river to Nankin, which, however, was surrendered by the Chinese authorities when all preparations had been made to carry it by assault. The treaty of peace signed at this

* Afterwards Major-General Sir John McCaskill, who was second in command to Sir George Pollock in his Afghan campaign, and fell at Moodkee in 1845.

city, concluded the war, and, on 10th October, the *Belleisle* sailed for Hong-Kong, the 98th Regiment having lost 160 men, besides 430 in hospital, of whom 100 died. This great mortality was due to the heat of the season, the men having suffered fearfully during the operations at Chinkiang-foo. The regiment remained in Hong-Kong until the close of the year 1846, when it proceeded to Bengal.

Campbell was again doomed to disappointment, for the Scinde, Gwalior, and Sutlej campaigns had been fought while his regiment was lying inactive at Hong-Kong, and he must have objurgated his ill-luck as he ruefully scanned the political horizon for any signs of a coming storm. Suddenly, in April, 1848, a cloud arose, and the rebellion of Moolraj gave the signal for an arduous struggle in which our military prestige suffered somewhat. Colonel Campbell proposed that active operations should be commenced against Moolraj, and had this course been adopted at the time Herbert Edwardes's early successes struck terror into the enemy, there is every probability that the sanguinary battle of Chillianwallah would have remained an unwritten page of history. As Sheikh Saadi says:—"You may stop the course of a river with a bodkin, but let it run, and it will carry away an elephant with its load." So it was in this case, and when, at a later date, Sir F. Currie, the Resident at Lahore, resolved to strike a blow, and directed General Whish, commanding the troops under his orders, to march against Moolraj with 2 brigades of infantry, including 2 European regiments, a brigade of cavalry, 2 batteries of artillery and a siege train, Colonel Campbell considered the time for striking a blow was past.

At the outbreak of hostilities he was at Lahore in command of his regiment, and it would appear that he had been nominated to command a small force ordered on this service, but remonstrated against the proposed course. There was a report that he had been despatched to the seat of war, and had suffered a defeat, for we find Sir Charles Napier, who was then in England, writing on 11th July:—"A pretty report from India. I cannot believe my friend Colin Campbell can have been surprised and destroyed when at the head of 10,000 men and 6 batteries; if so, the politicals have done him." This expression of his evil opinion of the "politicals," was thoroughly characteristic of the conqueror of Scinde, who could see no good quality in any of them, and wrote of Sir Henry Lawrence, that "he was a good fellow, but I doubt his capacity," and of the late Lord Lawrence, that he was possessed of common sense, but

that something more was required to rule a province, forgetting that this very quality of common sense is too often absent from the man of genius, of which, indeed, he himself afforded a conspicuous example. Like the fickle Athenian populace who ostracised Aristides because they were tired of hearing him called the "Just," so the Indian public of the present day have grown weary of hearing the praises of the two great Lawrence brothers sung by their admirers; but, for all that, impartial history will do them justice long after their detractors are forgotten.

Sir Charles Napier, while decrying the politicals, spoke of his friend Colonel Campbell, as "the only person who sees the necessity for immediate action"—a statement at variance with fact, when Edwardes, and every political officer in the Punjab, were agreed on the desirability of prompt measures, and it was Lord Gough and his advisers who counselled delay. It seems, indeed, that Colonel Campbell was ordered to proceed to the assistance of Herbert Edwardes, before Mooltan, with a brigade of infantry and some guns, but with that prudence which was as distinguishing a quality in him as personal courage, he remonstrated against taking the field with so small a force, as he pointed out that failure would raise the whole country. The Government erred not less in proposing the despatch of an insufficient force, than in decrying all action from the 21st April, when the news of the treachery of Moolraj was first received at Lahore, to the 24th July, when General Whish marched with his column to undertake the siege of Mooltan. Sir Henry Lawrence said, "If we are not prepared to take the field at all seasons we have no business in India;" and though Lord Gough and his compeers chose to be guided by times and seasons, a later generation of soldiers has recognised the justice of Lawrence's axiom. We must be prepared, as in the Mutiny, promptly to take the field whenever and wherever an enemy shows himself, and the time has gone by when, as in the wars of the eighteenth century, troops went into "quarters of refreshment" during the summer heats and winter frosts. Even Wellington and his opponents in the Peninsula retired into winter quarters, but it has been otherwise in Europe since 1870-71, when some of the most sanguinary battles were fought round Orleans and Paris in the depth of winter. Sir Colin Campbell and Sir Hugh Rose made their campaigns during the hottest months of 1858, and we have recently seen how, in the snow-covered passes and valleys of Afghanistan, our soldiers have had to defend themselves and wage offensive operations.

The siege of Mooltan was opened on the 7th September, but on the 24th, owing to the defection of Rajah Shere Singh with his division, General Whish was compelled to retire, and it was not resumed till the 27th December. Meanwhile Sir F. Currie, on learning the abortive termination of the first siege, awoke to the necessity of guarding against a surprise on the part of the Durbar, and directed Colonel Campbell to secure the person of the young Maharajah Dhuleep Singh. He accordingly took possession of the palace and the crown jewels, but, on being appointed to command a brigade in the field, with the rank of Brigadier-General, left Lahore with some infantry on 14th November. Two days later he joined Brigadier-General Cureton, commanding the cavalry and horse artillery, and being senior to that officer, assumed command of the division, about 10,000 strong. Meanwhile Shere Singh was encamped on the further side of the Chenaub, waiting for reinforcements under his father Chuttur Singh; and, on the 21st November, Generals Campbell and Cureton repaired to Lord Gough, who was encamped about three miles in their rear, representing the desirability of attacking the Sikh army which was entrenching itself at Ramnuggur. Having arranged that General Cureton was to attack with his horse artillery and cavalry, the Commander-in-Chief the same night repaired to witness the onslaught, and, on arriving at the camp, assumed command of the British army.

On the morning of the 22nd November, General Campbell took up a position with his infantry, while General Cureton, taking some horse artillery and cavalry, including the 3rd and 14th Dragoons, moved down to attack the Sikhs, who, however, had recrossed the Chenaub. After a slight skirmish, the fire of the twelve British field-pieces drove back the Sikhs, when Shere Singh opened with his heavy guns, planted upon the high ground on the other side of the Chenaub. The order was now given to the British gunners to limber up and retire, but one gun and two waggons could not be extricated from the sand. A great mass of Sikh horse, seeing their opportunity, charged down, but were met by our cavalry, who covered the retreat of the artillery. As the British retired, a large body of the enemy's horsemen crossed the ford towards the deserted gun, while their batteries, consisting of twenty-eight heavy guns, played without intermission on our receding force. Unfortunately, at this juncture, the 14th Dragoons, led by Colonel William Havelock—a fiery officer immortalised in the pages of Napier's *Peninsular War*—were permitted by Lord Gough to charge the dense masses of

Sikhs, and, pursuing them into the sands, were terribly cut up by the enemy's guns, Colonel Havelock and Brigadier-General Cureton being amongst the slain.

Lord Gough having withdrawn his troops after the action of the 22nd, beyond the reach of Shere Singh's batteries, awaited for a week the arrival of his heavy guns and pontoons. As it was decided, most wisely, not to attempt to assail in front the strong position of the Sikhs on the Chenaub, his lordship determined to throw a strong division across the river higher up, for the purpose of moving down upon the left flank of their entrenchment, while he himself occupied their attention by a cannonade in front. The Commander-in-Chief placed in command of this force, consisting of 8,000 horse, foot, and artillery, with 30 field-pieces and two heavy guns, Sir Joseph Thackwell, a Peninsular officer of high standing; Brigadier-General Campbell commanding the infantry division. The column marched an hour after midnight on the 1st December, and reached Wuzeerabad, 24 miles up the river, where Lieutenant John Nicholson, even then recognised as a political officer of great ability, had collected a supply of boats to effect the transport of the troops. By midday of the 2nd, the whole force had crossed over to the right bank of the Chenaub, and the domination of the river was transferred from the Sikhs to the British. After a hasty meal, Sir Joseph Thackwell marched 12 miles towards the enemy's position, and, at midnight, received instructions from Lord Gough to make an attack. In the meanwhile Shere Singh, on hearing of his movements, withdrew his own army from Ramnuggur, and marched down to meet him, and, at two in the afternoon of Sunday, the 3rd December, suddenly commenced the attack by cannonading the British in their position. Sir Joseph Thackwell withdrew to more favourable ground at the village of Sadoolapore, and, for two hours, sustained the incessant fire of the enemy without returning a shot, till they were fully within range, when the artillery opened with considerable effect. About half-past four, the hostile cannon began to slacken their fire, and it was evident that the Sikhs had failed in their attack, but Sir Joseph, to whom Lord Gough had given discretionary power as to attacking the enemy, wisely abstained from the attempt, for there was but one hour of daylight left, and his force was vastly inferior to the enemy, who were besides strongly posted. On the following morning, the Sikhs, finding their flank turned, retreated, and left the British masters of the field. Lord Gough now joined Sir Joseph Thackwell, and throughout the month of December, and

the first half of January, the British army remained in a state of inactivity at Dinghee, between the Jhelum and the Chenaub, while Shere Singh took up a position of great strength at Chillianwallah, with his rear resting on the former river, and his front covered by a broad and dense belt of jungle.

Lord Gough, with two infantry divisions, under Brigadier-General Campbell and Major-General Gilbert, broke ground on the 11th January, 1849, and, on the 13th, was fought the battle of Chillianwallah. After a heavy cannonade from the Sikhs, which lasted for about an hour, at three in the afternoon the British army was ordered to attack. General Campbell, who received instructions to take the guns in his front, was the first to advance with his division.* But such an order was premature, for the Sikh guns had not yet been silenced, and the difficulty of the task was increased by the British troops being required to charge through a dense jungle. Colin Campbell, at the head of Hoggan's brigade, though fiercely opposed, "bore down to battle, like an officer with his troops well in hand," and won the ground in his front. While employed with the 61st Regiment in spiking the guns, General Campbell was engaged in personal combat with a Sikh gunner, whose head he clove at a single blow. But his second brigade on the right received a terrible repulse. When the order was given to carry the batteries, the 24th rushed with such ardour to the charge that the men arrived breathless and unsupported at the enemy's guns, which they charged with a noble impetuosity deserving a better fate. Sir Charles Napier declared that the conduct of the 24th "has never been surpassed by British soldiers in a field of battle;" but headlong valour, when not well directed, cannot achieve success against a resolute enemy, and though the 24th carried the guns, the Sikh infantry speedily rallied, and, bearing down on the victors in resistless numbers, overwhelmed the gallant regiment, which, out of 800 of all ranks with which it entered into action, lost 459 men and 23 officers, of whom 11 were slain, including Colonel Brookes, and Brigadier Pennycuik and his son, who was killed defending the prostrate body of his father.

At this time of disaster, General Campbell, who had won the guns in his front, found himself under the fire of the batteries to which the 24th had been exposed. In the unexpected crisis that had arisen he proved himself equal to the occasion, and the possessor of that military genius which instinctively prompts to

* General Campbell's division consisted of H.M.'s. 24th and 61st Regiments, and the 25th, 36th, 45th, and 46th N.I., and was divided into two brigades under Brigadiers Pennycuik and Hoggan

the proper course that should be pursued. "His grand, rugged face," as Kinglake describes it, shone with the light of battle, as he advanced to meet the new attack, "with that steady coolness and military decision for which he is so remarkable"—to quote Lord Gough's despatch. Taking with him two companies of the 61st, supported by the 46th N.I., he united the wings of the army, and "soon overthrew that portion of the enemy which had obtained a temporary advantage over the right brigade."

General Campbell was, undoubtedly, the hero of the field of Chillianwallah. The Duke of Wellington commended the manœuvre of wheeling the 61st to the right, by which he restored the fortunes of the day, "as one of the most admirable ever accomplished by a regiment;" and Sir Charles Napier wrote that Colin Campbell "decided the battle when the crisis hung upon the wheeling up of the right companies of the 61st Regiment." His coolness throughout the terrible conflict was not less remarkable than his personal intrepidity, and his conduct under the most trying circumstances was the theme of universal praise.

On the conclusion of the battle,* Lord Gough remained with

* The late Sir Henry Havelock, in criticising Lord Gough's tactics at Chillianwallah, says:—"The advance beyond Dinghee was a false move. He was about to attack with an insufficient force, one of the strongest positions the Sikhs had ever taken up, but now a counter-move of the enemy gave him a grand and unexpected advantage for as he got closer to Chillianwallah it became evident that the rebel force had abandoned their entrenchments, and marched forth to meet the British in the field. A picket of the Sikhs was driven in from a low bare hill, and when this was ascended by the staff, a distinct view was obtained of the enemy's line; covered indeed by thick jungle, but ready to combat without the aid of entrenchments. It had been determined to defer the attack till the next morning, and to make a careful reconnaissance before the assault, and the Quartermaster-General had been ordered to mark out a position for the encampment. This duty was already commenced and in progress, when a few shots from the horse artillery the enemy had pushed to the front, fell near the British commander, and the order was issued for an immediate attack." Of this decision he says:—"In 1845, before a sword had ever been drawn against the Sikhs, the natives best acquainted with them had warned the British that they were not to be dreaded as assailants, but that they always defended a position with an obstinacy hardly to be overcome by human effort. At Moodkee, at Ferozeshuhur, and at Sobraon, the justice of this remark was fully confirmed. It was always therefore desirable so to manœuvre as to force the Sikhs to take the initiative. Now at the village of Chillian this advantage had been fortuitously gained. But the advantage was neglected. There can be no doubt that if the British army had taken up the most favourable ground, as Sir Joseph Thackwell had done at Sadoolapore, with its infantry and cavalry screened as much as possible, and our powerful artillery used in answer to that of the Sikhs, to which it was numerically and in calibre superior, the happiest results would have followed. The Sikhs would have threatened and cannonaded, but not attacked; their artillery would have been ruined, and if they had not decamped during the night they might, at daylight perhaps, have been assailed in their turn with much advantage. But orders were given to prepare for immediate action. The Sikhs had now opened a continuous roar of fire from a jungle so thick that nothing was offered as a mark to the British artillery (which loudly replied) but the flash and smoke of the hostile cannon. This cannonade lasted, according to the official despatch, about an hour. About half-past three, p.m., in the

General Campbell's division, "in order to effect the bringing in of the captured ordnance and of the wounded," and his lordship, acting on his advice, took up a position a little in the rear, which he entrenched. Lord Gough remained on the defensive until the 15th February, when, on the arrival of the Bombay division from Mooltan, he proceeded in search of the Sikh army, which had broken up its encampment in his front three days before, and disappeared no one knew where. But at length they were heard of at Goojerat, and thither Lord Gough marched. The enemy were found in open ground highly favourable for the movements of the British infantry and guns, of which there were no less than 84 in line. The 3rd, or General Campbell's, division, occupied the left centre of the line, having the Bombay division on his left, and being divided from the right centre, under Sir Walter Gilbert, by a nullah which intervened between it and the Sikh army.

At daylight on the 21st February, he formed his two brigades, commanded by Brigadiers Carnegie and McLeod, with the light field-batteries attached to them, close to the left bank of the nullah which passed in front of the village of Shadewal, the brigade under Brigadier Hoggan being formed at the same time in rear to act as reserve to the whole force intended to be employed on the same side. With a view to the effectual discharge of the Commander-in-Chief's orders that he should maintain close communication with the heavy guns on the opposite, or right, side of the nullah, and to prevent their molestation by the enemy, General Campbell directed the light company of H.M.'s 24th to move along the bank in advance of the heavy guns, and sent two field-pieces in support. The two brigades of Campbell's division (with whose movements alone we are dealing) were formed, in the first instance, in contiguous columns of regiments, covered by a strong line of skirmishers, and supported by Nos. 5 and 10 light field-batteries, commanded by Major Ludlow and Lieutenant Robertson. These skirmishers communicated on the left with those covering the front of the division, which was likewise supported by the troop of horse artillery.

The whole line moved forward at a quarter before 8 a.m. in this order, with the regularity of troops at a review. The country

middle of January, General Campbell's division was ordered to advance against the enemy's line. At Moodkee the troops had fallen into confusion in a fight protracted after nightfall. At Ferozeshahur an encampment nobly stormed by the British had slipped through the grasp of its victors, through the disadvantage of night settling down upon the last efforts of the troops, yet the same risks were to be here again encountered."

was perfectly level, highly cultivated and without an obstruction, being merely dotted here and there with trees. At half-past nine the skirmishers, having arrived within long range of the enemy's guns, the columns were deployed into line, and again moved forward. At this time the right wing of the enemy's army was plainly to be seen, formed directly in front, beyond a turn in the nullah, in the centre of which they had two heavy guns, and several 6 and 9-pounder field guns, which now opened fire with good effect. The line moved onward to the front, keeping in communication with, and as much as possible in the alignment of, the heavy guns, while the field-batteries maintained so destructive a fire that the enemy were compelled to abandon the nullah, and take shelter under cover of its bank, from which they were afterwards driven in confusion by an enfilading fire from the batteries. Before this, however, a great effort was made by some of the principal chiefs, who brought forward a large body of cavalry, followed by masses of infantry, which had taken shelter in the nullah, to attack the centre of the Bombay division. This attack was taken in flank by one of Campbell's batteries, and caused great loss to the enemy, both in his short advance and subsequent retreat. The infantry of the 3rd division had no occasion to fire a shot, the enemy being driven from their different positions and from the field by the fire of the two field-batteries, aided by that of a troop of Bombay horse artillery. General Campbell now proceeded towards the east side of Goojerat, while the Bombay division passed it on the other side. After clearing the town, the third division again resumed its communication with the Bombay troops, and proceeded with them in advance, together with the troops of the second (or General Gilbert's) division on the right, until ordered to halt and encamp.

Colin Campbell accompanied General Gilbert in the pursuit of the broken Sikh host, who laid down their arms and gave up their guns on the 12th March. The Afghans were chased across the Indus and to the portals of their hills; and thus was concluded this important campaign which resulted in the annexation of a fine province, and the political consequences of which were of the first magnitude.

For his services Brigadier-General Campbell was created a K.C.B., and received special mention in the thanks of Parliament, voted to the army on 24th April. No sooner was the campaign over than Sir Colin Campbell found himself occupied in combating the disaffection of the native army, which afterwards assumed such great proportions, and required his services to

quell. On the annexation of the Punjaub, the extra pay, received by the Sepoys of the native army while serving beyond the British frontier, was stopped, which caused a mutiny.

The 22nd N. I., stationed at Rawul Pindee, where Sir Colin Campbell was in command, was the first regiment to refuse to receive the reduced pay, and their example was followed by the 13th N.I., with whom they had been in communication. Sir Charles Napier, now Commander-in-Chief, wrote from Simla to Sir Colin, that "he was to call for the aid proposed or not, as he judged fitting." But the prompt measures taken by the latter averted the danger. "It was an uneasy affair," wrote Napier, "but no man could have acted with more caution than did Sir Walter Gilbert and Sir Colin Campbell." The latter writes to the Commander-in-Chief, from Rawul Pindee, under date 26 July, 1849 :—

"Your order sent through Sir Walter Gilbert, for Dundas to reinforce me with certain troops in case I should require their aid, arrived here by the middle of the night by express, and your private letter of the 21st, adverting to that order, reached me later in the afternoon of yesterday. I cannot tell you how warmly I appreciate your kind consideration in sending me so speedy instructions for my guidance, so plain and distinct that I could not err, and which provided for every contingency that could possibly arise. The combination amongst the men of the two corps, the 13th and 22nd Regiments, gave way to fear on the 18th, the day before your prescription for bringing them to their senses was despatched from Simla. I have not presumed at any period to offer any suggestion as to the nature, or the amount of punishment they may be deserving of for the sake of discipline, because I do not know these people well, and you do, and have had experience in such affairs and in their settlement before this. I would beg to bring to your notice, however, the fact which I learnt two days ago, that these two corps have been quartered together almost constantly for the last five years. As soon as the season will admit of their marching, I think it would be advisable to separate the 13th and 22nd."

We get a glimpse of Sir Colin Campbell's character in some letters he wrote at this time to Major (the late General Sir Hope) Grant, of the 9th Lancers, who was his shipmate to China in the *Belleisle*. Writing from Rawul Pindee on 20th June, 1849, he says :—"I have nothing to tell you of from this stupid place. If they will only give us one year, not less, of *batta*, I shall be able to think of leaving this country. I neither care, nor do I desire, for anything else, but the little

money in the shape of *batta*, to make the road between the camp and the grave a little smoother than I could otherwise make it out of the profession; for I long to have the little time that may remain to me to myself, away from barracks and regimental or professional life, with the duties that belong to it in a time of peace." He says of Sir Charles Napier, that eccentric genius, who was one of the best abused men of his day, and probably not without cause, for his hand was against every man who showed sufficient independence to differ from him—"I must confess that I have great pleasure in having Sir Charles Napier for my chief; I know him well, and admire him as he deserves; for he is a man, my dear Grant, after your own excellent heart—honest, upright, truthful, fearless, and good; and, with these qualities, gifted with a clearer and more comprehensive mind and understanding than any man I know in our profession."

Shortly after writing the above letter he received intimation of his having been created a K.C.B., and, on the 24th July, writes to the same correspondent to thank him for his letter of congratulation, as well as to reciprocate his good wishes on Hope Grant's promotion to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. Sir Colin Campbell says:—"Your promotion to Lieutenant-Colonel is the most important step in the service for an officer to obtain: for none—save it be an aide-de-camp to the sovereign, and that is not now probable, considering your service career—can hereafter pass over you; and this feeling is one of exceeding comfort to the mind of a soldier who is without much interest, and can lay no other claim to consideration than what his own merits and services (however distinguished and devoted they may have been) are likely to command, for these are not always sure to make such an officer be considered; if interest, in opposition, should step in with her own favourite in her hand, the latter, I fear, would carry the day. They have made me a K.C.B.; I may confess to you I would much rather have got a year's *batta*, because the latter would enable me to leave this country a year sooner, and to join some friends of my early days whom I love very much, and in whose society I would like to spend the period which may yet remain to me to live between the camp and the grave. The day I leave this country will terminate my military career."

These letters denote a melancholy cast of mind, which was one of the writer's unfortunate idiosyncrasies, and caused him to feel little enjoyment in life; but, nevertheless, these morbid utterances are relieved by the terms in which he speaks of his old friends,

Napier and Grant and others, showing that an affectionate nature was concealed beneath a rugged exterior and a manner that repelled strangers. This warmth of feeling towards the few who enjoyed his friendship is a pleasing trait in a character not otherwise very amiable. Owing either to constitutional irritability, the recurring attacks of Walcheren fever, or disappointments as regards promotion, our hero was irascible, and given to strong language when offended. Like Coriolanus,

"He had been bred i' the wars
Since he could draw a sword, and was ill school'd
In bolted language."

On the termination of the Punjaub campaign Sir Colin Campbell was placed in military command of the newly-acquired north-west frontier, with his head-quarters at Rawul Pindie or Peshawur; and from the beginning of 1850 till the autumn of 1852, when he resigned the command, was engaged in constant expeditions against the neighbouring hill tribes, who proved restive under the tightening of the rein which ensued on the exchange of the dominion of the Sikh Durbar for that of the East India Company. It was our policy to treat these hill tribes with conciliation and avoid interference with their independence while continuing the subsidies which they had drawn from the former lords of the Peshawur district, whether Sikh or Afghan, but, at the same time, to repress with a firm hand any marauding, and severely chastise the delinquents.

The first to give trouble were the Adam Khail section of the Afreedees, inhabiting the hills and valleys abutting on the thirteen miles of defile known as the Kohat pass. The line of our frontier from Umb, on the Indus, to the sea, is defined by mountain ranges, but there is a hilly tract, branching off in a south-easterly direction from the Suffeid Koh range, about twelve miles in breadth, which intervenes between Peshawur and Kohat. The Afreedees have from time immemorial claimed the right to levy black mail both in the Khyber and Kohat passes, and every Government has conceded the claim by paying the impost. The first time the Indian Government came into collision with them was in 1839, when Captain (the late Sir Claude) Wade forced a passage through the Khyber pass with a Sikh army, escorting Futteh Jung, the heir apparent of Shah Soojah. A few months later Sir John Keane returned by the same route without opposition, but General Wylde was beaten back early in 1842 when attempting to relieve the Jellalabad garrison, though Sir George Pollock gloriously vindicated the

honour of our arms by forcing his way through the pass with an enormous convoy of provisions. We had no further connection with the Afreedees until after our annexation of the Punjab; and the expedition of 1850, in which Sir Colin Campbell held the command under the supervision of the Commander-in-Chief, was the first of the numerous "little wars" and expeditions in which the British army have been actively engaged with the hill tribes on the vast frontier extending from Hazara to the sea.*

Following up the custom of our predecessors, the Punjab Government made arrangements for an annual subsidy of 5,700 rupees to the Adam Khail Afreedees, in return for their protecting the communication through the pass from Peshawur to Kohat. On the 2nd February, 1850, within twelve months of

* The Afreedees are divided into the eight following khails, or tribes:—1. Adam Khail, who can furnish about 4,000 fighting men; 2. Kooke Khail, about 4,700; 3. Malikdeen Khail, about 3,400; 4. Khambar Khail, about 3,300; 5. Kamar Khail, about 1,500; 6. Zaka Khail, about 4,200; 7. Aka Khail, about 2,300; 8. Sipah Khail, about 1,500; total 24,800. These sections are again subdivided into numerous smaller clans, and the clans themselves into smaller subdivisions. The Adam Khail Afreedees inhabit the hills and glens on either side of the Kohat pass, and hold the road between Peshawur and Kohat in their hands. Possessing many camels and herds of cattle they are the wealthiest of all the Afreedee clans, while their situation in respect of the Kohat pass and the fertile vale of Peshawur gives them opportunities for inflicting annoyance and damage on British subjects which the other tribes (with the exception of the Kooke Khail) do not possess. These latter dwell in the Jamrood plain to the west of Peshawur, and in the low hills about the mouth of the Khyber pass. The Malikdeen Khail and Khambar Khail live in the western plateau of Maidan, and have, as a tribe, no intercourse with the British. The men of both these sections enlist largely in the Pathan regiments in our pay, and make excellent soldiers. Many Afreedees, indeed, hold commissions in the frontier regiments, and have displayed loyalty even when arrayed in arms against their clansmen and co-religionists, and not a few have earned the "Order of Merit" for valour in the field. The Kamar Khail Afreedees inhabit the northern slopes of the Maidan plateau, lying between the Kooke Khail and the Malikdeen; they are comparatively a small but wealthy clan, owning large herds of cattle, much given to agriculture, and averse from soldiering. The Zaka Khail, a large tribe of bad reputation, chiefly inhabit the slopes of the Khyber pass during the winter months, and subsist by plundering the caravans of merchandise passing between Kohat and Peshawur; in the summer, when there is little traffic through the pass, they betake themselves to the highlands of Tirah and Maidan. They are notorious robbers and their enlistment into native regiments is forbidden by a Government order. The Aka Khail are a tribe who, in the winter, cultivate the lands to the south of the Peshawur valley; and in summer migrate to the western range of Tirah and Maidan. The Sipah Khail are a small section living on the Bara river, between the Kamar and Zaka Khail; they have lands, however, in the Kohat pass, and, together with the Adam Khail Afreedees, receive a small subsidy for keeping it open for traffic. Colonel Mackeson described the Afreedees as "shameless, cruel savages," and Mr. Mount Stuart Elphinstone says in his *History of Afghanistan* "that they have no faith, no religion, no sense of honour, and are the greatest robbers in the universe." Tribe is divided against tribe, village against village, and indeed there are few families without a blood feud. So accustomed are they to war, and so ready to provide against sudden surprise, that they have a proverb, "Even the bullock on our hills takes cover while grazing." Their language is Pushtoo—the ordinary Afghan dialect—a *patois* with a Persian basis. In religion they are Mohammedans of the Soonnee persuasion.

the conclusion of this arrangement, a body of 900 Afreedees belonging to this clan attacked a party of sappers working at the new road over the Kohat pass, and, killing twelve of them, put to flight the guard of irregulars, who had not even time to seize their arms, so sudden was the onset. It now became necessary not only to punish these hillmen for their treachery, but also to reinforce the garrison at Kohat. Sir Colin Campbell despatched Brigadier Bradshaw with the advanced guard, and, a few days later, followed with a strong column,* which was accompanied by the Commander-in-Chief, who happened to have arrived at Peshawur on the 30th January, and Colonel George Lawrence, Commissioner of the Trans-Indus district, and his Assistant, Lieutenant (now General Sir Frederick) Pollock.

The column entered the Kohat pass at Muttanie on 10th February, and the tactics always adopted in hill warfare were put in practice; crowning the heights on both sides with skirmishers, the main column pushed on under the fire of Major, (the late Sir John) Fordyce's guns, and, burning the villages of Akhor, Zayan Khail, and Sharaki, halted, on the 12th, near Kohat. In this advance Sir Colin Campbell showed that the old military ardour that burnt so brightly at San Sebastian and Chillianwallah was still present. Sir Charles Napier says:—"Our rear-guard reached a narrow gorge where the overturning of a gun-carriage had caused a halt, and the enemy pressed on skirmishing. Sir Colin Campbell was placing some Sepoys to cover the men about the gun when the Afreedees closed gallantly, whereupon he rode forward, calling for a charge; but to reach mountaineers is easier said than done. Terrified by the Sepoys' rush they fled, without firing, for a great distance. Campbell saved lives by this ebullition of military spirit, which he had previously more grandly displayed at Chillianwallah, when, at a terrible moment, he charged the Sikh guns with the 61st Regiment, and decided the crisis of that bloody field."

Having reinforced the garrison of Kohat by Coke's and Daly's Punjaub regiments of infantry and cavalry, the column began to retrace their march to Peshawur. But now, according to

* The troops employed were:—H.M.'s. 22nd Regiment, 600 strong; Major Fordyce's troop of horse artillery; Fisher's regiment of irregular cavalry; and 23rd and 31st Regiments of Bengal N.I. Besides these there were the Punjaub levies, consisting of the 1st Punjaub Cavalry, Captain Daly; 1st Punjaub Infantry, Captain Coke (whose officers were Lieutenants Lumsden and Keyes); also the militia of the province, about 1,500 men, consisting of Mohmunda, Kuttucks, and a small band of Khyberes, under Subahdar Futteh Khan, who had done such good service at the defence of Attock under Lieutenant Herbert. The command of these levies was vested in Colonel Lawrence, as representing the Punjaub Government.

invariable hill tactics, commenced the heaviest of the fighting, and the mountaineers who had contested the advance, attacked the rear of the retiring column with great fierceness, and made repeated assaults on the small flanking columns. Lieutenant Hilliard, of the 23rd N.I., was badly wounded while leading his company up a hill against a crowd of the enemy, and Ensign Sitwell, of the 31st N.I.—a very promising young officer—was killed on the opposite hill, together with four of his men, who refused to leave him as he lay mortally wounded. “No soldier,” said Sir Charles Napier, in his general order of the 16th February, “died more gloriously than young Sitwell and the self-devoted soldiers who fell in trying to save their wounded officer. Europeans and natives must alike feel proud of these noble men.” In this general order the Commander-in-Chief says of the services of Sir Colin Campbell and Colonel Lawrence, the military and political heads:—“The able manner in which both these officers made their arrangements demands the public expression of the Commander-in-Chief’s approbation.” Of the arduous nature of the fighting, he says:—“The fighting and labour fell on those who had to scale precipices to secure the camp, and when marching, to protect the front, flank, and rear of the column while passing twice through a dangerous defile, thirteen miles in length, under a constant fire of match-lock-men. It is said that in making this march Runjeet Singh lost 1,000 men. The Commander-in-Chief does not know whether this story is correct or not, but Brigadier Sir Colin Campbell has not lost twenty,* nor was there one bit of baggage taken by our enemies, though they are renowned for being the most daring and dexterous plunderers in the world.” Successful as the forcing of the Kohat pass was as a military operation, it was a failure from a political point of view, as Sir Charles Napier, being inexperienced in this species of warfare, was too hurried in his operations, and refused to permit the conflagration of the villages. The result was that, scarcely had the British column emerged from the pass, on the 28th February, than the Afreedees compelled Captain Coke to withdraw a garrison left in a small tower commanding the pass, and effectually closed the road between Peshawur and Kohat, though they refrained from any further aggressive steps. At length, in the following September, the pass allowances were raised to 13,700 rupees, and peace was restored for some years.†

In the latter part of 1851, the Mohmunds inhabiting the

* This was exclusive of the wounded, about seventy in number.

† Our relations with these Afreedees since that date may be briefly told. Until 1853 they gave us no trouble, but in that year the Adam Khail section rose, and,

country to the right of the Khyber pass, proved troublesome, and, instigated by Saadut Khan, chief of Lalpoora, committed sundry depredations on British villages. In order to coerce them into respect for our frontier, on the 25th October Sir Colin Campbell marched out of Peshawur with a force of 2,000 men,* to chastise the Mohmunds for attacking the British fort at Shubkuddur, a few miles distant from Michnee, a village, about three miles north of the left bank of the Cabul river, surrounded by a low stone wall, in which they had taken post. The first operation was the destruction of the forts of Rehimdad Khan and the surrounding villages, as well as of the stores of grain. Sir Colin took up his station at the small native fort of Dubb, which was garrisoned by three companies of the 71st N.I., a camp being formed in rear of the Punj-rao range of hills, where frequent skirmishes took place between his outposts and the Mohmunds, who were reinforced by Saadut Khan's men from Lalpoora. On the 8th December, a large body of the enemy attacked a detachment located at Mutta, to the north-east of Dubb, but were repulsed

seizing the tower on the crest of the Kohat pass, closed the road and fired on British officers. Negotiations were speedily opened, but fell through, and the Punjab Government then endeavoured to hold the pass without their aid. A fort was built at the Peshawur end, now known as Fort Mackeson, and Captain Coke, with a portion of his own regiment and some Kohat levies, endeavoured to build a fortified post on the crest of the pass, about seven miles from Kohat. The party was repulsed, Coke being himself badly wounded. In November of the same year, a force under Colonel Boileau was sent out from Peshawur, to punish the Jowaki section of the Adam Khail (also called Borees, from their village) for their numerous acts of aggression. Borees was burnt, our forces suffering a loss of forty killed and wounded. The strict blockade which had been maintained along the border now began to tell, and feeling the effects of starvation, the Afreedees gave in, and entered into a covenant to keep the pass open and clear for traffic for an annual subsidy of 13,700 rupees. Affairs remained tolerably quiet until March 1855, when it was found necessary to punish the Aka Khail Afreedees, who had attacked and cut up 43 of our men, and carried off 10,000 rupees of treasure. Colonel Craigie, of the 22nd Foot, accordingly moved out from Peshawur with a strong force, and destroyed the villages of Adam and Miri Khail, with a loss of 40 men, including one officer. In 1856 complications again arose, and the Kohat pass was once more closed for traffic. In a few months, however, affairs were smoothed over, and for ten years quietude reigned on the Peshawur border. The spring of 1866 saw the Hassan Khail, a section of the Adam Khail branch of Afreedees, committing overt acts of aggression, but a punitive expedition soon brought them to their senses. In 1873 they gave trouble and were again punished, and, in the following year, when the Commissioner of Peshawur called upon them to put the road into a fit state of repair for the passage of artillery, which aroused their suspicions that annexation of the highlands was intended, they declined. On this Sir Frederick Pollock stopped their subsidy, and, after much desultory fighting between the Afreedees and the garrisons of Kohat and Peshawur, an expedition was undertaken and they were brought to reason. The operations of the two columns in the Jowaki Afreedee country between November 1877 and January 1878, are too recent to need repetition. Thanks to the forethought and good judgment of Brigadier-Generals Keyes and Ross, they were attended with signal success and with few casualties.

* Two companies each from H.M.'s 61st and 98th Regiments; a wing of the 71st N.I.; the 66th Ghoorkhas; the 2nd Irregular Cavalry; a field battery, and a company of sappers.

with loss. There was much restlessness among the border tribes along that portion of the frontier, and the late noted Akhoond, the fanatical ruler of Swat, expressed his determination to rally all his co-religionists, and descend into the plains and measure swords with the British. Accordingly, on Christmas Day, 1,800 of his people made an irruption into British territory, when Lieutenant Lumsden hastened to the threatened point with his Guides (whom he had raised in 1848 for service at Mooltan under Herbert Edwardes), and kept them in check. Matters remained in an unsettled state for some weeks, the Mohmunds and Swatees gathering in force; and Sir Colin Campbell, in order to be prepared for all emergencies, directed Brigadier Markham to hasten his departure from Rawul Pindee, and join him at Peshawur with a British regiment. The Ameer of Afghanistan, Dost Mahomed, was at this time in treaty with Saadut Khan, who had an interview at Jellalabad with Jellal-oo-Deen, son of the famous Mahomed Akbar Khan, and grandson of the Ameer; and later, the Dost's envoy, the Meer Akhor (Master of the Horse), met him at Lalpoora, the capital of the Mohmunds, and assured him of his master's friendship. But the Ameer was too astute, and his son and heir, Gholam Hyder, too sincere a friend of the British, for the proposals to take the practical form of material help.*

* The following are some details of the Pathan tribes inhabiting the north-west frontier, derived from the *Afghanistan of the Afghans* of Dr. Bellow, a member of Sir Harry Lumsden's mission to Candahar, in 1857, and other sources. The term Pathan is a corruption of Pukhtan, which is said to have been conferred by Mahomed on Kiah, who, with five other chief men, had proceeded to Medina to examine the new doctrines of the Prophet, and, becoming converts, returned to Afghanistan to proselytise their fellow countrymen, the Afghans of the present day, who style themselves the Beni-Israel, or sons of Israel, and claim lineal descent from Saul, who had two sons, Barakiah and Iramia (Jeremiah) whose son was named Afghana. The principal Pathan tribes are the Duranees, Kakars, Gilzys, Povindahs, and others of Afghanistan proper; and on the north-west frontier, the Yusufzyes, numbering altogether 73,000 fighting men; the Afreedees, 25,000; and the Wuzerees, 30,000. The Yusufzyes include the clans (Khails) of the Swat valley and western slopes of the Black Mountain; the Chagaryes, who inhabit both banks of the Indus above Bonair and Umbeyla; the Hussunzyes, also of the Black Mountain; the Mada Khail, who inhabit the north slopes of the Mahabun; the Amaryes; the Khudu Khail; the Ranizyes, inhabiting the west end of the Swat valley; and the Jaduns, south side of Mount Mahabun and Hazara district. The Utman Khail inhabit the hills north of Peshawur, between the Mohmunds and Yusufzyes, and number about 80,000 people; and the Mohmunds, whose country extends from the Swat border to the Cabul river, and whose chief towns are Lalpoora and Daka, are numbered at 40,000 souls. The Afreedees, already described, inhabit the lower and easternmost spurs of the Sufaid Koh range to the west and south of the plain of Peshawur. They are divided into eight great tribes, which again are subdivided into no less than 180 clans, of whom the principal are the Kookes, the Adam Khail—of which the Jowakis who gave trouble in the Kohat pass a few years ago are a subdivision—and the Zaka Khail. The Pathan tribe of Orakzyes, who inhabit the Tirah highlands north and west of Kohat, number 30,000 people; the neighbouring Zaimukhts, in the

The expedition against Saadut Khan had rather an abortive termination, and Sir Colin Campbell, who was not as familiar with frontier fighting as Chamberlain, Coke, Lumsden, and other border officers, returned to Peshawur in February, leaving garrisons at Dubb and Shubkuddur, upon which the hill tribes immediately moved down on some unprotected villages, which they burnt to the ground. On the 16th February, 1852, the Mohmunds came down in the direction of Mutta, and on the following day a skirmish took place near Dubb, while Saadut Khan was more active than ever in raising the frontier tribes. Accordingly Sir Colin Campbell was soon again in the field. On the 11th March he left Peshawur for the Yusufzye country, with 2,500 men, consisting of one troop horse artillery, 600 men of H.M.'s 32nd, a wing of the 29th N.I., the 66th N.I. (Ghoorkhas), 15th Irregular Cavalry, and a company of sappers and miners. On the 20th the Mohmunds attacked him in great strength and with much determination at Punj Rao, but, after a hardly-contested action lasting three hours, were driven off with considerable loss. On the 27th March he returned to cantonments at Peshawur, having mulcted the Ranizyes, who harboured the Swatee party that attacked Lumsden's Guides at Goojur-Guree, in 5,000 rupees. But so incorrigible were these tribes of hill robbers that within three days of his return from the northern extremity of the Yusufzye valley, the Mohmunds and Swatees again assembled in considerable force, the latter under their spiritual leader, the Akhoond. On the 31st March a party of Mohmunds made a raid into British territory, around the fort of Shubkuddur, situated some twenty miles north-west

hills between Meranzye and Kooram, muster 25,000 souls; the Turis and Jajis of the Kooram valley, who are not considered Pathans, but Mogols (Sir H. Edwards was of opinion that they came from Rawul Pindee), 30,000; and the Dawaris of the Dawar valley are 20,000 in number. The Wuzerees, who inhabit the country from Thal to the Gomul pass, number 250,000, and are stronger in fighting men than the Afreedees, and second only to the Yusufzyes. The Sheoraunees, 35,000 souls, and the Ushtaranees, 8,000, dwell on the outer skirts of the Wuzeree hills, adjoining the southern side of Bunnoo and the northern limits of Dera Ismail Khan. Then there are the Bungush, of the Meeranzye, Kohat, and Kooram valleys, 100,000 souls; and the Khutuks, south-east part of Kohat, 100,000, both in British territory; and the Shinwaris, east valleys of Sufaid Koh, 50,000; the Khugianis in the Jellalabad district, 50,000; the Povindahs, between the Ghilzyes, Kakurs, and Wuzerees, 50,000 souls; Khostwals, of the upper Khost valley, 12,000; the Manghals of the Kooram valley and parts of Zurmut, 25,000, all of whom are or were independent tribes, or owed allegiance to the Ameer of Cabul. These are the most important of the Pathan tribes. The Belooch frontier tribes include the Kasranees, north of Dera Ghazee Khan, and the Bozdars; the Kutrans, said not to be Beloochees, but Pathans; and the Lagharees, always a loyal and well affected tribe towards the British, all opposite to Dera Ghazee Khan. The Ghurchanees, the Murrees, a warlike tribe, and the Boogtees, are subjects of the Khan of Khelat. These Belooch tribes are said to be of Arab descent.

of Peshawur, and a few days later Saadut Khan assembled in great strength for the purpose of attacking the fort and village. Sir Colin Campbell proceeded from Peshawur to reconnoitre, and reinforced the fort with two troops of the 15th Irregular Cavalry, and, on the 14th, again proceeded thither with 2 guns and 50 sowars. On the following day, as the Mohmunds were close to the fort to the number of 6,000 armed men, he went out to encounter them with 200 of the Irregulars, 100 of the 7th Light Cavalry, and the 2 guns, followed by a portion of the Native Infantry on duty at the fort. Some skirmishing took place, but the enemy retreated as he advanced, and, after fighting for three hours, he returned to Shubkuddur. On the 16th, 600 of H.M.'s 53rd, mounted on elephants, with the 4 remaining guns of the 2nd troop 1st Brigade Horse Artillery, proceeded from Peshawur to reinforce the garrison, but, on the retirement of the Mohmunds, Sir Colin returned to Peshawur with the Europeans. The disturbances on the north-west frontier continued, and, on the 7th May, Sir Colin Campbell marched against the Ootman Khail and Ranizyes with a strong force of 3,000 men, consisting of a troop of horse artillery, some foot artillery with 2 howitzers, 600 of H.M.'s 32nd, 600 of 66th (Ghoorkhas), the 1st Punjaub Infantry, 2nd Punjaub Cavalry, and some pontoons to bridge the Swat river. After a succession of petty encounters, with small loss on either side, on the 13th May the hill fortified village of Praunghur, described as a very strong place, was attacked and destroyed. The heights were covered with the enemy's skirmishers, who engaged the Guide corps, 66th (Ghoorkhas), and Coke's 1st Punjaub Infantry, with great spirit, although the guns played upon them with effect. The gallant manner in which the 1st Punjaub Infantry, under their brave leader, stormed the fortified village, specially elicited the admiration of Sir Colin Campbell.

On the 17th Sir Colin engaged about 8,000 of the Swatees, who had come down into the Ranizye valley at Istakote, the first village at the mouth of the valley. While reconnoitring with the Guide cavalry a volley was fired into them, by which six men were knocked over, when he brought up the whole of his infantry, including H.M.'s 32nd, and drove back the enemy after a stubborn resistance. In this affair, which assumed the proportions of an action, Sir Colin Campbell himself led the Guide cavalry to the charge, and this fine regiment suffered severely, their gallant leader, Lumsden, being wounded, besides 12 troopers killed and 21 wounded. On the 1st June Sir Colin

Campbell returned to Peshawur, and soon after resigned the command of the division on account of his health.

Though the hill tribes had suffered severely at his hands, they had not submitted; and, though the loss of life was considerable, the operations were not of the decisive character to which we have been accustomed under the management of officers trained to this species of warfare.

On the question of the success or failure of the operations conducted by Sir Colin Campbell during the year 1852, opinion was divided. Officers of experience declared that the chastisement was ineffectual—and subsequent events appeared to bear this out—because the villages and property of the hillmen were not burnt, and their flocks carried off. It was said that without the infliction of such punishment,* and payment of fines for

* In this conflict of opinion Sir Richard Temple, Governor of Bombay, agrees with Sir Neville Chamberlain. For many years—almost throughout his administration of the Punjab—this able public servant was secretary to Sir John Lawrence, and his knowledge of the Punjab is exceeded by no man living. Speaking of the tribes on our north-west frontier in 1856, he says:—"The enemy does not possess troops that stand to be attacked, nor defensible posts to be taken, nor innocent subjects to be spared. He has only rough hills to be penetrated, robber fastnesses to be scaled, and dwellings containing people, all of them, to a man, concerned in hostilities. There is not a single man of them who is innocent, who is not, or has not been, engaged in offences, or who does not fully support the misconduct of his tribe, and who is not a member of the armed banditti. The enemy harass the troops as they approach, threading the defiles; and leave the village carrying off everything that can be carried, abandoning only immovable property, walls, roofs, and crops—what are the troops then to do? Are they to spare these crops and houses, losing the only opportunity they are ever likely to have of inflicting damage on the enemy? Marching back to their quarters without effecting anything, amidst the contempt of the hillmen, who would attribute the sparing of the property to nothing but their incapacity. These villages and grain are the resources and sinews of guerrilla warfare, and the basis of operations. They are as much the property of the enemy as the stores, convoys, arms and munitions belonging to the army in the field. The latter would never be spared; why should the former? To spare these villages would be about as reasonable as to spare the commissariat supplies or arsenals of a civilised enemy." Speaking of severe measures he adds:—"The result was almost invariably the submission and subsequent good conduct of the tribe punished in this summary manner. Defensive measures alone have been found ineffectual. The defensive system was that which was first attempted. Fifteen forts and fifty posts were established along the frontier, and many hundreds of miles regularly patrolled; but the hillmen would suddenly descend from their heights, plunder the surrounding country, and make off with their spoils before a force could turn out to oppose them. The storming of their mountain fastnesses, and the destruction of their almost inaccessible homes, inspired them, however, with a salutary terror of their powerful neighbours." Of the character of those hillmen Mr. Temple said:—"They have nothing approaching to government or civil institutions. They have for the most part no education. They have nominally a religion, but Mohammedanism, as understood by them, is no better, or perhaps is actually worse, than the creeds of the wildest races on earth. In their eyes the one great commandment is blood for blood, and fire and sword for all infidels—that is for all people not Mohammedans. They are superstitious and priest-ridden. But the priests are as ignorant as they are bigoted, and use their influence simply for preaching crusades against unbelievers, and inculcate the doctrine of rapine and bloodshed against the defenceless people of the plain. They are thievish and predatory to the last degree. The Pathan mother often prays that her son may be a successful robber. They are utterly faithless to public engagements; it would never

depredations, there could be no satisfactory political result, and in point of fact there was no submission. On this question of the necessity of destroying the villages of these hillmen, Sir Colin Campbell held opinions shared by Sir Charles Napier, which were honourable to his heart, though whether they were dictated by sound considerations of policy is another question. Sir Neville Chamberlain said, in his report on the results of his expedition against the Wuzerees, in 1860, "To have thus to carry destruction, if not destitution, into the homes of some hundreds of families is the great drawback to border warfare; but with savage tribes, to whom there is no right but might, and no law to govern them in their intercourse with the rest of mankind save that which appeals to their own interests, the only course, as regards humanity as well as policy, is to make all suffer, and thereby for their own interests enlist the great majority on the side of peace and safety." This is the opinion held by Wilde, Green, Lumsden, Coke, Keyes, and almost every frontier officer of experience, and has been acted upon in the Afghan War still in progress, by Generals Roberts, Tytler, and other commanding officers. Sir Charles Napier, on the other hand, held more merciful views; but whether they were dictated by that spirit of contrariety which always animated that able but cantankerous

even occur to their minds that an oath on the Koran was binding if against their interests. It must be added that they are fierce and bloodthirsty. They are never without weapons; when grazing their cattle, when driving beasts of burden, when tilling the soil, they are still armed. They are perpetually at war with each other. Every tribe and section of a tribe has its internecine wars, every family its hereditary blood feuds, and every individual his personal foes. There is hardly a man whose hands are unstained. Each person counts up his murders. Each tribe has a debtor and credit account with its neighbours, life for life. Reckless of the lives of others, they are not sparing of their own. They consider retaliation and revenge the strongest of all obligations. They possess gallantry and courage themselves, and admire such qualities in others. Men of the same party will stand by one another in danger. To their minds, hospitality is the first of virtues. Any person who can make his way into their dwellings will not only be safe, but will be kindly received, but as soon as he has left the roof of his entertainer, he may be robbed or killed. They are charitable to the indigent of their own tribe. They possess the pride of birth, and regard ancestral associations. They are not averse to civilisation whenever they have felt its benefits; they are fond of trading, and also of cultivating; but they are too fickle and excitable to be industrious in agriculture or anything else. They will take military service, and, though impatient of discipline, will prove faithful, unless excited by fanaticism. Such briefly is their character, replete with the unaccountable inconsistencies, with that mixture of opposite vices and virtues, belonging to savages." Were it possible for them to forget for a time their mutual grievances, and to act in concert, their numbers and fierceness would render them a truly formidable foe. Mr. Temple estimated the fighting men of the independent tribes at 135,000, and of those within the British territory at 80,000. Fortunately, these tribes hate one another with an intensity that excludes all immediate danger of combination. "When one tribe, or section of a tribe," says Mr. Temple, "is hostile, it generally happens that another tribe or section is friendly. Situated as we now are, the support of some tribes could be always counted upon in the event of hostilities. Anything approaching to a general combination is a contingency quite beyond the range of probability."

genius, or by his views of what was just and politic, we will not undertake to say. He was at this time in England, having resigned the Indian command, and writes to Lord Ellenborough, who, like him, was an "irreconcilable" in his hatred of the Court of Directors: "Sir Colin has been with me here for a few days, and his accounts of the unprovoked attacks and cruelties on the tribes around Peshawur are almost beyond belief: his efforts to prevent such injustice was the cause of his resignation. I wish your lordship knew him; you might get from him the shameful way in which whole districts have been devastated, and the most beautiful villages burnt, without any apparent reason but the desire of the politicals to appear 'vigorous' in the eyes of Dalhousie! I told Campbell what I think: that such deeds disgrace our arms, and ought not to be concealed. Justice to the crown under whose flag we fight, and justice to those who are so oppressed, demands that oppression should be made public." On this conflict of opinion we would observe that Sir Colin Campbell apparently changed his views as to the necessity of burning villages to bring enemies to subjection; for in 1858 he issued a proclamation to the people of Oude, expressing his intention to burn every place from which a shot was fired at his troops.

There can be but one feeling in all humane and right-feeling minds regarding this question of desolating the homes of these mountaineers, and rendering homeless their unoffending women and children; but we have to consider the interests of the equally unoffending people on our side of the border, who are debarred by our laws from retaliating, and are taught to look to us for protection. The question, therefore, would appear to be, Which line of conduct would best effect the protection of the unarmed villagers within British territory? On this point the almost unanimous opinion of experienced frontier officers is in favour of the harsh measures deprecated by Sir Colin Campbell and Sir Charles Napier.

On resigning the command at Peshawur, Sir Colin returned to England in the autumn of 1852. It has been said that it was intimated to him that he had better retire, as his military measures were unsuccessful, and the condition of the frontier far from satisfactory. But however this may be, it is certain that he carried with him on his retirement the regret of those associated with him, and the undiminished confidence of the officers under his command. Thus it happened that when, within five years, he returned to India at an unexampled crisis in her destiny, his advent was hailed with satisfaction by all classes of the community.

PART II

The Crimean War—Sir Colin Campbell's services at the Alma and at Balaklava—The Indian Mutiny—Is appointed Commander-in-Chief—His arrangements for the Campaign—The Relief of Lucknow—The battle of Cawnpore and dispersion of the Gwalior Insurgents—Siege of Lucknow—The Rohilcund Campaign and capture of Bareilly—The Campaign in Oude—End of the Mutiny—Lord Clyde resigns the command and returns to England—Death and Funeral in Westminster Abbey—Character of Lord Clyde—Conclusion.

ON his arrival in England in the autumn of 1852, Sir Colin Campbell was received as an officer of established reputation, but so slow had been his promotion that, though having a record of over 44 years' service in three quarters of the globe, he found himself relegated to the position of a Colonel on the half-pay list. He had longed for rest and retirement, yet when it came, his restless, ambitious spirit fretted against the frivolities of club-life in London. There was, however, no help for it, and he bore, with such resignation as he could command, the *otium cum dignitate* he had so well earned. But deliverance was at hand from the thralldom of idleness, and, on the outbreak of the war with Russia, he offered his services and was appointed to the command of a brigade in the First, or Duke of Cambridge's division. When we consider the length and brilliancy of the services of Sir Colin Campbell, and the fact that the Commander of his division—excellent soldier and popular officer as his Royal Highness always has been—had never seen a shot fired in anger, one is lost in amazement at the folly and cynical disregard of the public welfare which influenced the Ministry in making such appointments. But they were of a piece with the general arrangements and conduct of the expedition to the Crimea, in which the failure of our arms is only redeemed by the unsurpassed valour and uncomplaining fortitude of our soldiers.

Sir Colin Campbell joined the Duke of Cambridge's division at Scutari on the 23rd April, 1854, and assumed command of the Highland brigade,* consisting of the 42nd, 79th, and 93rd

* On the 24th June 1854, Sir Colin Campbell was promoted to the rank of Major-General.

regiments, the Commander of the brigade of Guards, forming the second brigade of the 1st Division, being Major-General Bentinck, an officer who had seen no active service. Before the stern work of war commenced, reviews were the order of the day, and the Duke of Cambridge manœuvred his magnificent division in presence of Marshal St. Arnaud and Omar Pasha, the allied Commanders-in-Chief, who were loud in their expressions of admiration at the discipline and grand appearance of these *corps d'élite*. But exactitude in parade movements are not the only test of efficiency or of ability to stand the rough wear and tear of a campaign in a commander or his army, and within the next few months these noble battalions melted away owing to the imbecility and want of forethought that characterised our military administration. Like the rest of the army, the 1st Division was moved from one place to another until, at length, on the 14th September, it landed in the Crimea, and on the 20th September was engaged in the battle of the Alma.

In this, the first action of the war, was displayed the ignorance of the first military principles of which so many examples were given in its later conduct. The British attack against the Russian batteries was delivered by the Light Division, supported by the 1st Division, but the brigades were unskilfully handled, and the regiments were not properly deployed so as to deliver their fire with the best effect. "When the advance was sounded," says Mr. W. H. Russell, "the Light Division was lying down on the extreme right of the line. Behind them were the 2nd Division. On the left of the Light Division were the Guards, and next them the Highland brigade. Behind the 1st Division was the 3rd division. The Light Division deployed in the following order:—On the left was the 77th, next the 88th, in advance of the 88th a little, and on their right, were the 19th. These regiments formed Buller's brigade, and seem to have been somewhat mismanaged. The 88th were actually in square under fire, were stopped as they were in motion by Sir Colin Campbell, who had nothing to do with the division, and were ordered by him to form line."

Major-General Codrington's brigade of the Light Division, consisting of the 7th, 23rd, and 33rd regiments, unsupported by Buller's brigade, save the 19th Regiment, attacked the Russian batteries on the hill above the Alma, and had to bear the brunt of the Russian fire, but were compelled to retire from the battery they had captured at great expenditure of blood. The Duke of Cambridge now brought up his division to support the Light, or Sir George Brown's, Division, and the Guards and Highlanders

advanced in magnificent style across the Alma and up the slope on the other bank. Before commencing this movement, Sir Colin Campbell is said to have addressed his Highlanders in the following words:—"Highlanders, I am going to ask a favour of you; it is that you will act so as to justify me in asking permission of the Queen to wear a bonnet!*" Don't pull a trigger until you are within a yard of the Russians." Another authority says:—"Before the action had begun, and whilst his men were still in column, Campbell had spoken to his brigade a few words—words simple and for the most part workmanlike—yet touched with the fire of warlike sentiment. 'Now, men, you are going into action. Remember this, whoever is wounded—I don't care what his rank is—must lie where he falls till the bandsmen come to attend him. No soldier must go carrying off wounded men. If any soldier does such a thing his name shall be stuck up in his parish church. Don't be in a hurry about firing. Your officers will tell you when it is time to open fire. Be steady. Keep silence. Fire low. Now, men, the army will watch us; make me proud of the Highland brigade!'" Whatever were the exact words, there is no doubt that the above soul-stirring addresses contained the pith of the few sentences he addressed to his men, who responded with a noble alacrity to the demand of their trusty leader.†

As the Highlanders advanced they found, in their front, the

* Whether this is apocryphal or not, we cannot tell, but we have Mr. Russell's authority for the following incident, which he learned from Sir Colin Campbell's lips during the Indian Mutiny:—After the battle of the Alma was over, Lord Raglan came to him evidently labouring under some strong emotion, and Sir Colin, to divert his attention, said:—"My Lord, I have a favour to ask your lordship. It is, that while I am with the brigade, I may be permitted to wear the Highland bonnet."

† Kinglake says of Sir Colin Campbell—"Campbell was not the slave, he was the master of his calling, and thus it was that he had been able to save his intellect from the fate of being drowned in military details. He knew that although a General must have a complete mastery of even the smallest of such things, still they were only a part—a minute though essential part—of the great science of war. He understood the precious materials of which our army is formed. He heartily loved our soldiery, for he was a soldier, and had fellow feelings with soldiers, and they had fellow feeling with him. Instinctively they knew that together they might do great things—he by their help, they by his. Knowing the worth of their devotion and of their bodily strength, he cherished them with watchful care; and they on their part loved, honoured, and obeyed him, with a faith that all he ordered was right. He set great store upon discipline, but it was never for discipline's sake that he did so, but because he knew it to be one of the main sources of military ascendancy. So although the officers and soldiers serving under him got no more rest than was good for them, they were never vexed wantonly; and in proportion as they grew in knowledge of their calling they came to understand why it was that their chief compelled them to toil. A bodily ardour for fighting may be more or less masked and hidden; but he to whom this great passion is wanting is without the quality of a general. For warfare is so anxious and complex a business, that against every vigorous movement heaps of reasons can for ever be found, and if a man is so cold a lover of battle as to have no

88th Connaught Rangers—as gallant a regiment as any in Her Majesty's army—forming part of Buller's brigade, halted and formed into square, when, as quoted from Russell's pages, our hero went up to them and ordered them to form line. The 1st Division now advanced up the slope amid a hurricane of grape and bullets which they returned without ceasing their onward march. Some confusion was caused by the regiments of the Light Division retiring through the Guards to re-form, and at this time it is said a proposal was made to the Duke of Cambridge, that the Guards, who were on the right, and suffered most heavily, should retire, but Sir Colin Campbell, hearing the suggestion, made an indignant remonstrance, which has become historical. Kinglake says:—"The brigade of Guards will be destroyed; ought it not to fall back?" When Sir Colin Campbell heard this saying his blood rose so high that the answer he gave—impassioned and far-resounding—was of a quality to govern events. 'It is better, sir, that every man of Her Majesty's Guards should lie dead upon the field than that they should turn their backs upon the enemy.' Doubts and questionings ceased. The Division went forward." It was a noble rebuke to pusillanimous council, and worthy of the soldier who, on the heights of the Alma as in the jungles of Chillianwallah, saved British honour, and, it may almost be said, retrieved the day.

Eighteen days later, after the celebrated flank march on Balaklava (where the army arrived on the 26th September), by which Lord Raglan obtained his position on the heights which envelop Sebastopol on the south side from the sea to the river Tchernaya, the siege of the Russian stronghold was commenced, and, on 14th October, Sir Colin Campbell was placed in command at Balaklava, an unenviable post, as disorder reigned supreme, and cholera was raging in the town, which "was in a revolting state." "The appointment," says Kinglake, "elicited proof of the light in which his quality as a soldier was regarded. For several days, and not without somewhat of reason, men at head-quarters—I speak not of Lord Raglan himself—had been surmising that Balaklava was far from secure; but as soon as the chief made it known that the place was in charge of Sir Colin, people went to an extreme of confidence, and ceased to

stronger guide than the poor balance of the arguments and counter-arguments which he addresses to his troubled spirit, his mind, driven first one way and then another, will oscillate or even revolve, turning miserably on its own axis, and making no movement straight forward. Now it is a characteristic still marking the Scottish blood that often—and not the less so when it flows in the veins of a gentle-hearted being—it is seen to fire suddenly and strongly at the prospect of a fight. Campbell loved warfare with a deep passion, and at the thought of a battle his grand, rugged face used to kindle with uncontrollable joy."

imagine that ground where he was commanding could now be the seat of danger. And certainly it was from no mere friendliness towards Campbell that all this confidence sprang, for his energy—a disturbing and not always popular quality—together with the singular enmity he used to bear towards the Guards, was enough to prevent him from being liked in proportion to the trust he inspired. But that trust was deep. The business of defending Balaclava with the slight means assigned for the purpose was no longer a problem nor a topic. Men knew the old soldier was there, and turned all their thoughts to the siege.”

Sir Colin Campbell, with characteristic disregard of self where the public interests were concerned, accepted the command without hesitation, though he inferred that he was placed under the orders of his senior officer, Lord Lucan, commanding the Cavalry Division, an erroneous impression which Lord Raglan corrected. Kinglake says:—“A day or two after the appointment of Sir Colin Campbell to this command, a conversation with Lord Raglan turned upon the strength that everybody supposed to be given to the Balaclava defences by the presence there of one man; and it was remarked that the sense of security which the appointment created enabled a reader of the Wellington despatches and letters to feel the force of those expressions of the Duke’s in which he used to speak of himself as dependent for his repose upon the presence or absence of some one man; upon the presence, for instance, of Murray, as his Quartermaster-General, or upon the absence of Massena as his opponent. Lord Raglan seemed much gratified by hearing of the moral effect produced by the appointment, and then said that he had been greatly pleased at the way in which Campbell accepted the charge. He said that upon his asking Campbell to take charge of Balaclava, Campbell, though he supposed at the moment that he was to be subordinated to Lord Lucan, replied, without the least hesitation, ‘Certainly, sir, I will place myself at once under Lord Lucan’s orders.’ Lord Raglan said he immediately explained to Sir Colin that his was to be an independent command.” The troops placed under Campbell’s command were a miscellaneous body, consisting of the 93rd Highlanders and about 1,200 marines and marine artillery, which protected the town and inner line, a battery of artillery from the 3rd Division, a battalion of detachments formed of weakly men, and about 3,000 Turkish infantry, who occupied the newly-constructed redoubts in the outer line. In the valleys to the north of the town the cavalry were encamped, but they were under the orders of a senior officer, Lord Lucan, who had seen no service.

The position of Balaclava, as the port whence the English drew their supplies, was one of the greatest importance for the safety of the allies, who had on their flank and rear a large field army, which might select its own position and time for delivering an attack. Lord Raglan had lost no time in fortifying Balaclava with earthworks, and, though the garrison was manifestly insufficient, and the works, specially the outer line of defences, were faulty,* the appointment of a commander of the experience and judgment of Sir Colin Campbell infused a general feeling of security, which was shared by the Commander-in-Chief on his receiving a report from Sir Colin, that "we are now very strong as well as secure." The strength of the position and the sense of security in the commander were tested on the memorable 25th October, a day of disaster no less than of glorious memories, in which not only British Cavalry showed what discipline and valour will effect, but a single British regiment of infantry, confident in itself and its commander, performed a deed which will live equally long in history.

Lord Lucan and Sir Colin Campbell were out reconnoitring on the morning of the 25th October, when they discerned heavy columns of Russians advancing on Balaclava. All dispositions for defence were quickly made, and the first to feel the attack were the Turkish infantry, who were driven out of the redoubts after a gallant defence, in which the greater portion of them were killed. But the enemy found a more stubborn foe in the 93rd Highlanders, whom Sir Colin, after the Russians had carried the first line of defences, retired and drew up in a better position in the rear. Addressing them, he spoke in the following words:—"Remember, men," he said, "there is no retreat from here. You must all die where you stand;" to which these gallant hearts quickly made reply:—"Ay, ay, Sir Colin, we'll do that." They understood one another, these Highland soldiers, and their countryman; and so eager were the gallant 93rd to show their mettle that when the Russian Cavalry, 1,500 strong, came down like a whirlwind, riding over the plain to sweep the "thin red line" from the face of the earth, they showed a strong disposition to advance and meet the enemy with the bayonet. The veteran commander, quickly divining their intent, shouted out:—"Ninety-third, ninety-third, damn all that eagerness!" and, with a single battalion, well in hand, he

* "The Engineers," says Kinglake, "were confident in the security of the 'inner line,' and at times certainly Sir Colin Campbell shared their belief; but I gather that he was brought into an anxious state of mind by the peculiar responsibility which weighed upon him, and his language in regard to the security of the position was not always the same."

awaited the Russian charge with the calm presage of victory. Mr. Russell describes the incident. "As the Russian cavalry, on the left of their line, crowned the hill across the valley, they perceived the Highlanders drawn up at the distance of some half-a-mile. They halted, and squadron after squadron came up from the rear. The Russians drew breath for a moment, and then in one grand line dashed at the Highlanders. The ground flies beneath their horses' feet; gathering speed at every stride, they dash on towards that thin red streak topped with a line of steel. The Turks fired a volley at eight hundred yards, and ran. As the Russians come within 600 yards, down went that line of steel in front, and out rang a rolling volley of Minie musketry. The distance was too great; the Russians are not checked, but swept onwards, here and there knocked over by the shot of our batteries above; but ere they come within 250 yards, another volley flashes from the levelled rifles, the Russians wheeled about and fled faster than they came. 'Bravo, well done, Highlanders!' shouted the excited spectators. But events thickened; the Highlanders and their splendid front were soon forgotten; men scarcely had a moment to think of this fact, that the 93rd never altered their formation to receive that tide of horsemen. 'No,' said Sir Colin Campbell, 'I did not think it worth while to form them even four deep.'"

Then followed the charge of the heavy cavalry brigade, under Brigadier-General Scarlett, and, at ten o'clock, the Duke of Cambridge arrived from the camp with his Guards and Highlanders. "The Duke," says Russell, "came up to Lord Raglan for orders, and his lordship, ready to give the honour of the day to Sir Colin Campbell, who commanded at Balaclava, told his Royal Highness to place himself under the direction of the Brigadier." Half an hour later the 4th Division took up their position in advance of Balaclava, and, soon after, occurred the memorable and disastrous charge of the Light Cavalry.

Sir Colin Campbell passed the dreary winter of 1854 without taking part in the fighting in the trenches before Sebastopol, or at Inkerman, on the 5th November, when the Russians made a demonstration towards Balaclava. On the 28th June, 1855, ten days after the disastrous repulse at the Redan, Lord Raglan expired, much regretted by the army. Though his lordship could not be said to possess the qualifications of a great soldier, his calm heroism extorted universal admiration, while his dignity of manner commanded from the French generals a consideration for his small army to which their numerical strength did not entitle them. Many other changes took place at this time.

General Estcourt, the Adjutant-General, died, General Markham, who had gained much distinction at the siege of Mooltan, assumed command on the 19th July of the 2nd Division, and Sir Harry Jones, of the Engineers, in place of Sir John Burgoyne. Two days after Lord Raglan's death, Sir George Brown, commanding the Light Division, who took a very desponding view of the situation, left the army on sick leave. The Government appointed to the supreme command General Simpson, chief of the staff (who had been second in command to Sir Charles Napier in Scinde), notwithstanding that he expressed his unwillingness to assume the direction of affairs. It is inexplicable that, having in the Crimea, an officer of the experience and recognised ability of Sir Colin Campbell, one who commanded the confidence of the army, they should have selected General Simpson; but the appointment was of a piece with all their proceedings throughout the war, in which favouritism and incompetence reigned supreme in our councils. But though the Government could treat thus slightly the man marked out by the almost unanimous voice of the army as the best for the post of Commander-in-Chief, the leaders of the Crimean army knew his worth, and, as had happened more than once in his career, when disaster overtook our arms, Sir Colin Campbell was called to retrieve the honour of the country.

On the 8th September took place the grand combined assault on Sebastopol, but, while the French were successful at the Malakhoff, our assaulting columns were driven back at the Redan with a loss exceeding that experienced at Inkerman. Immediately on hearing of the failure, General Simpson sent for the tried veteran of Balaclava, and directed him to capture the Redan with his Highlanders. Accordingly, at a late hour in the evening, Sir Colin Campbell went round the trenches, and saw the commanding officers of the regiments. His announcement of the intended attack was laconic and characteristic:—"General Simpson says we are to take the Redan to-night; recollect, I shall lead you on myself." Subsequently, the desertion of the works by the Russians rendered another assault unnecessary.

When his claims to the supreme command had been passed over in favour of General Simpson, Sir Colin Campbell had submitted without a murmur, but when, on 11th November, that officer resigned the command, and Sir William Codrington, —who had commanded a brigade of the Light Division throughout the war, and succeeded to the command of that division on the return to England of Sir George Brown—was appointed his successor, Sir Colin, indignant at again thus being passed

over, requested to be allowed to resign his command and return to England. The slight was all the more marked, as the new Commander-in-Chief was his junior in rank, Sir William Codrington having received the local rank of Lieutenant-General in Turkey on the 30th July in this year, while Sir Colin's promotion to that rank was dated the 23rd January; further, considering his long and meritorious career in three quarters of the globe, our hero had cause to be aggrieved. But he withdrew his application for leave to return to England, it is said, at the request of the most exalted personage in the kingdom, whose slightest wish was law to the loyal-hearted old soldier, who, nevertheless, felt stung to the quick at the treatment he had received from the Government. There was, however, no more fighting in the Crimea, and the treaty of Paris concluded the war just as the British army of some 56,000 men, had been brought to a condition of high excellence.*

Sir Colin Campbell could look back on the war just concluded with unmixed satisfaction, for he was one of the few among those holding high command who had not failed more or less, but, notwithstanding, as a patriotic soldier he experienced bitterness of feeling in considering that our *prestige* in Europe had been considerably damaged by our repeated failures, especially on the occasion of the last assault on the Redan, when the success of the French attack of the Malakhoff was in such marked contrast to our repulse. But, as we have said, he came out of the ordeal with an increased reputation, and the gratitude of his countrymen, while he had no cause to complain on the score of rewards. Early in the war he had been appointed Colonel of

* The conduct of the Ministry that undertook the Crimean war was branded in just terms in the following concluding paragraph, by the Committee of Enquiry of the House of Commons, and the country visited with little less censure the military incapacity displayed by some of the commanders:—"It appears that the sufferings of the army resulted mainly from the circumstances in which the expedition to the Crimea was undertaken and executed. The administration which ordered that expedition had no adequate information as to the amount of force in the Crimea or Sebastopol. They were not acquainted with the strength of the fortresses to be attacked, or with the resources of the country to be invaded. They hoped and expected that the expedition would be immediately successful; and as they did not foresee the probability of a protracted struggle, they made no provision for a winter campaign; what was planned and undertaken without sufficient information was conducted without sufficient care or forethought. This conduct on the part of the administration was the first and chief cause of the calamities which befel our army. The patience and fortitude of the army demand the admiration and gratitude of the nation, on whose behalf they have fought, bled and suffered. Their heroic valour, and equally heroic patience under sufferings and privations have given them claims upon their country which will be long remembered and gratefully acknowledged. Your Committee will now close their report with a hope that every British army may in future display the great qualities which this noble army has displayed, and that none may hereafter be exposed to such sufferings as are recorded in these pages."

the 67th Regiment, and, on the 4th June, 1856, was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General. He was now appointed Inspector General of Infantry and received the Grand Cross of the Bath, and the thanks of Parliament. The King of Sardinia presented him with the order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus; the Sultan of Turkey, with the first class of the Medjidie; and the Emperor Napoleon nominated him to the Legion of Honour—that once glorious emblem of victory instituted by the greatest soldier the world has known. When we see this “star of the brave”—of which, it has been said, that “souls of slain heroes form the rays”—employed as an award to successful shopkeepers, and figuring at the head of trade advertisements, one can echo Byron’s indignant lament:—

“Star of the brave! whose beam hath shed,
Such glory o’er the quick and dead,
Thou radiant and adored deceit!
Which millions rush’d in arms to greet,
Wild meteor of immortal birth!
Why rise in heaven to set in earth!”

Scarcely had a year elapsed since Sir Colin Campbell’s return from the Crimea, than England again claimed his services, and the war-worn veteran of fifty years’ service responded to the call with all the alacrity of the youth who marched from Canterbury to participate in Sir Arthur Wellesley’s victory at Vimiera. India was then in the throes of the great Mutiny, and though there were in that country, men quite competent to cope with and crush the greatest danger that had yet menaced our Indian rule—for were not Outram and Havelock fit for any emergency?—yet the ministry decided to send a soldier of the first European reputation and of high rank to assume the direction of affairs, and, instinctively, the eyes of the nation were directed to Sir Colin Campbell.

In July 1857, on receipt of news of the death of General Anson, the Commander-in-Chief in India, while proceeding to take command of the troops marching on Delhi, Sir Colin Campbell was offered the supreme military command in Bengal, with the rank of General. The case was imperative; a steamer was already on its way from Southampton to India, but might be caught at Marseilles. How soon could he start? was the question accompanying the letter appointing him to his new and most important post. The answer was, that he would be ready “in twenty-four hours,” and, accordingly, he made his arrangements within that time, set off through France, caught the packet, and was as good as his word. Sir Colin’s promptitude on this

occasion raised him in the popular estimation. As was remarked at the time, the people saw "business" in such a style of proceeding, and were delighted with the epigrammatic, "twenty-four hours." The Government, of course, did not fail to spread their sails to such a breeze of approbation. They quoted Sir Colin's answer in Parliament, and, by implication, bade the world admire not only the patriotic soldier, but the discerning ministry which had selected him.

Sir Colin arrived at Calcutta on the 15th August, bringing the news of his own appointment, and, having relieved Sir Patrick Grant, the provisional Commander-in-Chief, busied himself in hurrying reinforcements up country. "He established a system by which," says Mr. Montgomery Martin, in his *British India*, "200 men were regularly forwarded along the Grand Trunk Road to Allahabad, in covered carts, drawn by bullocks, and their meals prepared in readiness for their arrival at each halting place." In Calcutta he formed his staff, of which Colonel William Mansfield (the late Lord Sandhurst) was appointed the chief. He had formed the friendship of Colonel Mansfield in India, when he was a captain in the 53rd Regiment, and entertained the highest opinion of his talents. Mansfield had, for several years, (like Sir Hugh Rose in Syria) served as Consul-General at Warsaw, and, in his character and acquirements, afforded a striking contrast to Sir Colin Campbell, who, perhaps, was attracted by this diversity, and impressed by the intellectual attainments of his chief of the staff. Sir Colin was eminently a man of the sword, to whom political, or any other, considerations, save those of a military nature, were an enigma, while Mansfield was rather a man of the pen, a student of the science of war, an able writer, and a profound financier. Not that we would imply that the late Lord Sandhurst was not a good soldier—he showed otherwise at Cawnpore; and his able memoranda for the dispositions, throughout the war, of the numerous bodies of troops, acting over a vast field of hostilities, proved that he had some of the directing capacity of a Von Moltke—to compare small things with great. But Mansfield was unpopular, owing to an unconciliatory manner rather than an unamiable disposition, and the character he had acquired for the possession of accomplishments, which rather fitted him for the position of a Minister or Political Resident, caused him to be little understood in the camp, where every consideration is subordinated to military requirements.

It was now the crisis of the Mutiny. Oude was in the hands of the rebels, and the heroic garrison at Lucknow were struggling

against enormous odds; Havelock, driven back by overwhelming numbers in his desperate attempt to relieve Cawnpore, and exhausted by the losses he had encountered in achieving nine victories, was awaiting reinforcements for his final advance; Agra was besieged, and the country between it and Delhi was in the hands of the mutineers; and, finally, that city, upon the speedy reduction of which the safety of the empire depended, still remained the head-quarters of rebellion.

With his usual imperturbability, which nothing could ruffle, but with celerity and completeness, Sir Colin made all his arrangements, and, having despatched up country all the available reinforcements, on the 27th October quitted Calcutta to join the army in the field. The first operation to be undertaken was the relief of Lucknow, for what is known as the "relief" by Generals Outram and Havelock, was in reality only the reinforcement of the garrison, which, though now secure from any immediate chance of destruction, were unable to retire from their perilous position, with all the sick and non-combatants, without the certainty of very heavy loss. Sir Colin travelled up country with all despatch, but his career was near having a disastrous and unexpected termination, for, though cautious to a fault where the safety of his army was concerned, our hero had little regard for his own personal security throughout the ensuing campaign. A letter from Benares, written on 30th October, thus describes the incident:—"The Commander-in-Chief has come and gone. He arrived to day at 9 a.m., and put up at Colonel Gordon's, where he breakfasted and saw some officers, whence he paid a visit to the Lieutenant-Governor. He started for Allahabad at 1 p.m. On this side of Shergotty, the Commander-in-Chief's party came across, most unexpectedly, a detachment of the fugitive and mutinous 32nd, and were very nearly caught by them. Had the gharries been 500 yards further on the road, the whole party would have been cut off to a man, for they were proceeding without an escort of any kind. These gallant Sepoys were seen travelling like gentlemen, on elephants, of which 14 were counted, and were also escorted by 25 sowars, who hovered some time about the carriages. As soon as this cavalcade was perceived, the carriages turned back, and retraced their steps for 10 miles, till they came up with a bullock train party."

Pushing on for Cawnpore, Sir Colin Campbell only remained there till the 9th November, as he resolved, without a day's delay, to undertake the relief of the Lucknow garrison,* with the

* It has been frequently stated that Sir James Outram pressed Sir Colin Campbell to advance to the relief of the garrison at Lucknow without giving due

available troops which had crossed the Ganges into Oude on the 31st October, under command of Brigadier-General Hope Grant. Accordingly, taking with him detachments of the 9th Lancers and Punjaub Irregular Cavalry, and the naval brigade, with six 24-pounders, 2 howitzers, and 4 large mortars, he crossed the Ganges, and, pushing on, the same day joined Grant's camp at Buntheera, about 6 miles from Alumbagh. That officer had under his orders 3,460 men, and the total strength of the division, with the reinforcements which had arrived during the past few days, and detachments on the road, was raised to 6,000 men,* with 11 heavy guns, two 18-pounders, 18 field-pieces, and several mortars. There being some detachments on the road, Sir Colin waited till the 12th November before commencing his advance. On that day he marched early for Alumbagh, where his advanced guard had a smart skirmish with a body of about 2,000 of the enemy. These were driven off by a brilliant charge of the irregular horse, who captured two guns, and, that evening, camp was pitched at Alumbagh, where Outram and Havelock had left 400 men (since reinforced to a strength of about 900)

regard to the exigencies of the general situation. The implied insinuation that that noble soldier was chiefly mindful of the safety of his force, so opposed to his course of conduct throughout a long and distinguished career, is disproved by the following paragraph from a letter written by Sir James Outram to Captain Bruce, political officer with Sir Colin Campbell at Cawnpore, dated Lucknow Residency, 28th October, 1857:—"I shall not detain Canojee (the cossid) beyond to-night, being anxious to prevent the force being hurried from Cawnpore to Alumbagh. The latter post having now been amply supplied with food, and sufficiently strengthened to defy attack, is no longer the source of anxiety; and, however desirable it may be to support me here, I cannot but feel that it is still more important that the Gwalior rebels (said to be preparing to cross into the Doab) should be first disposed of. I would therefore urge on Brigadier Wilson, to whom I beg you will communicate this, as if addressed to himself, that I consider that the Delhi column, strengthened to the utmost by all other troops that can be spared from Cawnpore, should, in the first instance be employed against the Gwalior rebels should they attempt to cross into the Doab, or be tangible to assault elsewhere within reasonable distance. We can manage to screw on, if absolutely necessary, till near the end of November, on further reduced rations. Only the longer we remain, the less physical strength we shall have to aid our friends with when they do advance, and the fewer guns shall we be able to move out in co-operation. But it is so obviously to the advantage of the state that the Gwalior rebels should be first effectually destroyed, that our relief should be a secondary consideration. I trust, therefore, that Brigadier Wilson will furnish Colonel Grant with every possible aid to effect that object before sending him here." As this letter duly reached Captain Bruce on the 30th October, there can be no doubt it was communicated to the Commander-in-Chief, who did not leave Cawnpore for Lucknow until the 9th November.

* The regiments, including the detachments that joined up to the 14th November, were the following:—9th Lancers, and detachments 1st, 2nd, and 5th Punjaub Cavalry, and Hodson's Horse; H.M.'s. 8th, 53rd, 75th, and 93rd Regiments, with a battalion of detachments; head-quarters 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers, and detachment 82nd Regiment; 2nd and 4th Punjaub Infantry, detachments Royal Engineers, and Bengal and Punjaub Sappers and Miners; Naval Brigade, with 8 guns; three batteries of artillery.

when marching to relieve the garrison of Lucknow on the 25th September.

Sir Colin changed the garrison of Alumbagh, leaving there H.M.'s 75th Regiment, which had suffered greatly at Delhi, and, clearing the post of cattle and lumber, placed his tents there, taking with him the remainder of his heavy baggage and 14 days' provisions for his own force and the troops in Lucknow. On the 14th he moved off on his arduous enterprise. From Alumbagh a direct road to the city runs due north, crosses the canal at right angles at the Charbagh bridge, and, diverging slightly to the westward, cuts through the heart of the city, and stops at the Residency. The canal, which runs nearly east and west, falls into the Goomtee at a point north of the Martinière school. The Residency and that portion of Lucknow adjoining it are inclosed on three sides by the river which bathes an area forming almost a rectangle. Near the junction of the canal and Goomtee, and consequently not far from the Martinière, are several bridges over the canal, that one nearest the river leading to a group of Mahals or palaces. Near them again are the Secunderbagh, the barracks, the Shah Nujeef, and mess-house. At no great distance in the rear, south of the Martinière, is Dilkhoosha (Heart's Delight), a palace of brick, composed of two rectangular blocks of buildings, forming half a square. So much premised, Sir Colin's operations remain to be narrated.

Having cleared the ground about Alumbagh up to the canal, he moved eastwards on the 14th, and occupied the Dilkhoosha and Martinière, after a running fight of two hours. By noon he held those points in strength, and, at 3 in the afternoon, the enemy advanced to attack him there, but were repulsed with heavy loss. Sir Colin had foiled the rebels by the line of operations he had adopted. The direct road from Alumbagh to the Residency lies through the densest part of the town, and here every alley and every house had been fortified. In the rainy season no other route was practicable for artillery; hence by it General Havelock advanced when he relieved the Residency, and it was while fighting his way through the lanes on that ever memorable 25th September that he experienced his heavy losses. The rebels had evidently made up their minds that Sir Colin would follow the same route, and had made every preparation to give him a warm reception. But they had counted without their host. The old warrior was too wary to be caught running his head against stone walls and fortified houses when he could turn a position, and, moreover, he had been warned by Sir James Outram to avoid the city.

Sir Colin Campbell deposited every description of baggage at Dilkhoosha, which was occupied by the 8th Regiment, and, early on the morning of the 16th November, advanced direct on the Secunderbagh, a high walled inclosure of masonry, 120 yards square, carefully loopholed, and strongly held by the enemy. Opposite to it was a village, 100 yards distant, the walls of which were also loopholed, and the place filled with men. The struggle began in earnest on the head of the column advancing up the lane to the left of the Secunderbagh, when the enemy opened a hot fire. Throwing the advanced guard of the leading brigade of infantry, led by Brigadier Hon. Adrian Hope, into skirmishing order, the Commander-in-Chief pushed on Captain Blunt's troop of horse artillery, which, advancing at a gallop through a cross fire from the Secunderbagh and village, opened fire within musket range. Meanwhile Adrian Hope's men carried the village and then the neighbouring barracks, and an attack in force was commenced against the Secunderbagh. For an hour and a half this building resisted all the efforts of Hope's brigade, but at length an entrance was effected by a small opening, in the most daring manner, and speedily the inclosure was carried; and every man within it, computed by the Commander-in-Chief in his despatch at over 2,000, was shot or bayoneted.* "There was never a bolder feat," wrote Sir Colin; and the troops that effected it—the 93rd Highlanders, and 53rd Regiment, supported by a battalion of detachments and 4th Punjaubees—are entitled to the credit so unstintingly conferred on them by a soldier who never exaggerated and had seen something of sanguinary fields. During the attack Sir Colin exposed himself freely, and received a slight wound, but he did not withdraw from the scene of action until the place was carried.

The next work to be attacked was the Shah Nujeef, and the heavy guns of the naval brigade were brought up to batter its defences. The Shah Nujeef was a domed mosque, with a garden of which the wall had been loopholed, the entrance being covered by a regular work in masonry, while the top of the building was crowned with a parapet. From this and from the defences in the garden, an incessant fire was kept up, and, for three hours, our artillery battered the place, two of the heavy guns of the naval brigade, worked by Peel's sailors, with

* Sir Garnet Wolseley, then a Captain in the 90th Regiment, one of the party engaged in burying the dead, informed the author that the number of the dead in the Secunderbagh was, by a curious coincidence, the same as the date of the year, 1857.

great resolution at a range of a few yards, being unable to breach the walls.

Sir Colin Campbell himself led forward the 93rd Highlanders, to storm the place as soon as a breach should be effected, but the thick walls resisted the impact of the heavy shot, and even Peel began to despair of success. At length Brigadier Hope, "collecting some 50 men, stole silently and cautiously through the jungle and brushwood to the right, to a portion of the wall on which he had before the assault perceived some injury to have been inflicted;" and quickly one soldier, and then another, was pushed through the fissure. Soon the gallant band was in sufficient force to seize the gate, which they opened for their comrades, who were supported by the battalion of detachments, and quickly the enemy were all either killed or driven out of the Shah Nujeef. In this affair most of the mounted officers were wounded, including Major Barnston of the 90th, commanding a battalion of detachments, who died of his wounds, and many officers of the staff.

On the following day (the 17th November) the building, formerly used as a mess-house by the officers of the 32nd Regiment, then in Lucknow, was battered by Captain Peel's guns, and carried by storm. This building—described as "of considerable size, defended by a ditch, about 12 feet broad and scarped with masonry, and beyond a loopholed mud-wall,"—was stormed by Captain Wolseley with his company of the 90th, supported by a picket of the 53rd Regiment, the battalion of detachments, and the 4th Punjaub Infantry. Pressing on, Wolseley carried the Motee Mahal, a palace consisting of an inclosure with many buildings, and then a junction was made with the Residency; and, writes Sir Colin Campbell, "I had the inexpressible satisfaction, shortly afterwards, of greeting Sir James Outram and Sir Henry Havelock, who came out to meet me before the action was at an end." In effecting the relief of the garrison, the British loss was 10 officers and 112 men killed, and 33 officers and 312 men wounded.

The relieving army remained outside the Residency, in occupation of the positions they had taken, and Sir Colin, having decided to withdraw from the city and leave a portion of his army under Sir James Outram at Alumbagh, preparations were made for removing the non-combatants and sick and wounded, some 2,000 in number. This difficult task was completed with perfect success, and without any loss. The heavy guns were directed to open fire on the Kaiserbagh, as if for the purpose of breaching it, and, on the night of the 22nd November, the

sick and non-combatants having been sent to the Dilkoosha, where tents were prepared for them, the Residency was evacuated, the lights being left burning. By the following morning, the army was encamped in the Dilkoosha park and about the Martinière. Here Sir Colin Campbell issued the following general order on the operations now successfully concluded:—
“The Commander-in-Chief has reason to be thankful to the force he conducted for the relief of the garrison of Lucknow. Hastily assembled, fatigued by forced marches, but animated by a common feeling of determination to accomplish the duty before them, all ranks of this force have compensated for their small number, in the execution of a most difficult duty, by unceasing exertions. From the morning of the 16th, till last night, the whole force has been one outlying picket, never out of fire, and covering an immense extent of ground, to permit the garrison to retire scatheless and in safety, covered by the whole of the relieving force. That ground was won by fighting as hard as it ever fell to the lot of the Commander-in-Chief to witness, it being necessary to bring up the same men over and over again to fresh attacks; and it is with the greatest gratification that his excellency declares he never saw men behave better. The storming of the Secunderbagh and the Shah Nujeef has never been surpassed in daring, and the success of it was most brilliant and complete.”

Sir James Outram was now left with about 4,000 men to defend the Alumbagh position, and, on the 27th November, Sir Colin continued his march to Cawnpore with his immense convoy. On the following day he received the startling news that General Windham—“Redan Windham,” of the 8th September, 1855—whom he had left in command at Cawnpore, with strict injunctions to act on the defensive, had, on the 26th, moved out a distance of 8 miles to attack the rebels, and after gaining a success, on the following day found his position turned; indeed, had the enemy possessed a leader of military ability, it is certain that they might have captured his entrenched camp at Cawnpore and destroyed his force. That night the rebel army, consisting of the Gwalior contingent, with Koer Singh's and Nana Sahib's followers, seized the city and invested the British entrenchments, their left resting on the Ganges, their centre on the church, and their right on the city at the point where it abuts on the canal. On the morning of the 28th, they opened a heavy fire from the left and left centre, and, taking the offensive, captured the Assembly Rooms, in which were stored the mess plate and officers' stores of 4 British regiments, together

with an immense quantity of baggage, and seizing the Grand Trunk Road, moved down upon the entrenchments. At this time, 300 men of the 64th Regiment made a gallant attempt to capture the rebel guns, and drive back the enemy, but were overcome by numbers and lost heavily, Brigadier Wilson and many officers being killed. The British force was now besieged in their entrenchments, when the presence of Sir Colin Campbell, who opportunely appeared on the scene that evening, restored the confidence which had been lost by the faulty strategy of General Windham.

Early on the morning of the 29th November, the rebels opened with a heavy cross fire from each flank as well as from the centre, which was returned from the entrenchment. About 10 o'clock, the force from Lucknow commenced crossing the bridge of boats over the Ganges, and, for the next 36 hours, a long procession of soldiers, non-combatants, sick and wounded, women and children, defiled across the river. Fighting went on every day, chiefly artillery fire, but, by the 3rd December, "the convoy, which," says Sir Colin, "had given me so much anxiety, including the families and half the wounded, were finally despatched,"* and, on the evening of the 5th December, the Commander-in-Chief had completed his preparations for a general attack on the rebels.

The British army numbered between 7,000 and 8,000 men, and the rebels 25,000, including the highly disciplined Gwalior contingent, with 36 guns. The enemy's left occupied the old cantonment, from which General Windham had been chiefly assailed; his centre was in the city of Cawnpore, and lined the houses and bazaars overhanging the canal, which separated it from Brigadier Greathed's position; and his right stretched some distance beyond the angle formed by the Grand Trunk Road and the canal, two miles in rear of which was pitched the camp of the Gwalior contingent, thus covering the road to Calpee, which was the line of retreat of the contingent. Sir Colin, accordingly, formed his plans for attacking the enemy's right, the wall of the town preventing the possibility of his being reinforced from the left.

At nine o'clock on the morning of the 6th December, General

* * The women and children beleaguered in Lucknow arrived at Calcutta in the steamer *Madras*, on the 8th January, 1858. In anticipation of the event, the Governor-General issued a notification in a "Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary," directing that on the approach of the steamer, "A royal salute should be fired from the ramparts of Fort William," and further that, "all ships-of-war in the river shall be dressed in honour of the day, and officers shall be appointed to conduct the passengers on shore, and the state barge of the Governor-General will be in attendance."

Windham was directed to open a heavy bombardment from the entrenchment, of which he was placed in command, so as to induce the belief that the main attack was coming from that side; meanwhile, Brigadier Greathed, with 4 regiments, including the 64th, held the ground opposite the rebel centre, and the rest of the force, in 3 brigades, was drawn up in contiguous columns in rear of some old cavalry lines; Brigadier-General Grant being sent with the cavalry and horse artillery to make a *détour* on the left across the canal, and threaten the enemy's rear. About eleven o'clock the main body advanced, Brigadier Hope in the first line, with the brigade, under Inglis of Lucknow, in the rear, while Brigadier Walpole was detached to pass the bridge on Greathed's left, and drive the rebels from their position at some brick kilns.

Sir Colin's judicious arrangements were rewarded with complete success. The advance continued with rapidity along the whole line, and soon the canal bridge was crossed, the gallant Peel of the *Shannon* leading with his heavy guns, much to the admiration of Sir Colin, who said:—"On this occasion there was the sight beheld of 24-pounder guns advancing with the first line of skirmishers." Having crossed the canal, the troops steadily advanced, and carried all before them. The enemy were driven back at all points, and, by one o'clock, his camp, two miles in the rear, was reached, and soon his rout was complete. So fared the rebel right; his line was cut in two, and the centre, finding themselves "up in the air," abandoned the city of Cawnpore, when the British army, victorious at every point, pursued the enemy with cavalry, artillery, and infantry, for fourteen miles along the road to Calpee. Meanwhile, after securing the camp, Sir Colin, who joined in the pursuit with the ardour of his Peninsular days, had directed General Mansfield to attack a position called the Subahdar's Tank, in rear of the enemy's left, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles in a direct line from the entrenchment, through Sir Hugh Wheeler's cantonment; the operation was admirably performed, and conducted to the complete success of the day. Such was the battle of Cawnpore.

On the 24th December, Sir Colin quitted Cawnpore with 8,000 men of all arms, and proceeded towards Bhitoor, Nana Sahib's haunt, where some days were occupied in a successful search for treasure. Leaving the 88th Regiment to garrison the town, he proceeded towards Futteghur. Poora was reached on the 26th December, and Urnoul, forty miles from Cawnpore, on the following day. The country was found well cultivated,

though the villages were deserted. On the 29th the Commander-in-Chief reached Jellalabad, a small village two marches from Futtehghur, where a large number of the enemy, with several guns, had taken up a position from which they were driven with the loss of 18 guns. Pushing on, he repaired the suspension bridge over the Kala Nuddee, and was about to cross, on the 2nd January, when the enemy appeared in considerable force and opened fire. The British guns returned the rebel cannonade, and then the cavalry and infantry drove the enemy out of the village, and pursued them for a distance of eight miles. In this affair a spent ball hit Sir Colin on the stomach, but did not injure him. He entered Futtehghur on the following day, but found the enemy had decamped during the night, taking with them two guns and all their ammunition, having, previous to their departure, burnt their camp and looted the town.

Thus Sir Colin proceeded on the plan he had marked out—first to extinguish the flames of revolt in the districts surrounding Lucknow, and then, gathering together the brigades under Walpole, Seaton, and other officers, to sweep the rebellious hordes into that city as into a net, and crush out the great Bengal mutiny in its greatest stronghold. The rebels accepted this solution, and prepared for the final struggle. To the number of 70,000, they stationed themselves in Lucknow, and greatly strengthened the defensive works of that city.

Sir Colin returned to Cawnpore on the 1st February, for the purpose of accumulating stores and troops before advancing to join Sir James Outram, who had defended his position at Alumbagh since November. While at Cawnpore, he received a message from Lord Canning, requiring his presence at Allahabad, to confer with him on the position of affairs, not the least important of the matters pressing for consideration being the future of Oude on its approaching re-conquest. This was a political rather than a military question, but the Commander-in-Chief, as President of the Council in the absence of the Governor-General, was a high functionary who had a voice in the settlement of so vital a question of policy, which would indirectly affect the military operations. Lord Canning's action in this matter gave rise to the retirement of Lord Ellenborough, and the advent into Lord Derby's ministry of his son, Lord Stanley, the first Secretary of State for India. The severe measures proposed by Lord Canning were very generally condemned by the army, which foresaw the probability of a prolonged resistance by the landowners to the policy of confiscation.

eventually the Governor-General modified the terms of his proclamation in the sense suggested by the conciliatory and statesmanlike views of Sir James Outram.

At length, having received the siege train from Agra, the army broke up its camp on the 27th February, and crossed the Ganges, forming as fine a force as, perhaps, has ever been assembled under our banner in India. They numbered 18,277 men,* and among the divisional and brigade commanders, were such fine soldiers as Outram, Grant, Hope, Lugard, and Napier, in command of the engineers.

Sir Colin Campbell, accompanied by General Mansfield and staff, quitted Cawnpore on the 1st March, escorted by a few irregular cavalry, and, the same day, joined General Grant's camp† at Buntheera. Early on the following morning he advanced on Dilkhoosha with the 2nd, or Sir Edward Lugard's, Division of infantry, and the Cavalry Division, under General Grant, 3 troops of horse artillery, Captain Peel's naval brigade, with two 24-pounders and two 8-inch howitzers, and 2 companies of Punjaub sappers and miners. The Dilkhoosha was seized, after a skirmish in which Colonel Little, 9th Lancers, commanding a brigade of cavalry, was severely wounded. This palace is at the eastern angle of a large park, and is bounded on the south-west by a large square called the Mahomed Bagh, one of whose fronts extends to within 600 yards of the canal. Sir Colin Campbell, having reached the Dilkhoosha plateau,

* This was exclusive of General Frank's Division operating in Oude, and the Ghorkha Division, under Jung Bahadoor.

† The following is an official statement of the organisation of Sir Colin Campbell's forces:—Artillery Division (four brigades) Major-General Sir A. Wilson.—Six troops of horse artillery, ten companies of foot artillery; and the naval brigade, under Captain W. Peel, C.B. Two companies of Royal Engineers, Bengal Sappers and Miners, Punjaub Sappers and Miners, corps of Pioneers; Brigadier Napier, Chief Engineer. Cavalry Division (two brigades) Brigadier General Sir J. H. Grant.—9th Lancers, 2nd Dragoon Guards, 7th Hussars, 2nd Regiment Punjaub Cavalry, detachment 5th Light Cavalry, 2nd battalion Military Train, Hodson's Horse (Irregular), Wale's Horse (Irregular) and the Volunteer Cavalry. First Infantry Division (two brigades) Major-General Sir James Outram G.C.B.—5th Fusiliers, 84th Regiment, 78th Highlanders, 90th Light Infantry, 1st Madras Fusiliers, and Regiment of Ferozepore. Second Infantry Division (two brigades) Brigadier-General Sir Edward Lugard.—34th, 38th, and 53rd Regiments; 42nd and 93rd Highlanders; and 4th Regiment of Punjaub Rifles. Third Infantry Division (two brigades) Brigadier-General Walpole.—23rd R.W. Fusiliers, 79th Highlanders, 1st Bengal Fusiliers, two battalions Rifle Brigade, and 2nd Regiment Punjaub Infantry. The artillery comprised a siege train, and numbered about 40 field pieces, and nearly 60 heavy guns. After the above organisation of the force was noted in general orders, Brigadier-General Franks joined the Commander-in-Chief after a series of brilliant successes in Oude. The accession of this column augmented the European force to nearly 20,000 men of all arms, and about 7,000 natives. In addition, the Nepaulese auxiliary force of 9,000 Ghorkhas, and 24 guns under Jung Bahadoor, reached Lucknow on 12th March, bringing the British strength to a total of 36,000 men, with an overpowering artillery.

encamped there for the night, resting his left on the Mahomed Bagh, and throwing Captain Peel's sailors forward as a picket.

On the 3rd March, the 3rd, or Brigadier-General Walpole's, Division, with the remainder of the siege train, closed up on the Dilkhoosha position, the right resting on the Goomtee, the left being towards Alumbagh. The interval of 2 miles between the left and Jellalabad, the right of the Alumbagh position, was occupied by Hodson's Regiment of Irregular Horse, while Brigadier Campbell, of the Bays, secured the extreme left, and swept the country towards the north-west with a strong brigade of cavalry and horse artillery. On the 4th March, 3 regiments of infantry were withdrawn from Alumbagh, and joined the head-quarters' camp, and, on the following day, Brigadier-General Franks—"Tiger" Franks, who had done such good service at the siege of Mooltan—arrived from Sultanpore, having marched across Oude and defeated the rebels in many actions. On this day, also, the bridging of the Goomtee was completed, and, on the 6th March, Sir James Outram crossed the river, with 6,000 men and 30 guns, to undertake the trans-Goomtee operations, Brigadier-General Franks taking the place in the line vacated by Walpole's Division. The plan of operations decided upon by the Commander-in-Chief, was soon in course of development, and was not less ably conceived than admirably carried out.

Outram was directed to push his advance up the left bank of the Goomtee, and turn the first line* of the enemy's works on the rampart running along the canal and abutting on the river. While Sir James was ably performing his part of the combined operations, Sir Colin, who had reconnoitred the rebel defences, commenced the siege, on the morning of the 9th March, by opening fire on the Martinière from the heavy guns of the naval brigade, and mortars, placed in position on the Dilkhoosha plateau, other guns engaging the canal batteries from the west side, or right front of the Mahomed Bagh. At 2 p.m. on this day, the 42nd, 53rd, and 90th Regiments,

* Sir Colin Campbell describes these works as follows in his despatch:—"The series of courts and buildings called the Kaiserbagh, considered as a citadel by the rebels, was shut in by three lines of defence towards the Goomtee, of which the line of the canal was the outer one. The second line circled round the large building called the mess-house and the Motee Mahal, and the first, or interior one, was the principal rampart of the Kaiserbagh; the rear of the inclosures of the latter being closed in by the city, through which approach would have been dangerous to an assailant. These lines were flanked by numerous bastions, and rested at one end on the Goomtee, and the other on the great buildings of the street call the Huzrut Gunge, all of which were strongly fortified, and flanked the street in every direction. Extraordinary care had been expended on the defences of the houses and bastions, to enfilade the street."

belonging to Hope's brigade of Lugard's Division, stormed the Martinière, which the enemy abandoned without waiting for the assault, and, following up the success, the 4th Punjaub Rifles, ably led by Major (the late General Sir Alfred) Wilde, supported by the 42nd Highlanders, swept along the whole line of works abutting on the position, as far as Bank's House. On the 10th operations were resumed with the object of attacking this post. A heavy fire was opened from the wall of the Martinière park, on the bridge bastion in front and Banks' House, and, before noon, this important position, with the bungalows beyond, were captured without material loss. "By these successes," says Sir Colin Campbell, "the second part of the plan of attack against the Kaiserbagh now came into operation, viz. to use the great blocks of houses and palaces, extending from Banks' House to the Kaiserbagh, as our approach, instead of sapping up towards the front of the second line of works. By these means I was enabled to turn towards our own left, at the same time that they were enfiladed on the right by Sir James Outram's advance. The latter had already received orders to plant his guns with a view to raking the enemy's position, and to annoy the Kaiserbagh with a vertical and direct fire, also to attack the suburbs in the vicinity of the iron and stone bridges shortly after daybreak, and to cannonade the iron bridge from the left bank. All this was carried out by Sir James Outram with the most marked success. The enemy, however, still held pertinaciously to his own end of the iron bridge on the right bank, and there was heavy cannonading from both sides till the bridge was afterwards taken in reverse."

Within a few hours of the capture of Banks' House, batteries for 9 68-pounders and 15 mortars were erected and at work in the compound, from which a constant fire was kept up all night, so that by the morning of the 11th, a breach was effected in the Begum Kothie on the right, and in a Serai on the left of the Huzrut Gunge, as the main street, lined with buildings and palaces, was called. So rapid was the progress made that, at 4 p.m., the assaulting columns advanced to the attack of the Begum Kothie, which was stormed with great gallantry by Adrian Hope's brigade—the 93rd Highlanders, supported by 1,000 Ghoorkhas, and the 4th Punjaub Rifles, led by Major Wilde, who had commanded the regiment throughout the siege of Delhi, and was severely wounded a few days later. The British troops secured the whole block of buildings, inflicting a very heavy loss on the enemy; and Sir Colin said in his despatch, that "this was the sternest struggle which occurred during the siege."

The Commander-in-Chief was remarkable for the care he took of his men, who were never exposed unnecessarily to the enemy's fire. During the course of the siege this caution found frequent opportunities for display.

He now determined to advance by slow sap from the Begum Kothie towards the Imambarra, through intervening houses and inclosures, most of which, though loopholed, had been abandoned by the enemy. This method, though distasteful to the Hotspurs of the British force, was in keeping with Sir Colin Campbell's repugnance to the sacrifice of a single soldier, if it could be avoided. As the fighting had been done hitherto by the second (Sir E. Lugard's) Division, it was relieved on this day by the 4th (General Frank's) Division. During the 13th, the process of sapping was continued by the engineers, directed by Brigadier Robert Napier, the batteries for heavy guns and mortars to bear on the Imambarra and adjacent buildings being also pushed on with activity. In the meantime Jung Bahadoor had arrived, with 9,000 men and 24 field-guns drawn by men, and having, by the 12th, taken up a position in the line, on the following day moved close to the canal, thus covering the British left, and his Ghoorkhas rendered good service in the suburbs between Banks' House and the Charbagh.

On the 13th, the Commander-in-Chief opened fire from 30 guns and mortars on the Imambarra and Kaiserbagh, Outram maintaining a cross fire from the opposite side of the Goomtee. A heavy bombardment was kept up until the 14th, when both these important buildings were captured. On the morning of that day Sir James Outram went over to the Commander-in-Chief's quarters, and they held a long consultation on the steps to be taken to ensure the capture of the Kaiserbagh, which, as well as the adjacent buildings, forming the third and inner line of defence, were very strongly fortified. Both these experienced officers were of opinion that the rebels would make a determined resistance, and, judging by their obstinacy so far, anticipated that the capture of these works would occupy some days, and demand a considerable loss of life. But their calculations were falsified by the result.

On the morning of the 14th, the Imambarra was stormed in gallant style by H.M.'s 10th Regiment, and the Ferozepore Regiment of Sikhs, who, following up their attack through the houses and courts, entered the Kaiserbagh with the fleeing enemy, the Sikhs of Brasyer's Regiment having the honour of being the first to enter what was regarded as, in some sort, the citadel of Lucknow. Napier sent word of this welcome

success to the Commander-in-Chief, who, mounting in hot haste, rode with his staff to the Imambarra, where he was received with enthusiastic cheers by the soldiers. The scene in all these buildings, the Begum Kothie, Imambarra, and Kaiserbagh, was indescribable. The bonds of discipline were loosed, and both the soldiers and camp followers appeared to be seized with the demon of indiscriminate plunder and destruction, for the Kaiserbagh was on that day given up to plunder, and its priceless contents were pillaged or destroyed in the most reckless manner. "Thus," says the Commander-in-Chief, "the third line of defences having been turned without a single gun being fired from them, supports were quickly thrown in, and all the well-known ground of former defence and attack, the mess house, the Tara Kotee, the Motee Mahal, and the Chutter Munzil, were rapidly occupied by the troops, while the engineers devoted their attention to securing the position towards the south and west. The day was one of continued exertion, and every one felt that, although much remained to be done before the final expulsion of the rebels, the most difficult part of the undertaking had been overcome. This is not the place for description of the various buildings successively sapped into or stormed; suffice it to say that they formed a range of massive palaces and walled courts of vast extent, equalled, perhaps, but certainly not surpassed, in any capital in Europe. Every outlet had been covered by a work, and on every side were prepared barricades and loopholed parapets. The extraordinary industry evinced by the enemy in this respect has been really unexampled. Hence the absolute necessity for holding the troops in hand, till at each successive move forward, the engineers reported to me that all which could be effected by the artillery and the sappers had been done, before the troops were led to the assault. The 15th instant was employed in securing what had been taken, removing powder, destroying mines, and fixing mortars for the further bombardment of the positions still held by the enemy on the line of our advance up the Goomtee, and in the heart of the city."

All night of the 15th March, the people streamed out of Lucknow in great numbers by the stone bridge, but, on the following morning, that exit was closed. A heavy bombardment was maintained on the 16th, on the buildings near this bridge, and, later in the day, Outram, crossing the Goomtee, advanced with the 5th (or Douglas's) brigade, the 20th Regiment, and Ferozepore Regiment of Sikhs, through the Chutter Munzil and other places to the spot lately occupied by the Residency, now

represented only by a shattered turret and some tottering walls. Continuing his advance Outram took the iron bridge in reverse, and, pushing on more than a mile, occupied the Muchee Bhawun on the banks of the Goomtee, and the great Imambarra, one of the largest palaces in India, having a throne room of vast proportions. The final stroke was given to the conquest of Lucknow by Outram, on the 19th March, by the capture of the Moosabagh in the suburbs.

Thus the great stronghold of the rebel cause fell finally into English hands, and the Commander-in-Chief was rewarded for all his preparations and cautious strategy by the complete success of his plans. Indeed almost the only blot in these admirably conceived and boldly-executed operations, so far as Sir Colin Campbell is concerned, was his ill-judged prohibition to Sir James Outram, on the 11th March, when directing him to cross the iron bridge, that "he was not to do so if he thought he should lose a single man." "Outram," says Mr. Russell, "reconnoitred the enemy in the afternoon, and had everything ready for an attack, but he saw at least one gun laid on the bridge, and the enemy showed their fear of an advance on his part by a peculiarly heavy fire, which they opened from guns and musketry on the houses occupied by his men, so that if he had moved, he certainly would have lost some of his soldiers, and so have disobeyed orders." The special correspondent of the *Times* adds:—"The relations between Sir Colin and General Outram, though not unfriendly, are a little stiff on account of past events, and Outram is not the man to act in opposition to the commands of his superior officer. Had Sir Colin not bound Outram's hands so tightly the advance would have taken place, and a very great slaughter of the enemy must have followed."

A great portion of the press of India were very severe on Sir Colin for his caution, and dubbed him "Old Kubahdar" (take care) just as they nicknamed Lord Canning, with even less warrant, "Clemency Canning." If Sir Colin Campbell was careful of the lives of his men—a rare quality in military leaders—he was reckless as regarded his own personal safety, and, save the mistake already referred to, his dispositions at Lucknow were a masterpiece of cautious and able strategy; and he was, doubtless, right to advance through Lucknow as he did, by slow sap, rather than to storm fortified buildings, and show a large "butcher's bill" as a proof of his generalship and success. This unfavourable criticism of the India press was due, partly through ignorance of the bearings of his dispositions, and, in some degree, owing to the jealousy which subsisted between Queen's

and Company's officers, an unworthy feeling which had its exponents up to the amalgamation of the armies, but which we trust has long since given place to juster views. This feeling is discernible in the published memoirs and correspondence of officers of both armies, and nowhere more so than in the memoirs of Sir Charles Napier and Sir William Nott, who could see, respectively, no good thing in "Sepoy officers," or "Horse Guards Generals." Sir Colin Campbell was not without some of this narrowness of mind, though in his despatches he did impartial justice to the officers of both armies, and warmly recognised the brilliant qualities of such men as Daly, Probyn, Hodson, and Wilde. For the Bengal Artillery, like Sir Hope Grant, he had a special admiration, and it was not to be wondered at, with such excellent "gunners" as Brind, Johnson, Olpherts, Eyre, Tombs, and Turner, who, he declared, "had few equals as an artillery officer;" and when it came to placing General Dupuis, of the Royal Artillery, over the heads of such men, he first left that officer at Cawnpore with General Windham, and then sent him down to Calcutta. Some jealousy was created by Sir Colin showing marked favour to the Highland regiments, and though their high state of discipline and efficiency fully warranted his encomiums, the favouritism exhibited in giving them the post of danger and honour, was unwise, and showed a "clannish" feeling which should have had no place in the dispositions of a Commander-in-Chief.

The grand army for the capture of Lucknow was now broken up, and resolved itself into detached commands for the reconquest of Oude, Sir Hope Grant remaining at the capital with a strong force, with which he was to keep the peace of the city, and operate in the neighbouring country. On the 9th April, Sir Colin Campbell left Lucknow on a hurried visit to confer with the Governor-General at Allahabad, and, on the 13th, proceeded to Cawnpore, where he heard of the disastrous repulse of General Walpole* at the strong mud fort at Rooyea, in Bundelcund, in which a very fine soldier, Brigadier Hon. Adrian Hope, was

* The following was the composition of Major-General Walpole's Division when all the troops were assembled. Artillery—(Brigadier D. Wood):—2nd troop 1st Brigade B.H.A. (Tombs), Head-quarters 3rd Brigade B.H.A. (Brind), 2nd troop 3rd Brigade B.H.A. (Mackinnon), 3rd troop 3rd Brigade B.H.A. (Rennington), 6th company 13th battalion R.A. (Middleton), 5th company 13th battalion R.A. (Talbot), 4th company 1st Brigade B.A. (Francis), 1st company 5th Brigade B.A. 23rd company, Royal Engineers. Bengal Sappers and Miners. Cavalry (Brigadier Hagart)—H.M.'s. 7th Hussars, H.M.'s. 9th Lancers, 2nd Punjaub Cavalry, detachments of the 1st and 5th Regiments of Punjaub Cavalry. Infantry—1st Brigade (Brigadier Adrian Hope) H.M.'s. 42nd, 79th, and 93rd Highlanders, 4th Punjaub Rifles. 2nd Brigade—(Brigadier A. Horsford) 2nd and 3rd battalions Rifle Brigade, 1st Bengal Fusiliers, 2nd and 24th Punjaub Infantry.

killed, the casualties being over 100. On the 19th, the day after receiving this intelligence, the Commander-in-Chief moved from Cawnpore to Futtehghur, with the object of conducting in person the operations in Rohilcund, at the capital of which, Bareilly, a powerful chief, Khan Bahadoor Khan by name, had taken post with a large and well-organised rebel army.

Sir Colin elaborated a scheme to reduce the city and province, by which 3 columns, under Walpole, Penny and Jones (of the 60th Rifles) were to operate from different points. General Penny was to cross the Ganges, and, after clearing the Budaon district of rebels, was to join him, when he would cross at Futtehghur, and take command of Walpole's Division, while Brigadiers Jones and Coke were to act in co-operation from the north-west. There was little time for these combined operations, as the Ganges and Ramgunga were already rising, and, early in June, when the rains set in, Bundelcund is one vast series of swamps and "jheels" (shallow lakes) rendering field operations impracticable.

On the 25th the Commander-in-Chief entered Futtehghur, whence, two days later, he crossed the Ganges into Rohilcund, and joined General Walpole's force, which included those magnificent Highland regiments, the 42nd, 79th, and 93rd. On the following day, the march was resumed for Shahjehanpore, which was reached on the 30th, when news was received of the death of Brigadier Penny, who was surprised at night on the line of march, and carried by his horse into the midst of the rebels. Sir Colin Campbell halted, on the 1st May, at Shahjehanpore, which had been the scene of great barbarity on the outbreak of the Mutiny, and marched for Bareilly, at 2 a.m., on the following day, leaving in garrison a wing of the 82nd Regiment, under Colonel Hale, as the city contained a large fanatical Mohammedan population. On the 5th May, the Commander-in-Chief marched in battle array on Bareilly, which was said to be held by the rebels in great strength, 30,000 infantry, 6,000 horse, and 40 guns. Some fighting took place outside the city, within which the enemy were driven.

A party of Ghazees, or religious fanatics, charged down upon the staff, when General Walpole and Colonel Cameron were wounded, and Sir Colin Campbell had a narrow escape. He had only time to say to his gallant Highlanders, "Stand fast, 42nd, bayonet them as they come on"—when the Ghazees were upon them, "with their heads down below their shields, and their tulwars flashing as they whirled them over their heads, shouting, 'Deen! Deen!'" Sir Colin was riding from one company

to another, when his eye caught sight of a Ghazee, who was feigning death, with his tulwar drawn in his hand. Guessing the ruse, the Commander-in-Chief called out to a Highlander to bayonet the fanatic, but the bayonet would not penetrate the thick cotton quilting of the Ghazee's tunic, and he was rising to his legs to attack the "Lord Sahib," when a Sikh cut off the fellow's head with a single blow of his sabre.

Brigadier Jones, who arrived from Moradabad, acted in co-operation from the opposite side, and the rebels being driven out of Bareilly, the army occupied the old cantonment. The heat during these operations was terrible, and probably as many men died from sunstroke as by the sword of the enemy. But there was no rest for the troops, and, hearing that Colonel Hale, whom he had left at Shahjehanpore, was hard beset by the rebels, who had attacked the jail, in which he had taken post, with infantry, cavalry, and guns, the Commander-in-Chief, on the 8th May, sent Brigadier Jones with a strong force to relieve him, which was done three days later.

Soon after midnight on the 15th May, Sir Colin Campbell marched *en route* to Futtehghur, with the 64th Regiment, a wing of the Belooch battalion, two troops of the 9th Lancers, the Lahore Light Horse, Major Tomb's troop of Horse Artillery, and a troop of the 1st Punjaub Irregular Cavalry. The remainder of the force followed, with the exception of Coke's column, the 42nd and 93rd Highlanders, two regiments of Punjaub infantry, with cavalry and guns, which remained behind with General Walpole, who was to command in Rohilcund. At 8 a.m. camp was pitched at Furreidpore, the heat rendering it impossible to march after that hour, and thence the column marched to Futtehgunj. Here an unfavourable message was received from Brigadier Jones, who reported that the Moulvie, one of the most active of the rebel leaders, was still hovering about Shahjehanpore with a large force. The remaining wing of the 9th Lancers was, accordingly, ordered up from Bareilly. Tilhour was reached on the 17th, and, on the following day, the column proceeded in order of battle for Shahjehanpore, through which they marched, encamping on the other side, close to the Gurra river. About 3 in the afternoon, the sound of firing was heard, and the entire force turned out to repulse an attack by the Moulvie, who, however, only indulged in a game of long bowls. As the Commander-in-Chief rode across the plain with his staff, a shot struck the earth close to him, covering him with dust.

On the arrival of Coke's brigade Sir Colin Campbell, leaving

the command of the troops to Brigadier Jones,—who was soon after relieved by Brigadier Seaton, the officer commanding at Futtehghur,—set off on the night of the 23rd May, with the head-quarter staff and an escort of native troops, and made forced marches to cross the Ganges. The first march, of nearly 12 hours, brought them to the fort of Jellalabad; leaving at 6.30 in the evening, they encountered a large convoy of provisions, under charge of a wing of the 80th Regiment, when the Commander-in-Chief exchanged his native escort for these Europeans. Futtehghur was reached on the 25th, the officers and men all thoroughly exhausted by the heat of this forced march.

Active operations against the rebels in Oude were not resumed for some months. During the interval Sir Colin Campbell joined the Governor-General at Allahabad, and, in September, invested Generals Hope Grant and Mansfield with the insignia of the Bath. At this time Sir Colin was gratified by an announcement of a personal nature. Her Majesty, with the advice of her Ministers and the approval of the nation, offered the successful General a peerage; but a difficulty arose as to the title, for the gallant old soldier did not possess an acre of land; this, however, was surmounted by his selecting the river Clyde, on the banks of which, at Glasgow, he had been reared. So Sir Colin Campbell became Baron Clyde, of Clydesdale, with an annual pension of £2,000, and the patent of nobility was dated 15th August, 1858. Lord Clyde entertained a curious disinclination to assume the title he had earned, after half a century of such service as few officers can show. His Chief of the Staff writes to Sir Hope Grant on the 17th June, 1858—“Sir Colin is to be a peer as soon as his answer, carrying the title he has chosen, reaches England. At first he was very much disposed to run restive at being put into such strange harness; but he is now reconciled, and, I think, very much pleased.” Lord Clyde continued for some time to sign himself by his familiar name, and, writing privately to a friend so late as the 12th March, 1859, we find the letter signed, “C. Campbell.”

Lord Clyde occupied himself during the month of October arranging for the campaign to reduce Oude, and, on the 26th October, issued a proclamation to the people of that province, in which he announced the infliction of pains and penalties in the event of a “single shot being fired at the troops,”—a course which he and Sir Charles Napier had deprecated with so much warmth and ill-judgment in the case of the frontier

Pathan tribes. He said :—"The Commander-in-Chief proclaims to the people of Oude that, under the order of the Right Honourable the Governor-General, he comes to enforce the law. In order to effect this without danger to life and property, resistance must cease on the part of the people. The most exact discipline will be preserved in the camp and on the march, and, when there is no resistance, houses and crops will be spared, and no plundering allowed in the towns and villages. But whenever there is resistance, or even a single shot fired against the troops, the inhabitants must expect to incur the fate they have brought on themselves; their houses will be plundered, and their villages burnt. This proclamation includes all ranks of the people, from the talookdar to the poorest ryot. The Commander-in-Chief invites all the well-disposed to remain in their towns and villages, where they will be sure of his protection against all violence."

Lord Clyde was present at Allahabad, with Lord Canning, at the promulgation, on the 1st November, 1858, of the Royal proclamation by which the Queen assumed the direct Government of the Indian Empire, and, soon after midnight on the following day, accompanied by Sir William Mansfield and staff, quitted the seat of the Viceregal Government, and rode to Beylah in Oude, 39 miles distant, where he joined the headquarters camp. The first object of the campaign in Oude was to bring about the surrender or capture of the Rajah of Amethie, whose stronghold was one of the largest and strongest in Oude, and consisted of a fort within a vast entrenched camp, where he had collected a large force and many guns. On the 7th November, the siege-train left Beylah for Amethie, followed, on the next day, by the army.

The first march was about 11 miles, and, on the 9th, a further 14 miles, when they arrived within 3 miles of the great stronghold, the movements of the columns under Sir Hope Grant and Brigadier Wetherall, moving in co-operation from the right and left over a great distance, being so admirably arranged that they arrived together before the objective point. But the Rajah, who had made proffers of submission, concealed or removed the greater portion of his guns, and dismissed his troops, who passed out, evading the pickets, so that when the place was surrendered, on the 11th, by the Rajah in person, the Commander-in-Chief found himself in possession of an empty prize. The fort was dismantled, and, on the 13th, Lord Clyde, having detached Grant's and Wetherall's columns in pursuit, marched to Oodeypore, 19 miles distant, and thence, on the following day, to

within a distance of 3 miles of Shunkerpore, a strong fort belonging to Bene Madho, the rebel leader in the Byswarrah district. But, notwithstanding that Sir Hope Grant invested the place on the north-west side, and Lord Clyde on the south-east, the arch-rebel managed during the night to elude his besiegers, and escape with all his guns, treasure, and baggage, and an empty fort again rewarded the trouble incurred by the British columns.

After arranging for the occupation of the fort of Shunkerpore, and despatching Sir Hope Grant to Fyzabad, on the Gogra, in pursuit of one body of the enemy, Lord Clyde followed Bene Madho in the direction of Roy Bareilly, which was reached on the evening of the 19th November. On the 21st November, the march was resumed for Bochrion, 22 miles, and, on the following day, a further 9 miles was covered to Keenpore, on the river Sye, which was crossed by the troops fording the stream. Intelligence was now received that Bene Madho, with 8,000 rebel sepoys, was at Dhondiakhara, 8 miles from which a junction was effected with the column commanded by Brigadier Eveleigh. But the rebel chief again had no stomach for the fight, and fled, taking with him all his treasure and guns, and, although there was a smart skirmish with his retreating columns, in which a considerable number of the enemy were slain, the only gain was an empty fortress. In this affair Lord Clyde, with all his "bodily ardour for fighting," led the infantry, riding just in rear of the skirmishers, and, on entering the deserted fort, detached all the cavalry and artillery in pursuit.

The first part of the campaign being now over, Lord Clyde despatched a column to sweep the country towards Roy Bareilly, and, as he could hear nothing further about Bene Madho, marched, on November 26th, with head-quarters, for Lucknow, which was reached on the third day, the marches averaging 24 miles daily for some days past. But his lordship's stay here was brief, for Bene Madho was still in the field, and the whole of the Baraitch division was overrun with rebels. On the 4th December, he was again in the saddle, and made the first day's march, of 20 miles, to Nawabgunge Barabankee, where there was a large camp. Learning that the enemy, under Bene Madho, was encamped about 22 miles distant, at a place called Beyram Ghaut, close to the river Gogra, Lord Clyde quitted Nawabgunge on the 6th December, intending to make a forced march of 22 miles, and surprise the rebels and drive them into the river. His lordship had proceeded 9 miles, and was taking breakfast under some trees, when the spies

brought intelligence that the rebels were still at the Ghaut. He immediately resolved to try and cut them off, and, leaving orders for Brigadier Horsford to follow with the infantry, set off, accompanied by Sir William Mansfield and staff, with all his cavalry, including the 7th Hussars and 1st Punjaub cavalry, and 4 horse-artillery guns.

In this chase the veteran general of the Peninsula and the Crimea displayed all the eagerness for the fight of a young subaltern desirous of winning his spurs. One who was present writes:—"The day was hot and close, the pace was killing, but spur and whip kept the horses to their work. On, in advance of all, rode the chief himself. The few villagers we could catch declared the 'budmashes'* were still at the Ghaut, 6,000 strong, with 7 guns, and the news at each village quickened our pace. In three-quarters of an hour we had come 10 miles. The cavalry and artillery showed signs of distress, but the budmashes were there. The river was but three miles in front, and on at full gallop again the gallant hussars and their comrades and the guns held their way." Arrived at the banks of the Gogra, which has here a breadth of one mile, Lord Clyde learnt with vexation that the rebels had crossed on the previous night, and all the boats were drawn up on the opposite bank, so that pursuit was impossible. Nothing remained now but to ride back to camp, which the disappointed general and his soldiers did, *re infecta*.

Lord Clyde halted on the 7th December, and marched on the following day, with Brigadier Horsford's Brigade, leaving Colonel Purnell's column at Beyram Ghaut, to cover the operation of bridging the Gogra, undertaken by the engineers. The first day's march was to Derriabad, twenty-two miles, the second to Kusbee Begumgunj, about twenty miles from Fyzabad, the ancient capital of Oude, where Rajah Maun Sing presented himself before the Commander-in-Chief. On the 10th, camp was pitched close to Fyzabad, and, on the 12th, Lord Clyde crossed the Gogra into Baraitch, and halted at a village 20 miles from Fyzabad. The town of Baraitch was reached on the 18th December, and, after a halt there of five days, in order to give time to Major (the late General) Barrow, political officer with the column, to negotiate with some leading rebels, the Commander-in-Chief made a march of 17 miles to within sight of the Snowy Range, on the frontiers dividing India from Nepaul. Here the festivities of Christmas Day were held, officers and

* "Budmashes" are bad characters, and was a term of opprobrium applied to the rebels other than the mutineers of the regular sepoy army.

men making themselves as comfortable as Englishmen do on these occasions, even though it be under canvas and without a superfluity of luxuries.

On the 26th December the column was on its way past Nanparah in pursuit of Bene Madho, who gave almost as much trouble in Oude as Tantia Topee in Central India. This time they had every expectation of catching him, as the spies brought intelligence that he had taken post at Burjidiyah, and, on learning that the British column was weak, determined to fight. Accordingly, on Lord Clyde approaching his position, which was covered by a dense forest, the rebel leader opened fire at 1,800 yards, from 4 guns, on the British force, which advanced with the cavalry and guns in front, and Brigadier Horsford's infantry close in rear, when, perceiving that their position was being turned, the rebels broke, as they invariably did on being out-flanked. In the pursuit Lord Clyde met with an accident. As he was galloping at full speed, his charger put his foot into a hole, and threw his rider with full force. His lordship's face was much cut, and his shoulder was dislocated; but, with characteristic *sang-froid*, the veteran walked to the front as if nothing had happened. Mr. Russell relates an incident which occurred this evening after the Commander-in-Chief received his fall, which displays the soldierly feeling of the old campaigner in a pleasing light. On returning to camp after his accident it was quite dark, but the tents not having arrived and the night being cold, the men made blazing fires from the straw and anything they could lay their hands on, including the miserable articles of furniture dragged out of the huts of the neighbouring hamlet. "At one of those fires," says Russell, "surrounded by Beloochees, Lord Clyde sat, with his arm in a sling, on a charpoy, which had been brought out to feed the flame. Once, as he rose up to give some orders for the disposition of the troops, a tired Beloochee flung himself full-length on the crazy bedstead, and was jerked off in a moment by one of his comrades. 'Don't you see, you fool, that you are on the Lord Sahib's charpoy?' Lord Clyde interposed. 'Let him lie there; don't interfere with his rest,' and took his seat on a billet of wood."

Sir William Mansfield temporarily took command of the troops, which marched, on the 27th, to Mejiddiah, an earthwork fortress of great strength and extent, situated in the midst of a forest. Having decided on a suitable place for the batteries, a fire was opened from the mortars and siege guns, while the infantry, skirmishing up to the ditch,—which was twenty-five feet deep and twenty-eight broad—cleared the embrasures of the

enemy's artillerymen. During the afternoon Bene Madho, who was said to be accompanied by the Nana Sahib, evacuated the place, which was occupied, and the works demolished by the engineers. Throughout the day the Commander-in-Chief, who was carried in a dooly with a led horse by his side, gave general orders to the chief of the staff, and the pain from which he was suffering and the shock to the system did not prevent him from remaining in front under fire all day.

The British column returned to Nanparah on the 29th, and Lord Clyde, on receiving information that Bene Madho and the Nana had collected a force near Bankee, about 20 miles distant, resolved to attempt a night surprise. Accordingly, at half past eight on the evening of the 30th, his lordship quitted camp, taking with him the 7th Hussars, head-quarters of the 6th Dragoon Guards, 1st Punjaub Cavalry, a troop of Horse Artillery, a battalion of the Rifle Brigade, a detachment of the 20th Regiment, and a wing of the Belooch Battalion, with 150 elephants to carry the infantry by relays. Lord Clyde, with his shoulder bandaged, accompanied the column in a dooly. A forced march brought them, at 8 a.m., in front of the enemy, who had taken up a strong position with a swamp in front, villages on either side, and a dense forest in rear. Lord Clyde now mounted an elephant, and made a reconnaissance of their position, which he followed up by an immediate attack. The enemy opened fire on the advancing column with 3 guns, which were quickly captured, and the cavalry, emerging in rear of the jungle, fell upon the sowars and infantry now crowding at the ford of the swift-flowing Raptée. The slaughter was great, and many of the enemy, as well as our cavalry, including Major Horne, 7th Hussars, were drowned, the horses being exhausted after their great exertions. In this dashing affair, the 7th Hussars and the 1st Punjaub Cavalry earned golden opinions for their valour. The cavalry now rejoined the main column, and, at 3 p.m. on the 31st December, camp was pitched at Bankee, where they remained till the 4th January, 1859, enjoying a little well-earned repose.

The blow thus delivered by Lord Clyde, for which his lordship deserves all the credit, as it was undertaken against the advice of the staff, struck great terror into the rebels, and his lordship, writing to Lord Canning on the 7th January, expressed an opinion that "the campaign is at an end; there is no longer even the vestige of rebellion in the province of Oude, and the last remnant of the mutineers and insurgents has been hopelessly driven across the mountains which form the barrier

between the kingdom of Nepaul and Her Majesty's Empire of Hindostan." During the operations Lord Clyde captured 18 guns, and, speaking of the successes achieved, says in a despatch :—" Thus has the contest in Oude been brought to an end, and the resistance of 150,000 armed men been subdued with very moderate loss to Her Majesty's troops, and the most merciful forbearance towards the misguided enemy."

But the Commander-in-Chief was premature in his anticipations that the rebels were too utterly beaten and dispirited to fight any more, for though the Nawab of Ferruckabad, Mehndie Hussein, and other chiefs, came into camp on the Raptee, and surrendered with their followers, some of the most able and important leaders were too deeply compromised to accept the conditions of the proclamation of pardon, which exempted those who had imbued their hands in the massacre of Europeans, and, having a large following with many guns, they still held out in the Terai, on the borders of Nepaul, and the difficult mountain country of that kingdom. British columns, under Sir Hope Grant, Horsford, Kelly, and other officers, were actively engaged against them until May of that year.*

On the 18th January the Commander-in-Chief returned to Lucknow in bad health, the exposure and fatigue he had undergone having brought on a return of the fever he had contracted in the West Indies. He was compelled, during the hot season of 1859, to proceed to Simla to recruit, and, in October, joined Lord Canning at Lucknow, when the scene of so much glory and suffering was enlivened by reviews, and banquets, and Durbars

* This harassing duty caused much loss among our troops, owing to the unhealthiness of the climate, and Lord Clyde accused our ally, Jung Bahadoor, of acting with duplicity in sheltering the beaten rebel bands. During the operations for the reduction of Lucknow his lordship had only tolerated Jung Bahadoor, of the utility of whose army he had but a poor opinion, though, knowing that Lord Canning, from political motives, desired the co-operation of the Nepaul troops, he was conciliatory towards him. But he was furious at what he considered an act of treachery on the part of the Nepaulese prince, and wrote his mind freely to Sir Hope Grant, on the 12th March, 1859. He says :—" You may recollect that when Jung Bahadoor requested that our troops should not cross the border into the Nepaulese territory in pursuit of the Begum and the troops which had accompanied her, he voluntarily engaged to cause her and her troops and followers to leave the Nepaul territory within a given time, and he pointed out a ghat on the Gunduck at which he wished a detachment of our troops to be in readiness to receive the troops and followers of the Begum as they passed over that river. The Resident's letter will make known to you how completely he has departed from the promise he made with respect to the troops of the Begum being disarmed and handed over to our troops, preparatory to a return to their homes. He has allowed them to prolong their stay in Nepaul until the commencement of the hot season, and then permits their departure with their arms, and to take refuge in the Terai, in the hope, evidently, that Government may be driven into granting a pardon to the rebels rather than keep our troops in the field on his frontier during the hot season. It makes me very savage that by the trickery and deceit of this fellow, Jung Bahadoor, the troops may be kept out longer than we contemplated."

of native chiefs. The veteran expressed a wish to resign his command, but was induced by the Governor-General to retain it for another year, and, in February 1860, proceeded from Meerut, where he had established his head-quarters, and joined his lordship at Peshawur, where he was present at a grand Durbar of hill chiefs.

But the time of his departure from the scene of his glories was now approaching, and on 4th June, 1860, Lord Clyde resigned the command of the Indian army to Sir Hugh Rose. Before doing so, he issued a General Order in the following terms:—"The labours necessary to complete the pacification of this Empire are now over. His Excellency the Viceroy has consented to permit that I may resign the command of Her Majesty's forces in India, and retire to England in search of a repose which my age and long service demand. Lieutenant-General Sir Hugh Rose, G.C.B., who conducted most gloriously an important part of the late campaign, will assume the command in my place on the 4th of June. On leaving the country I take the opportunity of thanking the officers and soldiers of the two services for their valour and endurance so severely tried, especially in the early part of the insurrection. History does not furnish a more remarkable exhibition of heroical resistance to adverse circumstances than was shown by the British troops during these mutinies. The memory of their constancy and daring will never die out in India; and the natives must feel that while Britain contains such sons, the rule of the British Sovereign must last undisputed. Soldiers! both English and Native, I bid you farewell; and I record, as my last word, that the bravery and endurance of which I have spoken with admiration could not alone have ensured success—that success was owing in a great measure to your discipline, the foundation of all military virtue, which I trust will never be relaxed."

On his arrival in England, Lord Clyde was hailed by all classes of his grateful countrymen as the preserver of India, and honours were showered upon him. The United Service and other Clubs *fêted* him, and three of the city companies, the Skinners', Fishmongers', and Merchant Taylors', conferred on him the freedom of their Guilds. In 1861, on the creation of the Order of the "Star of India," he was nominated one of the first Knights Grand Cross. In January, 1858, he had been appointed Colonel of the 93rd Highlanders, and in June, 1860, was transferred to the Colonelcy of the Coldstream Guards. He was also made Honorary Colonel of the 15th Middlesex Rifle Corps (the London Scottish), and evinced his interest in the Volunteer movement

by reviewing 17,000 men at Brighton, on the 21st April, 1862, as the representative of the Horse Guards. This, indeed, was the last occasion on which the gallant old soldier performed a military duty.

Lord Clyde appeared seldom in his place in the House of Lords, but his introduction, on 6th August, 1860, was of interest from the circumstance of his introducer being the Duke of Argyll, the head of the Campbell clan, while the Lord Chancellor was Lord Campbell, and the Chaplain of the House, the Bishop of Bangor, was also a Campbell. He seldom spoke in Parliament, but, on the 10th August, made some weighty observations during the discussion of the European Forces (India) Bill, in which he advocated only one European Army, and spoke strongly against a local European force.

Lord Clyde left England for Vichy towards the end of August, to take the waters, and here he met his old friend of Balaclava days, General Vinoy, with whom he had kept up a correspondence, the French General, in one letter during the Mutiny, deprecating the infliction of indiscriminate punishment, adding that, in war, "*les représailles sont toujours inutiles.*" The two veteran soldiers, doubtless, fought their battles over again, for Lord Clyde, though one of the most modest and least pretentious of men, was always pleased to revive recollections of service, and equally, without doubt, would have echoed the wish of the English warrior king, that :—

"The contending kingdoms
Of France and England, whose very shores look pale
With envy of each other's happiness,
May cease their hatred."

General Vinoy, less happy than his English comrade, lived to fall on evil days. Besides witnessing the humiliation of France and the defeat of her armies, he has recently, at the age of 80, been dismissed from his post of Chancellor of the Legion of Honour, which he refused to resign at the call of the Republican Government.

In December, 1860, on his return from the Continent, Lord Clyde was entertained by the Corporation of the City of London, and, in company with Sir James Outram, received at the Guildhall the freedom of the city, with a sword of the value of one hundred guineas.* But the highest of military honours was

* Lord Clyde said on this occasion :—"I feel more deeply than I can express the greatness of the double honour you have conferred upon me. As a freeman of this great and illustrious city, I am proud to be enrolled on the glorious list of those who

reserved for the veteran, and, on the occasion of the Prince of Wales attaining his majority, on the 9th November, 1862, Lord Clyde received the baton of a Field Marshal, amid the congratulations of the army, and with the hearty approval of the nation. But, as is not unusual in the British army, where the Field Marshal's patent is too often the harbinger of the summons of a mightier foe than any of this earth, Lord Clyde did not live a twelvemonth to enjoy his well-earned honour, though he outlived his comrade and rival only in glory, Sir James Outram. On the 25th March, 1863, he attended Outram's public funeral in Westminster Abbey, and we remember being struck by his sad, contemplative look, as he stood over the open grave of his old friend, as though he were seeking to fathom the mystery of death hidden within that coffin, a mystery which all upon earth shall once know, and the knowledge of which places the foolish and ignorant just departed upon a higher pedestal of wisdom than the sage and philosopher familiar with every system of metaphysics, from Socrates and Plato to Bacon and Mill. Lord Clyde, who was deeply affected by the death of Sir James Outram, and could not shake off the mental depression caused by that sad event, did not look, on that day, like a man who was near his end, and yet, but a few brief months passed, and he was laid beside his associate in the glories of Lucknow. As Byron said of Pitt and Fox, who sleep so well in the same historic edifice :—

"But where are they—the rivals? A few feet
Of sullen earth divide each winding sheet.
How peaceful and how powerful is the grave
Which hushes all! A calm, unstormy wave
Which oversweeps the world."

have done good service to their country. I accept with gratitude the magnificent present which has now been placed in my hands. At the age of fifteen I was present with my regiment at the battle of Vimiera. You will not expect a plain soldier, whose life since then has been spent in the active exercise of his profession, to reply in adequate terms to the eloquent and too flattering address of your Chamberlain. I have received at the hands of my gracious Sovereign honours far beyond my deserts. I receive the costly and beautiful sword now presented to me in the name of the City of London as a token of the favour and approbation of the greatest and wealthiest city in the civilised world, and to the last day of my life I shall prize your gift beyond any I possess. My words are but poor and feeble to express my gratitude; but while endeavouring to convey my thanks to you, allow me to call attention to the noble courage and devotion which animated all ranks in her Majesty's service, from the present Commander-in-Chief in India, and my gallant friend beside me, to the private soldier in the ranks. Nothing short of the untiring and determined exertions of all, from the highest to the lowest, could have ensured the success which you have this day been pleased to recognise and reward. An old and humble soldier of my country, I again thank you, my Lord Mayor and gentlemen, members of the Corporation of London, for this great and signal honour you have conferred upon me."

In July, Lord Clyde was seized with illness, and, though he rallied, atrophy supervened, and he expired,* on the 14th August, at Government House, Chatham, the residence of his friend, General Henry Eyre,† to whom he left a great portion of his property. In person Lord Clyde was, even to the last, "well-knit, symmetrical, and graceful; but his shoulders became latterly bowed with age, though he lost little of the activity which was remarkable in so old a man. To the last his teeth remained firm and full in the great square jaw, and his eye pierced the distance with all the force of his youthful vision. His crisp, grey locks still stood close and thick, curling over the head and above the wrinkled brow, and there were few external signs of the decay of nature which was no doubt going on within, accelerated by so many wounds, such fevers, such relentless, exacting service. When he willed it, he could throw into his manner and conversation such a wondrous charm of simplicity and vivacity as fascinated those over whom it was exerted, and women admired, and men were delighted with, the courteous, polished, gallant old soldier. In the other mood he could be quite as effective." Lord Clyde rose by the mere force of sterling ability, complete knowledge of his profession, to which he was devoted, and an abnegation of self when duty called him to draw his sword for his country.

A monument to his memory has been erected by public subscription in Waterloo Place, and though, as a whole, not much

* The Duke of Cambridge published to the army the following General Order:—
"His Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief has received Her Majesty's commands to express to the Army her grief at the lamented death of Field-Marshal Lord Clyde. The great military services performed by Lord Clyde in different parts of the world, the success with which in the most trying circumstances he restored peace to Her Majesty's Indian Empire, and the personal regard which Her Majesty and her beloved Consort entertained for his high and honourable character, make Her Majesty deplore the loss which the Queen in common with her Majesty's subjects has sustained."

† Lord Clyde's will was proved in the Court of Probate on the 7th September. The executors were, "Major-General Henry Eyre, 98th regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Alison, C.B., formerly military secretary while Commander-in-Chief in India, Colonel William Montague Scott McMurdo, C.B., aide-de-camp to the Queen, and Lieutenant-General Duncan Alexander Cameron, 42nd Highlanders." There were many legacies to officers and personal friends. To Sir William Mansfield he left the sword and patent of freedom presented to him by the City of London, and expressed a wish that Sir William—whom he would have appointed an executor had not his official duties prevented him from acting—should be consulted as to what papers, if any, should be made public, and directed that, should any memoir of himself appear, it should be limited to a plain recital of his services. His lordship's personal property was sworn under 70,000*l*. To his sister, Miss Alicia Campbell, he bequeathed an annuity of 1,000*l*., and divided his real estate and the residue of his personal property between her and General Eyre, leaving also to the General and his family many specific bequests.

better in quality than the generality of the pieces of sculpture which adorn our public places, the statue itself is admirable as a work of art, and characteristic as a likeness. The gallant veteran is represented in an attitude he commonly assumed, and arrayed in the well-known costume he wore in the Indian Mutiny, of which the Indian sun "topee," with its pugree, in one hand, the old-fashioned cutlass girt by his side, and the field-glass slung over his shoulder, were prominent adjuncts. There exists, however, a more enduring monument than this in stone to the memory of the great soldier, and it is to be found in the military annals of his country; for in almost every page of it during the present century the name and deeds of Colin Campbell are to be found inscribed.

Lord Clyde, shortly before he expired, expressed a wish that he should be interred in Kensal Green Cemetery with all becoming plainness; but the Government, at the instance of the Queen, decided to overrule the modest desire of the old soldier, and so it happened that, on the 22nd August, a funeral *cortège*, similar in *personnel* with that of the 25th March, again wended its melancholy way through the metropolis—similar, save that the war-worn veteran of a hundred fights assumed the place in the pageant occupied by the "Bayard of India." Once more, within five months, the "long-drawn aisles and fretted vaults" of the Abbey echoed to the sweet-voiced choir chanting Croft's and Purcell's music, and the organ pealed forth, in grandiose strains, Händel's unequalled "Dead March,"—whose notes had so often struck on the ear of the dead warrior when following the remains of a comrade in some distant clime. Thus Lord Clyde, accompanied by many friends, was laid to rest

"In the great minster transept
Where lights like glories fall,
And the organ rings, and the sweet choir sings,
Along the emblazoned wall."

India is well represented in that spot in the ancient Abbey where Lord Clyde is laid. Clustered together, reposing within a few feet of each other, are Outram, *sans peur et sans reproche*; Pollock, the vindicator of British honour and prestige in Afghanistan; and Lawrence, the Saviour of India. "Here is a royal fellowship of death." The group is historic, and though the hands that wielded so well the sword and pen, that led British soldiers to victory in countless fields in Spain, China,

Persia, and Afghanistan, or that directed the destinies of a mighty empire, are now stilled in death, the lessons afforded by their example are a precious heritage to their countrymen. May the reflections inspired by a pilgrimage to the sacred spot act as a stimulus to generations of our Indian warriors and statesmen, and, as they tread the hallowed precincts, may they, like Antæus, derive fresh strength from contact with that "small model of the barren earth" which covers the bones of heroes.

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